

Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
Lviv Ivan Franko National University

Nadiya Andreichuk

CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

Study manual



Lviv
Ivan Franko National University of Lviv Publishing Centre
2015

Міністерство освіти і науки України
Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка

Надія Андрейчук

КОНТРАСТИВНА ЛІНГВІСТИКА

Навчальний посібник



Львів
Видавничий центр ЛНУ імені Івана Франка
2015

УДК 81-115(075.8)

ББК Ш1в63я73

А-65

Рецензенти:

доктор філологічних наук, професор, *І. Б. Морозова*
(Одеський національний університет імені І.І.Мечнікова)

доктор філологічних наук, професор, *Г. І. Приходько*
(Запорізький національний університет)

доктор філологічних наук, професор *В. Д. Бялик*
(Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія
Федьковича)

Рекомендовано

Вченою радою факультету іноземних мов Львівського
національного університету імені Івана Франка

Протокол №11 від 30.06.2015

Андрейчук Н.І.

А-65 Contrastive Linguistics = Контрастивна лінгвістика: навч.
посібник / Н.Андрейчук. – Львів: ЛНУ імені Івана Франка,
2015. – 343 с.

ISBN 978-617-10-0249-4

Навчальний посібник призначено для студентів освітньо-кваліфікаційного рівня „Магістр” факультетів іноземних мов, зокрема, перекладацьких відділень вищих навчальних закладів. Посібник включає 8 основних розділів. Кожен із розділів містить текст лекції, додаткові матеріали для самостійного опрацювання, список питань для семінарського заняття та рекомендований список літератури для підготовки до семінару. Включено також загальний список основної та рекомендованої літератури до курсу та глосарій термінів контрастивістики.

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ISBN 978-617-10-0249-4

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ПЕРЕДМОВА

Курс „Контрастивна лінгвістика” є навчальною дисципліною, що передбачає ознайомлення студентів магістратури з основами сучасних знань у галузі контрастивної лінгвістики, з тими теоретико-методологічними підходами, які наразі сформувалися у царині контрастивістики, з найновішими тенденціями і напрямками, характерними для сучасного етапу її розвитку, методами та прийомами, що використовуються в рамках зіставних досліджень.

Авторка посібника ставить перед собою завдання: 1) створити необхідне дидактичне тло для засвоєння теоретико-методологічних основ, на яких ґрунтується сучасна контрастивна лінгвістика, 2) ознайомити з основними етапами розвитку цієї галузі мовознавства; 3) опрацювати її термінологічний апарат (метамову), методи та підходи до аналізу мовного матеріалу.

Проблематика лекцій з контрастивної лінгвістики охоплює такі напрями як: 1) місце та роль контрастивних студій у лінгвістиці, 2) різні періоди розвитку контрастивних учень, 3) принципи та термінологічний апарат, випрацювані у теоретичних та прикладних контрастивних студіях, 4) методи досліджень, 5) Tertium comparationis у контрастивних студіях, б) традиційні та новітні напрями контрастивних досліджень.

Авторка висловлює надію на те, що після опрацювання навчальних матеріалів посібника у студентів-магістрів сформується не лише бачення „теоретичної ситуації”, яка склалася на сьогодні в контрастивній лінгвістиці, а й постануть практичні вміння і навички проводити контрастивний аналіз різножанрових текстів на різних рівнях, що підготує їх до написання високоякісних наукових праць як у форматі магістратури, так і подальшого підвищення наукової кваліфікації.


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ACL – Applied contrastive linguistics
CA – Contrastive Analysis
CAH – Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis
CL – Contrastive Linguistics
DSCL – Descriptive Synchronic Comparative Linguistics
EA – Error Analysis
HCL – Historical Comparative Linguistics
LSG – lexico-semantic group
SL – source language
TCA – Theoretical Contrastive Analysis
TCL – Theoretical contrastive linguistics

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Lecture 1.

The location of contrastive studies in the field of linguistics

The question we set out to answer in the first lecture is the nature of contrastive linguistics as a linguistic enterprise and its location in the field of linguistics.

1. Three dimensions of classifying types of linguistic enterprise

2. Fundamental assumption and subdivisions of comparative linguistics

2.1. General Comparative Linguistics

2.1.1. Historical Comparative Linguistics

2.1.2. Descriptive Synchronic Comparative Linguistics

2.2. Specialized comparative linguistics

3. Additional resources

PART 1. THE EARLY HISTORY OF CONTRASTIVE IDEAS

PART 2. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF TYPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

PART 3. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF GENETIC LINGUISTICS

4. Seminar questions

5. Seminar library

1. Three dimensions of classifying types of linguistic enterprise

The fundamental notion on which this lecture course is being built up is the notion of similarity between linguistic objects. The degree of similarity between any two objects can be measured in terms of the number of shared and distinctive features that characterize them, i.e. in terms of their degree of feature matching. A *feature* is defined as any property of the object that can be deduced from our general knowledge of the world. Two entities are similar if they share at least one feature and two entities are the same if neither has features that the other lacks.

Let us start from the riddle suggested by Andrew Chesterman in his book on contrastive functional analysis [Chesterman 1998, p. 5 – 6]: *Why is a raven like a writing desk?* This riddle comes from Carroll's „Alice in Wonderland” and no answer is actually indicated in the book though Alice thought she could answer this riddle easily. Various answers can be suggested:

- they both begin with an ‘r’ sound;
- they can both serve as an inspiration for poetry (alluding to Poe’s famous poem „The Raven”, plus the traditional image of the poet seated at a desk, quill in hand. This solution revolves round a semantic ambiguity of the word *source*. Ravens and writing-desks are felt to do similar things or have similar effects in their capacity as sources, they are felt to have the same function;
- -because it can produce a few notes (with a pun on *notes*¹);

¹Note – a brief record of points or ideas written down as an aid to memory; a bird’s song or call, or a single tone in this [OED]

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- because Poe wrote on both (on top of, on the subject of);
- bills and tails are among their characteristics (bill of a bird, bill to be paid; tails, tales);
- because it slopes with a flap (flap of a wing, flap (lid) of a desk);
- because they both stand on legs;
- because they both ought to be made to shut up
-

The various answers fall into several groups, they play on various kinds of likeness:

- purely formal (two occurrences of the same sound),
- homonymic (same aural or visual form, different meanings: puns),
- semantic (same semantic feature),
- functional (similar function or purpose).

Alice's riddle introduces some of the main leitmotifs of our lecture course. Theoretically, what does it mean to compare or contrast two things? How does one set about establishing similarities and differences? On what grounds are two different things proposed for comparison in the first place? What does it mean to say that two things are *the same* or *similar*? Why is it that different people see different likeness between the same pair of entities?

With respect to the study of language and language behavior, there are two fields in particular that deal with such issues: Translation Studies and Contrastive Studies. Although these are adjoining disciplines, it nevertheless often appears that theoretical developments in one field are overlooked in the other, and that both would benefit from each other's insights.

Contrastive linguistics (CL) focuses on all the levels of

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theoretical and applied linguistics and aims at contrastive study of two or more languages or dialects in order to describe their differences and similarities and explicate both of them in terms of the relationship between languages and their activities for promoting the understanding of and communicating between cultures and civilizations.

The most simplified and generally accepted definition of linguistics claims that it is the scientific study of language. Linguistics shares with other sciences a concern to be objective, systematic, (consistent, and explicit in its account of language). Like other sciences, it aims to collect data, test hypotheses, devise models, and construct theories. Its subject matter, however, is unique: at one extreme it overlaps with such „hard” sciences as physics and anatomy; at the other, it involves such traditional „arts” subjects as philosophy and literary criticism. The field of linguistics includes both science and the humanities, and offers a breadth of coverage that, for many aspiring students of the subject, is the primary source of its appeal. As the scientific study of language, THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS may be further divided into sub-branches which specialize in all aspects or levels of language:

Phonetics and phonology: the study of speech sounds (how they are made, perceived, systematically integrated and distributed in language);

Morphology: the study of the meaningful units or forms of languages which can include words, as well as parts of words such as prefixes and suffixes, or units larger than words such as compound words, idioms, etc.;

Syntax: the study of the way in which different meaningful units of language can be constructed and combined to form larger units such as sentences and the interrelationships of these larger

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constructions;

Semantics: the study of aspects of the meaning of linguistic units on all levels of language and language use;

Pragmatics: the interrelationship between language and language use and the extralingual contexts or situation in which language is used

Theoretical linguistics has branched out into being what may be viewed as a very unwieldy, highly-hyphenated interdisciplinary science in its own right. It has many and diverse subfields which link language to other disciplines or fields of study.

LINGUISTICS AS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY SCIENCE also has several subfields:

Anthropological linguistics: studies the interrelationship of language and culture in all societies in general, but in 'exotic' or non-Western societies in particular.

Applied linguistics: applies the methods and results of the science of language to foreign language teaching and lots of other issues including national language policy, lexicography, translation etc.

Clinical linguistics: deals with the problems of language pathology, including speech therapy, and the language related issues of people with various disorders.

Computer linguistics: deals with the interrelationship between language systems and computer languages, artificial intelligence, expert systems etc.

Discourse analysis: deals with how language is structured according to various principles of communication in different linguistic and situational contexts such as conversation, interviews, social talks etc.

Neurolinguistics: studies the interrelationship between the

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brain and the production, perception and acquisition of language.

Poetics: deals with creative and artistic uses of language in literature of all types of genres, styles and registers.

Psycholinguistics: deals with the interrelationship of language and psychologically related issues such as human cognition and behaviour, the acquisition of language, speech perception and similar topics.

Sociolinguistics: explores the interrelationship of language and society and social structure, attitudes about language, dialects, pidgins and creoles, language variation and use among different social groups.

Text linguistics: deals with how (usually written) language is structured to form texts as well as the analysis of different text types or genres of different styles and registers.

Various subfields are not clearly defined, their lists may differ in different sources and they may overlap with each other. Linguists representing diverse schools or approaches to linguistics may define or view its sub-branches and sub-fields differently. Common denominator that all linguists appear to share is that language is at the centre of their interest and research. The differences between individual linguists or schools of linguistics may be inspired by the difficulties involved in defining language itself and by the fact that they all define language in a different way. Semioticians, for example, define it in their own way and claim that semiotics is an „umbrella” science covering linguistics. Semiotics focuses mainly on units of meaning and the generalizable conditions for encoding across symbolic systems, and, in general, uses language as the modeling system for other „second order” systems that function according to systematic rules (e.g., visual art, music, literature, popular media, advertising, or any meaning system).

Rather than making a list, it would be better to evolve a way of classifying types of linguistic enterprise. Such a classification will involve three dimensions or axes.

The first dimension deals with two broad approaches – the *generalist* and the *particularist* [Sampson, 1980]. On the one hand, linguists treat individual languages: English, French, Chinese and so on. On the other hand, they consider the general phenomenon of human language, of which particular languages are examples. Geoffrey Sampson proceeds to warn against seeing either of these approaches as inherently superior to the other [Sampson 1980].

Along **the second dimension** linguists are divisible into those who choose to study one, or each, language *in isolation*, and those whose ambition and methods are *comparative*. The former are concerned to discover and specify the immanent genius of the particular language which makes it unlike any other language and endows its speakers with a psychic and cognitive uniqueness. The comparativist, as the name implies, proceeds from the assumption that, while every language may have its individuality, all languages have enough in common for them to be compared and classified into types.

The third dimension is that used by Ferdinand de Saussure to distinguish „two sciences of language”: *diachronic* as opposed to *synchronic*. He explains the distinction as follows:

„Everything that relates to the static side of our science is synchronic; everything that has to do with evolution is diachronic. Similarly, synchrony and diachrony designate respectively a language-state and evolutionary phase” [Saussure 1959].

The question we set out to answer was of the nature of contrastive studies as a linguistic enterprise. Reference can be made

to the above three classificatory dimensions, which are, it must be kept in mind, overlapping dimensions. We have to answer three questions:

- 1) is CL generalist or particularist?
- 2) is it concerned with immanence or comparison?
- 3) is it diachronic or synchronic?

The answers to these questions, with respect to CL are not clear-cut. First, CL is neither generalist nor particularist but somewhere intermediate on a scale between the two extremes. Likewise, CL is as interested in the inherent genius of the language under its purview as it is in the comparability of languages. Yet it is not concerned with classification, and as the term *contrastive*² implies, more interested in differences between languages than in their likeness. And finally, although not concerned either with language families, or with other factors of language history, it is not sufficiently committed to the study of ‘static’ linguistic phenomena to merit the label *synchronic*.

CL seems, therefore, to be a hybrid linguistic enterprise.

2. Fundamental assumption and subdivisions of comparative linguistics.

Three parameters discussed can be most helpful when we try to identify CL as a particular field of comparative linguistics.

²*Etymology of the word contrast: 1690 (as a term in fine art, in the sense „juxtapose so as to bring out differences in form and color“): from French **contraster** (Old French **contrestre**), modified by or from Italian **contrastare** „stand out against, strive, contend“ from Vulgar Latin **contrastare** „to withstand“ from Latin **contra-** „against“ + **stare** „stand“ – to compare in order to show unlikeness or differences.*

Comparative linguistics is an umbrella term to denote all types of linguistic enterprises founded on the assumption that languages can be compared. Juxtaposition, correlation, comparison is, in the first place, the distinctive feature of human thinking, universal foundation of cognitive activity. Nothing (including language) can be studied without comparison³. Different methods and techniques based on comparison are being applied in linguistics while studying one or several languages.

2.1. General Comparative Linguistics.

2.1.1. Historical Comparative Linguistics

Today comparative linguistics is a ramified field of research (Fig.1.1) with lots of subdivisions.

General comparative linguistics is subdivided into Descriptive Synchronic Comparative Linguistics (DSCL) and Historical Comparative Linguistics (HCL). The latter was the first to emerge and a synthesis of its most basic ideas could read as this.

Some languages are related to each other and form language families. Their vocabularies and grammars show remarkable similarities that exclude random coincidences. Indo-European languages are the archetype of such a linguistic family. The development of these ideas has a long history⁴.

³*It was Aristotle who attracted attention to this fact in his „The Categories“: „For the same thing may be small in comparison with one thing, and great in comparison with another, so that the same thing comes to be both small and great at one and the same time, and is of such a nature as to admit contrary qualities at one and the same moment“.*



⁴ **ADDITIONAL RESOURCES** **PART 1. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS**

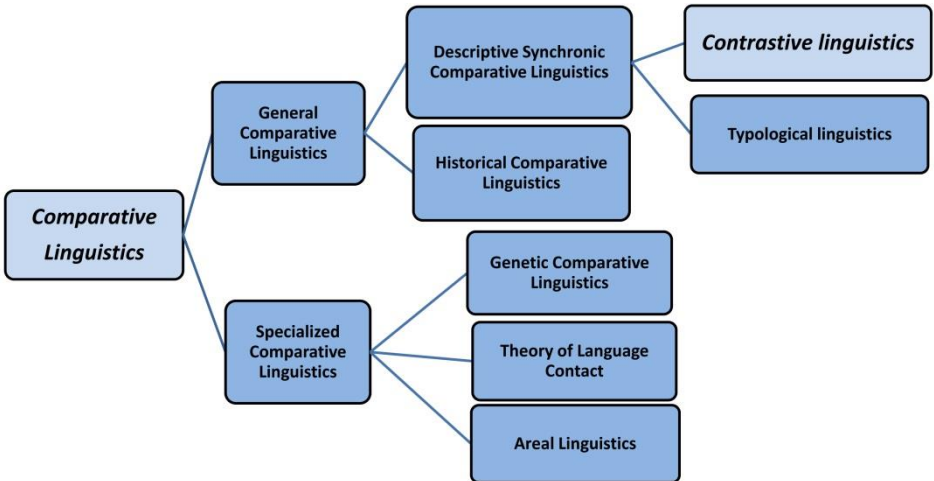


Fig. 1.1. Subdivisions of Comparative Linguistics

The primary goal of CHL is to classify the languages of the world, to sort them out and to assign them to genetic families and thus to ascertain the kinship between related languages and description of their evolution in time and space. Language families are generally shown as trees each branch being the divergent continuation of a given state of language (Fig. 1.2).

HCL was the first trend of thought that put comparison on scientific grounds. It originated in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century and is connected with names of F. Bopp, J. Grimm as well as Dutch linguist Rasmus Kristian Rask, Russian linguist A. Kh. Vostokov⁵ and many others.

In the 19th century Rasmus Kristian Rask formulates a series of principles and methods that set the foundation for modern HCL. Jakob Grimm publishes a comparative grammar of all Germanic

⁵During his lifetime A.Kh. Vostokov (1781 – 1864) was known as a poet and translator, but it is his innovative studies of versification and comparative Slavonic grammars which proved most influential.



Fig. 1.2. The tree which illustrates the relationships between European and central Asian languages (drawn by Minna Sundberg, a Finnish-Swedish artist)

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languages. Franz Bopp includes the Indo-European languages into his comparative studies, extends his research to morphology, and demonstrates the importance of Sanskrit for the comparative studies. August Schleicher is well-known for his theory of related languages, for his method of reconstruction of a mother-tongue, and also for his classification of languages into types. August Fick established a model of the Indo-European vocabulary, by applying the theory of language genealogy. A number of other researchers contributed to the theory and methods of HCL: Hermann Paul (*Principles of Linguistic History*), Karl Brugman and Bertold Delbruck, Hermann Hirt (*Indo-German Grammar*), Antoine Meillet (*Introduction to the Comparative Study of Indo-European Languages*).

The Indo-European comparative studies witnessed a spectacular rebirth in the 20th century in the United States. By applying the methods of comparison and reconstruction of languages to the languages of primitive communities Edward Sapir proved that several tribes from the North and from the South of the United States were genetically related. Leonard Bloomfield studied the ancient Algonkin language, Isidore Dyen studied the Malayo-Polynesian languages. Joseph Greenberg classified the languages from Africa. Morris Swadesh is considered to be the father of glottochronology⁶, also known as the lexical-statistical dating of linguistic relations.

⁶ *Glottochronology (from Att.-Greek γλῶττα „tongue, language“ and χρόνος „time“) is that part of lexicostatistics dealing with the chronological relationship between languages. The idea has been developed by Morris Swadesh under two assumptions: first that there exists a relatively stable "basic vocabulary" (therefore called "Swadesh lists") in all languages of the world, and secondly that any replacements happen in a way analogical to that in radioactive decay in constant percentages per time elapsed. Meanwhile there exist many different methods, partly extensions of the Swadesh method, now more and more methods under biological assumptions of replacements in genes. However, Swadesh's technique is so well known that, for many people, 'glottochronology' refers to it alone.*

2.1.2. Descriptive Synchronic Comparative Linguistics

Synchronic comparative linguistics includes typological and contrastive linguistics. Within typological dimension the approach is synchronic: languages are typologically grouped according to their present-day characteristics, no reference being made to the histories of languages, not even to their historical relatedness⁷. Languages grouped together in the same typological group need not be genetically (historically) related. For example, English and Chinese which are not genetically related, share a large number of grammatical properties, such as relatively fixed and grammatically constrained word order, paucity of inflections, and prominence of function words. These shared features place the two languages quite close in the typological groupings in spite of the genetic distance separating them.

Another subdiscipline of comparative synchronic linguistics is concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems of languages in order to determine both the differences and similarities between them. The comparison of two or more linguistic systems as they exist today (i.e., a synchronic comparison) is known as contrastive linguistics.

HCL, Typological and CL refer to multilingual disciplines. But they differ in several aspects:

- sets of languages which present the objects of multilingual spheres of research, like language families, aerial communities of



7
ADDITIONAL
RESOURCES

PART 2. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF TYPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

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languages, language types are given (exist) in the reality. Two or more languages put together in CL research are intentionally grouped by the linguist into one object of research proceeding from the applied task (foreign language teaching, translation etc.);

- comparative-historical, areal and typological studies are aimed at making corresponding classifications of languages. CL does not set itself such tasks;
- comparative-historical, areal and typological studies direct their attention at discovering those things which bring languages together, id est, make the basis:
 - a) of genetic correlations explained by primary kinship,
 - b) of secondary kinship as the product of language contacts,
 - c) of structural similarity.

CL takes primary interest in those things that make contrasted languages different and that can turn out to be factors determining interlingual interference;

- CL digresses from diachronic aspects and is neither concerned with historical developments nor with the problem of describing genetic relationships. CL is purely synchronic in its orientation and a comparison between the vowel systems of German and Finnish or between the form, meaning and use of reflexive markers in English and Mandarin Chinese is just as relevant as the corresponding comparisons between relevant systems in genetically related languages.

In addition to purely synchronic orientation CL also differs in scope from HCL since it is typically concerned with a comparison of corresponding subsystems in only two languages. In spite of these differences CL and HCL may overlap if two genetically related languages are examined for shared structures and contrasts. In that case CL can be built on the findings of HCL, which also provides the

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relevant explanation of the contrasts as a result of geographic separation, contact with other languages and inbuilt drifts. A contrastive analysis will then often resemble a description of contrasts between two consecutive stages in the historical development of two languages. Many examples can be given of such partial overlap between the goals and findings of HCL and CL. For instance, it is a well-known fact that the distribution of the sentential negation marker *not* in English is very different from that of the German counterpart *nicht*. If the negation marker *not* does not include another scope-bearing element in its scope as in 1(a) its standard position is after the first auxiliary verb (1b). Furthermore, *not* may fuse with a following indefinite article (*a*) or pronoun (*any*) to *no* (1 c-d), with effect of a subtle contrast in meaning:

- (1) *a. Not many arrows hit the target.*
b. Many arrows did not hit the target.
c. George is no scientist.
d. George is not a scientist.

In German, by contrast, the negation marker *nicht* occurs as closely as possible before the elements in its scope and is thus extremely flexible in its distribution (2 a-b). Fusion between *nicht* and a following indefinite expression to *kein* is possible and may even be obligatory, but this process is not only sensitive to positional restrictions (adjacency), as it also is the case in English, but also to stress and to focusing (2c):

- (2) *a. Nicht viele Pfeile haben die Scheibe getroffen.*
b. Viele Pfeile haben die Scheibe nicht getroffen
c. Georg ist kein Wissenschaftler.

If the indefinite phrase is stressed or part of a focused phrase, fusion is excluded (2 e-f):

- (2) *d. Ich möchte mit keinem Studenten sprechen. – I don't*

want to talk to any student.

e. *Ich möchte nicht mit EINEM Studenten sprechen.* – *I don't want to talk to a single student.*

f. *Ich möchte nicht einem Verbrecher in die Hände fallen.*
– *I don't want to fall into the hands of a criminal.*

The relevant change, which further separated English from German, occurred in Early Modern English. In Shakespearean English we still find the negation marker after main verbs. The introduction of positional restrictions for *not* had consequences for scope marking in general. In contrast to German, where the scope of *not* is generally marked by word order, the corresponding English sentences are either ambiguous (3) or contrast in terms of lexical elements as in (4).

- (3) a. *Der Direktor wäscht sein Auto nicht selbst.* – *The director doesn't wash his car himself*
b. *Der Direktor wäscht sein Auto selbst nicht.* – *The director doesn't wash his car himself*
- (4) a. *John did not talk to any students.* – *J. hat mit keinen Studenten gesprochen.*
b. *John did not talk to some students.* – *J. hat mit einigen Studenten nicht gesprochen.*

Thus the contrastive analysis of a positional restriction for negation in English and German is closely connected with relevant historical processes (the above example taken from the article by Ekkehard König „The Place of Contrastive Linguistics in Language Comparison” [König 2011]).

2.2. Specialized comparative linguistics.

Specialized Comparative Linguistics is subdivided into:

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- *Genetic Comparative Linguistics*,
- *Theory of Language Contact*,
- *Areal Linguistics (Fig.1.1)*

Genetic Comparative Linguistics uses the terminology borrowed from family relationships: a „proto-language” can be the „mother-tongue”, and its descendants, can be „daughter-tongues”. In time the „daughter-tongue” may become a „mother-tongue”, and it would divide in several dialects, that would hold remarkable distinctions between them. These dialects would evolve on their own, and would be considered as separate but related languages. Thus, the genealogy tree that represents the relations between languages may become very complex⁸.

- **Theory of Language Contact** deals with linguistic change which is viewed from the standpoint of a „dynamic conception of language as creativity” (Fig.1.3). E. Coseriu [Coseriu 1988] distinguishes three different problems of linguistic change which belong to three different levels:

- 1) the universal problem of linguistic change (why do languages change at all?),
- 2) the general problem of linguistic change (how and under what intra- and extralinguistic conditions do languages normally change?),
- 3) the historical problem of every individual change, that is, the problem of justifying the creation of a particular tradition and possibly the replacement of an earlier tradition.

The motivation of the linguistic change is also found by



Coseriu, namely: the linguistic creation, regarded both as invention, and as an innovation in language.

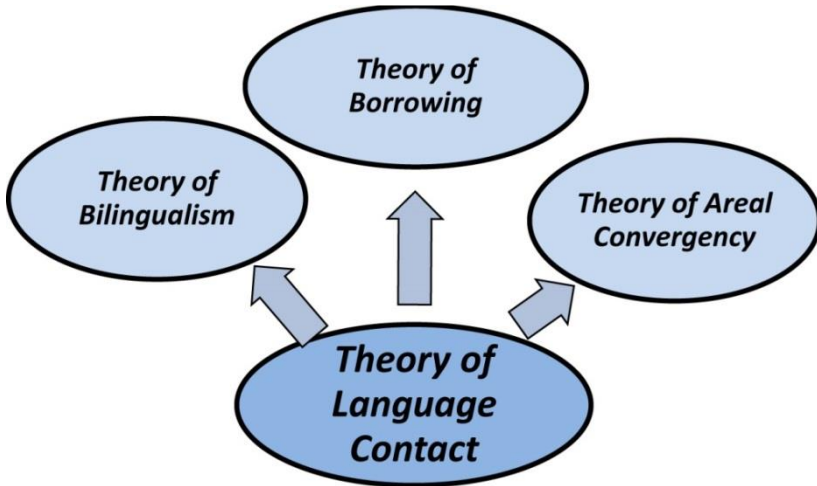


Fig.1.3. Subdivisions of the Theory of Language Contact

One of the sources of the linguistic change is **borrowing** from another language, a phenomenon studied by the theory of borrowing, directly derived from the theory of language contact. Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman define and classify borrowings into:

a) lexical/intimate borrowing :

– direct borrowing: e.g. *feast* (Eng.) was directly borrowed from French *fête* borrowed from the Latin *festā*.

– indirect borrowing: e.g. *algebra*, *alcohol*, *bismuth* are Arab words, borrowed by the English language through Spanish;

b) cultural borrowing: up until the Norman Conquest, when an English person sacrificed *an ox* for food, *he ate ox*; when he sacrificed *a sheep* he ate *sheep*, the same with *pig*. But the *ox* served for the Normans became *beef* (*boeuf*), the *sheep* became *mutton*

(*mouton*), and the *pig* became *pork* (*porc*).

The same authors identify the causes of borrowing, that is, the need to name new things, new concepts, new places.

The theory of **bilingualism** studies a series of phenomena, such as: linguistic contact, interference, and transfer. The situations when a linguistic community is in contact with another are called language contact situations. The language contact appears when a speaker has to use a second language apart from his mother tongue, even if he uses it only partially or with imperfections. Those cases of deviation from the norms of one or another of the two languages used by the bilingual, therefore as a result of language contact, are called interference. The greater the difference between the two systems, the larger the area of interference. Interference is due to another phenomenon that appears in the case of languages in contact, namely, the transfer. Transfer, largely studied by Uriel Weinreich could be defined as the process of interpretation of the grammar of one language in terms of another.

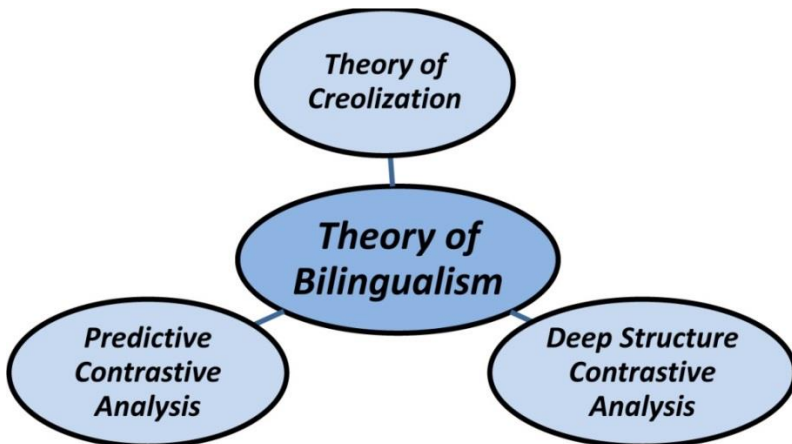


Fig.1.4. Subdivisions of the Theory of Bilingualism

There are three subdivisions of the theory of bilingualism (Fig. 1.4).

The **predictive contrastive analysis** lies in close connection with the phenomenon of interference, and its purpose is second language teaching. Robert J. DiPietro considers that, in applying the results of contrastive analysis to the predictive analysis of mistakes, one should take into consideration both the performance factors, and the development of the competence inside the areas of contrast. Predictive analysis represents the preventative step in eradicating mistakes.

The situation when two communities come into contact gives birth to creole or pidgin languages. Creole languages are studied by **the theory of creolization**. For example, creole languages are the result of the contact of the language of the colonists (French, English, Portuguese, Spanish) and the language of the slaves brought to the colonies, such as Creole French in Haiti, Jamaican English, Gullah from Georgia and South Carolina, Cajun in Louisiana, Krio in Sierra Leone.

The deep structure contrastive analysis is based on a universal model of language. Some linguists such as Noam Chomsky and Charles Fillmore initiated the hypothesis that all sentences have a surface structure and a deep structure. By applying the notions of deep structure and surface structure, the fact that the crucial contrast area is the one that lies between the deepest structure and the most surface one, becomes evident. The differences between languages can be observed at any level that lies between the deep structure and the surface structure. In this way, we can even quantify similitudes between languages.

The geographical closeness of several linguistic communities leads to the appearance, inside these communities, of certain common features – affinities – that allow their grouping into linguistic associations. They are noticeable even when the languages

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are only distantly related. This phenomenon was called by Oswald Ducrot and Jean-Marie Schaeffer areal convergency, and areal linguistic community by Uriel Weinreich.

Applying the theory of the evolution of the human species to the study of languages, researchers found out that the evolution of the lexical forms, once that they detached from the proto-language, depends on their geographical localization. The regional differences of vulgar Latin, that have become later Romanian, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, were studied according to the geographical distance between the place where they were found, and their place of origin. These studies were called **areal linguistics or linguistic geography**. Linguistic geography developed at the end of the 19th century by the elaboration of national linguistic atlases. These appeared from the need to describe and study the system of a language also from the point of view of aerial phenomena.

On the basis of attempts to find a suitable place for CL within the spectrum of comparative approaches to linguistic analysis we can summarize the essential components of its agenda:

- Synchronic orientation. CHL can provide explanation for contrasts and their interrelations between genetically related languages and CL may identify problems and phenomena worth analyzing from a historical perspective, but it provides observations of contrastive facts concerning the present state of languages development in terms of the most adequate language theory.
- Granularity. CL is concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that are generally inaccessible to typological generalization. In that sense it can be considered a complement to typology or a „small-scale typology”. For CL both the availability vs the lack of lingual objects and their contrasts in form and function in two languages are of great interest. This emphasis on fine granularity

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does not mean, however, that the focus is on isolated observations rather than generalizations, but these generalizations are different from the implicational statements and hierarchies of typology.

- Comparison of language pairs. CL is mainly concerned with bilateral language comparisons, between mother tongue and a foreign language, between source language and a target language or between first language and a second language, depending on what kind of applications are envisaged. Extending the scope beyond two languages is only possible if the goal of comprehensive comparisons is given up in favour of analysis of small fragments of languages as a first step towards a typology or an aerial study. It is precisely this restriction to a comparison of two languages which enables CL to consider a wide variety of parameters of variation and get as close as possible to the goal of providing a holistic⁹ typology for a language. The question which languages should be selected for comparison receives a different, though principled answer in all five approaches to comparative studies: HCL looks at languages of one single family; language typology is all-embracing in its scope, even though its comparisons are confined to a representative sample of the world's languages; cross-cultural communication selects language use from cultures and communities that interact regularly and contrastive analysis selects language pairs that play a role in language acquisition, in bilingualism or translation.
- Perspective. CL means describing one language from the perspective of another and will therefore reveal properties of languages that are not easily visible otherwise. In other words CL has a great heuristic value for the analysis of highly language-specific properties.

⁹holistic [həʊ'listɪk, hɒ-] characterized by the belief that the parts of something are intimately interconnected and explicable only by reference to the whole

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Different languages used as standards of comparison will in all likelihood lead to different descriptions. Different properties of a language will look remarkable, depending on the language used as language of standard of comparison. A contrastive analysis which does not lead to new insights is pointless.

Summing up we might venture the following provisional definition of CL:

CL is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive synchronic comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language from the perspective of another and concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between them.



PART 1. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

(based on <http://studopedia.org/12-60612.html>)

Quite interestingly the ideas that some languages are related to each other and form language families were never investigated in the Antiquity. One has to wait till the last millenium of human history to see the emergence of these ideas. Many European people of the late Middle Ages had intuitive recognition that languages scattered all over the world had special relationships. Dante Alighieri (1265 – 1321), the famous writer of *The Divine Comedy*, is the first European to assert that Roman languages must be related and are the contemporary forms of Latin. He classified Roman languages according to the word *yes* in the book written in Latin *De vulgari eloquentia* (1305).

Robert Bacon (1214 – 1294) noticed that Modern Greek was

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the new form taken by the dialects of Ancient Greek.

In the Middle Ages, the Jews of North Africa also were struck by the structural similarities of Hebrew and Arabic, asserting that this likeness should be explained by the common origin of these languages. The Jewish doctor Yehuda ibn Quraysh is known as the first to have asserted this around the year 1000.

At the beginning of the XIIIth century, Giraud de Cambrie assumed that Breton, Welsh and Cornish were the continuation of an older Celtic language spoken in Great Britain. All these common sense remarks were made by native speakers who at their time had no theory to account for the facts they had observed. Three different approaches were pursued to explain the origin of languages :

- ✓ one held that languages were blendings of older languages,
- ✓ one held that all languages originated in Hebrew,
- ✓ another one held that the mother tongue was a particular language, e.g Dutch.

It took some time before a prehistoric mother tongue was suggested. Probably because Christian Religion excluded evolution and considered everything to have been created once and for all, the Renaissance thinkers generally explained language changes through a process of blending. Italian was supposed to be Latin mingled with Lombardic (an Eastern Germanic language) and French was held to be Gaulish mixed with Latin. At the same period, other thinkers started deriving the words of one language through intricate processes of letter permutation and substitution. Estienne Guichard wrote his book in 1606, where all the words of known languages are supposed to derive from three letter roots taken from Hebrew. Such languages as South-American Arawak were „explained” with such letter games. In Christian Europe, Hebrew was quite logically held to

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be the „mother” of all other languages. A typical example is Guillaume Postel (1510 – 1581), one of the most learned Frenchmen of his time, who wrote that Arabic, Sanskrit and Greek had their source in Hebrew, presumably the language that Noah had bequeathed unto mankind. Another approach, with chauvinistic purposes instead of religious ones, suggested contemporary languages instead of Hebrew. This reached a high level of laughability when some Dutchmen tried to derive every other language from the Antwerpen dialect of Dutch. This is known as *Goropianism*, after the name of Jan van Gorp. All these researches were made on the written form of languages instead of relying on the true phonetics of spoken languages and they never assumed that a given language could originate in an unknown prehistoric language. Nevertheless all this intellectual agitation opened the way that ultimately led to Indo-European comparative works.

The major event with unresisting influence upon the development of comparative linguistics was the encounter of Sanskrit and European speakers in India in the 16th century. The striking resemblance between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek was first noticed as early as 1583 by an English jesuit, Thomas Stephens, who lived in India from 1579 to 1619. Even people with more terrestrial interests like the Italian salesman Filippo Sassetti in 1585 were struck by the apparent familiarity of Sanskrit. A lot of work was carried out especially in the Netherlands by Marcus Boxhorn (1640) and in France by Claude de Saumaise (1643) on the comparison of Indo-European languages that had not yet received this name, foremost Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian and Germanic languages. The obvious similarities of these languages were explained in the framework of the „Scythian” origin, sometimes also labelled „Japhetic”. The well-known Scyths, an historical people of the

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Iranian branch of Indo-European were then considered to have spread all over Eurasia and have ramified into so many modern languages. It was not until the middle of the 19th century and the triumph of evolutionism that it became established that none of the Indo-European languages should be held to be the mother of all others. The „Scythian” theory was discarded and the original proto-Indo-European language was considered prehistoric and unattested as we still believe today.

So the history of comparative linguistics can be roughly depicted in this way: before the Renaissance, very little work was done, although some thinkers had penetrating intuition about linguistic potential relationships. With the cultural encounter with Sanskrit, Europe, at this time especially France and the Netherlands, is struck by the incredible similarity of this language with Latin and Greek. This brings forth the theory of the „Scythian” origin of all these languages that lasts from about 1650 to about 1850. Afterwards, the Germans, Franz Bopp, Brugmann and others, gave Indo-European the impulse and theoretical bases that we still know today: i.e many languages spoken in Eurasia originate in a lost prehistorical language called proto-Indo-European. A word has to be written about Sir William Jones, who is often propagandized as the epoch-making creator of Indo-European comparative linguistics, in English speaking countries. In 1786, this man, who was then an English judge of Supreme Court in Calcutta, pronounced a statement in his address to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, that stated :

„The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by

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accident; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the family”.

It is very unclear from this text to assert whether William Jones is referring to the old Scythian theory or whether he is suggesting the prehistorical mother language. Moreover he explicitly says that the Celtic and Gothic languages are blended, implying an obsolete framework of medieval origin. What is worse is that he held Pahlavi, an Indo-Aryan language, to be Semitic and he rejected the genetic relationship between Hindi and Sanskrit because their grammars were too different. In fact many of his suggested comparisons are terribly shaky at best. As far as we see, the real significance of Jones in modern linguistics is very low.



PART 2. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF TYPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

***(based on „Introduction to Contrastive Linguistics”
by Adel Antoinette Szabó [Szabó A.A.]***

Ariton Vraciu proposes a classification of languages, using the concepts of *meaning* and *form* of the language as criteria: *isolating languages; agglutinant languages; flexionary languages (synthetical languages and analytical languages)*. General linguistics admits, as a principle, the four types of languages, also identified by Ariton Vraciu:

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- 1) *the isolating/amorphous/radical type* (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese);
- 2) *the agglutinant type* (e.g. Turkish and Mongolian languages, Japanese, Armenian);
- 3) *the flexionary type : synthetic languages* (e.g. Sanscrit, Ancient Armenian, Ancient Slavic, German, Russian) and *analytic languages* (e.g. Romance languages, English, Greek);
- 4) *the polysynthetic type* (e.g. Native American languages).

Edward Sapir completes the traditional classification, on the basis of three criteria formulated by himself: *a) the degree of synthesis; b) the mechanics of synthesis; c) the nature of concepts.*

E. Sapir identifies, thus, *four fundamental types* of languages:

- a) simple, relationally pure languages, with no modification of the radical (affixes or internal change);
- b) complex, relationally pure languages: pure syntactic relations, with the modification of the radical;
- c) simple, relationally combined languages: syntactic relations that manifest through associations with significant concepts, without the modification of the meaning of the radical;
- d) complex, relationally combined languages: syntactic relations expressed in a combined form with the modification of the radical through affixes or internal change.

Using the *degree of synthesis* as a criterion, E. Sapir divides languages into the following types: a) *analytic languages*; b) *synthetic languages*; c) *polysynthetic languages*.

The mechanics of synthesis divides languages into: *isolating languages; agglutinant languages; merging languages; symbolizing languages.*

Dumitru Chițoran notices the growing interest of modern

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linguistics for two apparently opposite perspectives, subordinated to typological linguistics: *linguistic relativism* and *linguistic universals*. Both theses are based on the relation between *the structure of the language* and *the structure of the universe*.

The *linguistic relativism* stipulates that the structure of the language directly reflects the structure of the universe and of the human mind, being considered the very moulder of the latter. This theory was formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose work represents the dawn of several extremely important currents in modern linguistics, the starting point for the main directions in the *philosophy and theory of language*. Humboldt, in his works, takes into discussion several issues connected with the *theory of the language*: the nature and the functions of the language; the relation between language and thought, language and speech, speech and comprehension, language and nation; the evolution and typology of languages; the linguistic sign, language regarded as a system. The hypotheses of the linguistic relativism have become well-known through Edward Sapir's and Benjamin Lee Whorf's works, and it circulated under the name of *Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis*. In the introduction to Whorf's book *Language, Thought and Reality* Stuart Chase identifies two cardinal hypotheses: all superior levels of language depend on language; the structure of the language influences the individual way of perception of the environment. The very image of the universe changes from one language to another.

The interest that linguists took in the differences between languages shifted to the *common elements* of all languages. This led to the attempt of establishing a set of laws that govern *all* languages, a set of universal features of language, generating the *hypothesis of linguistic universals*. The list of linguistic universals varies from one researcher to another, from one point of view to another.

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Eugenio Coseriu identifies *two types* of linguistic universals:

- essential universals: *necessary universals*: they are conceptual, therefore they cannot constitute a basis for description; *possible universals*: a particular phonological or grammatical system;
- universality as a historical generality.

Another distinction noticed by Coseriu lies between the *functional/ semantic universals* and the *designation universals*. The delimitation of the possibilities of designation is called by Coseriu *significance*. *Significance* and *designation*, together, represent a new sign, with a superior content, called by Coseriu *meaning*. The meaning can be found only in texts, inside the discourse. In linguistics, and also in grammar, Eugenio Coseriu ascertains two dimensions unified through two *language universals*: *homogeneity/unity* (*syntopic, synstratic, synphrastic*), and *variety* (*diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic*). Another universal dimension would be *alterity*, meaning that language belongs also to the others, to a community, not only to the speaker.

Ronald W. Langacker finds two distinctive categories inside the linguistic universals: *absolute universals* (features that are common to all languages) and *universal tendencies* (not altogether universal, but features that cannot be explained by chance, borrowing or relation).

Dumitru Chițoran discovers several universal elements, present in all languages: the pattern of languages, syntactic and semantic elements/rules, some aspects of the phonological system of languages, age, sex, dimensions, movement; semantic relations (synonymy, antonymy, conversion, hyponymy).

According to Joseph B. Casagrande, language has a *generic function*, with reference to the means of orientation of the individual

in the cultural universe he comes in contact with: the three personal pronouns (*I, you, he*), family relationships, names, the terms of possession, the general terms for the human body parts, and for the conscious psycho-physiological processes, a general frame for space and time.

Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman offer a list that includes several *general features of language*, and also several others, *specific to particular languages*: the existence of people requires the existence of language, the ability of languages to express ideas, linguistic change, the arbitrary connection between sounds and the significance of words, the existence of a finite number of sounds used to build an infinite number of sentences, the existence of grammatical categories, the existence of vowels and consonants.

PART 3. SOME FACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF GENETIC LINGUISTICS.

**(Excerpts from Dr Jacques COULARDEAU's review of
J. Greenberg's book „The Methods and Purposes of
Linguistic Genetic Classification“ [Greenberg J.H.]**



The theory and method of Genetic Linguistics have been developed by Joseph H. Greenberg. [Greenberg J.H.]. Joseph H. Greenberg (1915 – 2001) was one of the twentieth-century's most original and influential linguists. He was Professor of Linguistics at Stanford University, 1962– 1985, where he was also Director of the African Languages and Area Center, 1967 – 1978. His books include *The Languages of Africa* (1963), *Anthropological Linguistics* (1968), *Language Typology: A Historical and Analytic Overview* (1974), *Language in the Americas* (1987), and *Indo-*

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European and its Closest Relatives: The Eurasiatic Language Family (2000/2002).

Joseph H. Greenberg put forward the now widely accepted classification of African languages. He established and deployed three fundamental principles:

- 1) that the most reliable evidence for genetic classification is the pairing of sound and meaning;
- 2) that nonlinguistic evidence, such as skin colour or cultural traits, should be excluded from the analysis;
- 3) that the vocabulary and inflections of a very large number of languages should be simultaneously compared. Joseph Greenberg made substantive contributions to the undersyandng the links between genetic linguistics and human history.

J. H. Greenberg is universally known as the proponent of a sole origin to all human languages. He is very careful to trace the history of genetic linguistics which he identifies as having been first, at the end of the 18th century (Sir William Jones) the history of Sanskrit and generally Indo-European languages. He traces that history of the science itself and shows how the Indo-Aryan family was detached from the Indo-European family very early. But he is not so much interested in these details, rather in the method of genetic linguistics as it emerges from that history. His first principle is that pure sound laws and phonological comparison are worth very little. The basic principle is that we have to compare morphemes which means, in Saussurean tradition, a form and a meaning together in the same linguistic sign. His demonstration of this point is essential and well-known. Rare are the linguists who are still trying to find out the genetic connection between languages by only using phonological considerations, either simple sounds or compounds of sounds in the shape of syllables. Note here he acknowledges, without

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saying it, that the phylogeny of the „word” in any human language has one first step to cross in order to become human and that is the articulation of consonants and vowels into "syllables", so that the same „syllabic” connections are meaningless in the languages of the world, what's more he states some are "symbolic" and "universal" like „ma” or „pa”, though he does not see that this symbolism has to do with breast feeding.

His second principle is that we must not only compare languages in pairs but always compare one language to many others. His examples are numerous and historically relevant. His best case is that of Hittite that was identified as an Indo-European Language by Knudtzon in 1902, but was only accepted as such in 1915 after Hrozny's publication on the subject because the university and research „authorities” (people in powerful positions in these institutions) opposed Knudtzon's position. Here Greenberg is clearly exposing the negative role of those who have power in the academic world as going against the search for truth.

His method is simple. You must concentrate on basic lexical words, though lexical items can be borrowed or culturally influenced, but insist on words that have a similar form and the same meaning (or similar meaning). Those basic words are for example small numbers, parts of the body and pronouns. But moreover you must insist on the syntactic, if not plainly grammatical, elements. Here again order itself is not very pertinent in this comparison. We are supposed to compare syntactic or grammatical morphemes like personal pronouns, nominal declensions or verbal conjugations, if possible as coherent and full systems. And that comparison must be carried out among a multiple set of languages.

We must not deny that we start from a group of languages that we already „know” are genetically connected, but the method

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can be also used for groups of languages determined by their geographical or historical proximity, if not even contact. That implies history and culture are also essential in that search, even if it is dialectical since what we are going to find about the languages will bring knowledge on the culture and the history of the people who spoke those languages. The case of the two Arzawa letters in Hittite though found in the tomb of an Egyptian pharaoh is typical: they prove Hittite is Indo-European but they bring light on the relations between Anatolia, the Akkadians and Egypt in those centuries when writing was being invented by the Sumerians. In other words he clearly exposes the circularity of many etymologists: they state sound laws that accept no exceptions from the observation of languages and these laws become the proof of the connection between the languages. But Greenberg is a linguist of the word and the sentence. He is very keen on the origin of language. But he does not consider the phylogeny of that language that was invented in Africa by the Homo Sapiens somewhere around 250,000 years ago. What did they start from (the languages of apes or Homo Ergaster, their ancestor) and what were the various steps to reach our modern articulated languages. These steps are the three articulations that enable modern human languages to exist: the first articulations of consonants and vowels, without which no morphemes can exist (and no apes have it), then the second articulation of distance and duration into space and time into spatial nouns and temporal verbs that enables the first syntax of simple concatenation, and finally the third articulation of morphological syntax with morphological morphemes to realize the functions and roles of each linguistic item in a complex sentence. This would have led Greenberg to a higher generalization: the first articulation is the basic articulation of consonantal languages, the second articulation of isolating or character languages, and the third

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articulation of holophrastic then agglutinative then synthetic and analytical languages. The question is why did these three vast phylogenetic classes of languages appeared? The answer is because they left the nest of humanity at various moments of the phylogeny of language in that primeval human society. That enables us then to capture the Out of Africa migrations as a sequence of migrations using different routes and targeting different territories starting with the Nile valleys, then the southern corridor along the Arabian Peninsula and from there up the Persian Gulf, up the Indus Valley, around or across the Indian subcontinent as far as Australia and China. Archaeology has today accumulated the necessary knowledge to prove that.

SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. What is the fundamental assumption of comparative linguistics?
2. What dimensions can serve the basis for classifying types of linguistic enterprise?
3. Comment on the importance of comparison in modern linguistic scholarly research.
4. What are the principal subdivisions of comparative linguistics? Which one was the first to emerge?
5. What are the main goals of HCL, Typological and CL?
6. Provide arguments to support the statement that CL can be built on the findings of HCL.
7. What are the subdivisions of Specialized Comparative Linguistics? What are their main tasks?
8. What are the subdivisions of the theory of bilingualism? What needs stimulate their development?

9. Enumerate the essential components of CL agenda.

SEMINAR LIBRARY

- *Aristotle*. Categories [Electronic resource] – Mode of access: <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/categories.html>
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Lecture 2. History of development of contrastive studies: early ideas and the traditional period of development

The second lecture summarizes main ideas in the field of contrastive linguistics during the early and traditional period of its development (end of 19th century until after World War II). It aims at giving a general survey on the activity and on the contribution brought by some linguists and schools to the advance of contrastive linguistics.

1. Early contrastive studies
2. Traditional period of contrastive ideas development (end of 19th century until after World War II)
 - 2.1. Benjamin Lee Whorf
 - 2.2. The Prague Linguistic Circle
3. Additional resources

PART 4. SAPIR'S AND WHORF'S VIEWS ON LANGUAGE

PART 5. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRAGUE SCHOOL TO THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE

PART 6. VILEM MATHESIUS

4. Seminar questions
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1. Early contrastive studies

As we accepted in the introductory lecture, CL is a particular linguistic enterprise concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between languages on the synchronic level. Initially the idea of contrastive studies grew out of observing students learning a second language. Each student or a group of

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students tended to repeat the same linguistic mistakes as previous groups. This turned into an assumption that the mistakes were caused by the student's first language interfering with the second. This interference happened because the student applied the first language rules to the second language, much in the same way English-speaking children apply the rules of regular words to irregular ones.

The word „contrast” with reference to different phenomena across languages had not appeared until the end of the 18th century (that is a hundred years later than it started to be used in fine arts). James Pickbourne¹⁰ first used it in 1789:

„I thought it would be useful to contrast (italics supplied) the English verb with the verb in other languages”.

But it holds probable that comparisons of languages for pedagogical purposes go to the very beginning of foreign language teaching, while systematic written records of such procedures go back to at least the 15th century [Krzyszowski 1995]. Actually, grammars of any studied second language and even first grammars of native languages were being written against the background of comparison, deliberate or unconscious, with other languages – native language in the first place or more prestigious language of culture – in the second. For instance, Panini grammar contained elements of comparison of Sanskrit¹¹ with speech practices. European

¹⁰ Unitarian clergyman (unitarianism – a Christian theological movement named for the affirmation that God is one entity, in contrast to Trinitarianism, which defines God as three persons coexisting consubstantially in one being)and master of the dissenting academy at Hackney; a famous English poet Samuel Rogers (1763 – 1855) was among his pupils.

¹¹ Sanskrit is an ancient Indic language of India, in which the Hindu scriptures and classical Indian epic poems are written and from which many northern Indian languages are derived. It is interesting to note that the word "Sanskrit" means "complete" or "perfect" and it was thought of as the divine language, or language

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Renaissance grammars – first grammars of modern languages – were written in comparison with Greek and Latin grammars.

The wheel-of-fortune character of the history of contrastive studies is exhaustively presented by prof. Jacek Fisiak [Fisiak ed. 1981], Tomasz Krzeszowski [Krzeszowski 1995], Michal Paradowski [Paradowski 2007] and others.

The early contrastive analysts did not concern themselves with methodological problems, although they did work out a method of comparison known as the „sign theory”, the first method in contrastive studies [Krzeszowski 1995]. The earliest methodological framework associated with contrastive descriptions of two languages became known under this rather unfortunate term – „the sign theory”. It provided a label for a method of describing certain grammatical phenomena in English, in contrast with Latin. For the first time the method was used in the middle of the 15th century, and it continued to be used until the end of the 18th century. „The sign theory” was a product of an attempt to reconcile the grammatical description of Latin with the description of English. The

of the gods. It was spoken in India roughly 1200 – 400 BC, and continues in use as a language of religion and scholarship. It is written from left to right in the Devanagari script. The suggestion by Sir William Jones (1746 – 1794) of its common origin with Latin and Greek was a major advance in the development of historical linguistics. Panini’s grammar (350 BC) seeks to provide a complete maximally concise and theoretically consistent analysis of Sanskrit grammatical structure. It was written by Panini, a Sanskrit grammarian who gave a comprehensive and scientific theory of phonetics, phonology, and morphology and is considered the founder of the Sanskrit language and literature. Panini’s grammar is the source of all modern and traditional analysis of Sanskrit and is of great historical and theoretical interest. Modern linguistics acknowledges it as the most complete generative grammar of any language yet written, and continues to adopt technical ideas from it.

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reconciliation was necessitated by the contact of the two languages in the medieval classroom. Very early in the history of Latin instruction schoolmasters realized that the knowledge of grammar of one language may facilitate the learning of another language.

Some traces of this realization can be found in Ælfric's *Grammatica*. The English abbot Aelfric of Eynsham (955 – 1010) wrote his grammar of Latin and English in around 995A.D. It was based on the assumption that the knowledge of grammar of one language facilitates the learning of the other. It was one of the most popular texts of 11th and 12th century England. No other book in Anglo-Saxon has so many copies that survived: complete or partial copies of fourteen manuscripts. Ælfric's grammar is a forerunner of a certain tendency in the writing of both Latin and vernacular grammars to form a single volume. This approach developed gradually and was promoted by various practical and theoretical reasons. Firstly, there was a need to teach Latin in the vernacular tongue. Secondly, the concept of universal grammar attracted growing attention of grammarians and schoolmasters. Universal grammar provided grounds for discovering similarities between vernacular and classical languages. The awareness of these similarities (and consequently of differences) could be used, it was hoped, both to facilitate the learning of Latin through the vernacular and to increase the command of the vernacular languages through Latin. This is how Ælfric stated the purpose of his grammar:

„I have endeavored to translate these extracts from Priscian for you, tender youths, in order that, when you have read through Donatus' eight parts in this little book, you may be able to appropriate the Latin and English languages for the sake of attainment in higher studies”.

Yet, in Ælfric's grammar the emphasis was on Latin, while

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references to English were unsystematic. Even if Ælfric was aware of differences between the two languages, differences between Latin and Old English were not conspicuous enough as both the languages were „synthetic” and could be described in terms of the same grammatical categories.

More than four centuries later, when „the sign theory” began to emerge, the situation had changed radically. By the end of the 15th century English had dropped most of its endings and shifted towards the status of a positional language, in which many grammatical relations were expressed by means of word order and function words. Any attempt to bring the two grammars under one cover was now bound to result in a clash caused by the now conspicuous grammatical differences between Latin and English which had come about in the course of the four centuries. It was no longer possible to equate Latin inflections characterizing particular cases of nouns or tenses of verbs with parallel phenomena in English since Early Modern English lacked inflections, so abundant in Latin and in Old English.

Thus, „the sign theory” was a method of comparing grammatical phenomena in two languages, initially Latin and English, whereby equivalence was established between different grammatical signals on the grounds that they express identical notions. In this way a tacit assumption was made about some *tertium comparationis* as a necessary basis for comparisons. Naturally enough, the crucial notion in „the sign theory” was that of „sign” – a cover term embracing a variety of English function words as expressions of those categories which in Latin were expressed by means of inflections. For instance, the genitive, dative, and accusative were identified by the use of certain English prepositions as the „signs” of the genitive, dative, or accusative. Thus, the „sign

theory” seems to afford by far the earliest explicit evidence we have of the influence of Latin grammar on English speakers’ concept of their own language and is the first important step toward freeing English grammar from Latin [Krzyszowski, 1995].

For many years contrastive studies were practiced and applied in the classroom in a more or less intuitive way, like folk medicine, without much theory and without much explanation. Only at the end of the 19th century the research in CL got a new impetus and the so called traditional period of CL ideas development began which lasted until World War II.

2. Traditional period of contrastive ideas development (end of 19th century until after World War II)

2.1. Benjamin Lee Whorf

Classical contrastive studies are believed to be initiated by American linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897 – 1941) who is remembered for a group of speculative ideas about thought and language that remain controversial but have exerted strong influence on popular scientific thinking.

B.L. Whorf in his article „Language and Logic” (first published in 1941) used the term *contrastive linguistics* to denote a comparative study which emphasizes on linguistic differences. In the aforementioned article, Whorf distinguished between comparative and contrastive linguistics. He claimed that contrastive linguistics is „of even greater importance for the future technology of thought” and he defines it as a discipline which „plots the outstanding differences among tongues – in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience” [Whorf, 1956].

The most famous of his ideas is the so-called Sapir-Whorf

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Hypothesis, derived largely from Whorf's research among Native American tribes. Simply stated, the hypothesis (never laid out as such by its supposed authors) proposed that language is not only a part of culture, influenced by the groups of human beings who construct it, but also an influence on culture and thought. Human beings, Whorf believed, see the world in the ways they do because of the structure of the languages they speak. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis might be considered part of a larger group of ideas classified as examples of linguistic relativism, or the belief that languages are different at a fundamental level. That belief has come under attack in recent decades, but Whorf's ideas have given birth to a rich literature of popular writing about language. His ideas, for the most part, became well known only after his death.

E. Sapir and B. Whorf¹² were by no means the initiators of the notion of linguistic relativity. The idea that the language system shapes the thinking of its speakers was first formulated by the German philosophers J.G. Herder (1744 – 1803) and W. von Humboldt (1767 – 1835). The latter developed the philosophy of language that influenced linguistics. He felt that the subject matter of linguistics should reveal the role of language in forming ideas. That is to say, if language forms ideas, it also plays a role in shaping the attitudes of individuals. Hence, individuals speaking different languages must have different world views.

Benjamin Whorf argued that language structures experience. Perhaps more accurately stated, his position was that different



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languages structure experience differently. What made his argument so provocative was its contrast with the positions of early 20th century structural linguists (like de Saussure), for whom the experience was a point of origin in their quest for an elusive universal language. Rather than seeking similarities and differences in „the facts,“ Whorf suggests comparing how experiences are referred to within the confines of distinct languages. The implication here is that the more languages one knows, the less confined one becomes to a single way of experiencing one’s world. In this sense, Whorf’s writing career can be understood as a project of emancipating his readers from the confines of monolingualism.

2.2. The Prague Linguistic Circle

The Prague Linguistic Circle came into being and properly started its activity in 1926¹³. It represented an important moment in the development of phonology, structuralism and linguistics in general and it prepared the grounds for research and the subsequent evolution of linguistics. Pieter Seuren claims that the first origins of the Prague School lie with Anton Marty (1847 – 1914), professor of philosophy at Prague and disciple of the German phenomenologist philosopher Franz Clemens Brentano (1838 – 1917). A. Marty was not a linguist, but as a philosopher he took part in the subject-predicate debate that was going on around the turn of the century. In various writings he maintains that no matter what differences can be posited between grammatical and semantic structure, it is misleading



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to apply the terms *subject* and *predicate* to both levels of analysis. Everything semantic is psychological not logical. The grammatical form of a sentence expresses not only its abstract propositional meaning but also its less abstract linguistic meaning or *inner form*, which corresponds to surface structure and intonation and is determined by the way the propositional meaning is to be integrated into running discourse. The terms *subject* and *predicate* are most appropriately used at the *inner form* level, since what defines a predicate is the attribution of a property to something which is the subject, and this mental act is achieved when new information is added to what is already there in the discourse [Seuren 1996].

Marty's ideas about *inner form* as discourse-bound mode of presentation were taken up and developed further by the Czech scholar Vilém Mathesius (1882 – 1945)¹⁴, who was to become an important member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. In 1911 he independently of and without having any connection with Ferdinand de Saussure, predicted the synchronic study of language. Actually, the forerunners of The Prague Linguistic Circle had been Ferdinand de Saussure's „Course in General Linguistics” and the Moscow Linguistic Circle, founded in 1915. Due to historical events which occurred in Russia (the 1917 October Revolution) the members of the Moscow Linguistic Circle were forced to leave the country and to continue their activity elsewhere. Roman Jakobson (1896 – 1982)¹⁵



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¹⁴ R. Jakobson was born in Moscow, son of a prominent Jewish industrialist and chemical engineer. During his school days he developed an intense interest in modern poetry, especially the experimental poetry current in Russian literature at

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and Nicholay Serghey Trubetzkoy (1890 – 1938)¹⁶ fled to Czechoslovakia, where they joined The Prague Linguistic Circle. Besides the scholars of Russian origin The Prague Linguistic Circle counted among its founding members personalities such as already mentioned Vilém Mathésius, Seghey Karcévsky (1884 – 1955), Jan Mukarovsky (1891 – 1975). In 1930s younger members joined the circle: René Wellek (1903 – 1995) and Felix Vodicka (1909 – 1974).

the beginning of the century. The study of phonological elements in poetic structures led him to the linguistic study of speech sounds and of language in general. He was instrumental in founding the Moscow Linguistic Circle in 1915, of which he became president, as he was instrumental later, together with Mathesius, in founding the Prague Linguistic Circle, of which he became Vice-President. In 1920 he decided to leave Russia and join the Russian expatriates in Prague, where he took his PhD in 1930. He stayed in Prague till 1939, when the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia made his further stay in Czechoslovakia ill-advised. Through Denmark and Norway he fled to Sweden, from where he migrated to the United States in 1941. After a couple of teaching positions in New York he was offered the chair of Slavonic languages and literatures at Harvard in 1949, which he combined with the position of Institute Professor at MIT from 1957 on. He died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in July 1982, at the age of 85, a celebrated figure both in linguistics and in the field of literary studies.

¹⁶ N. Trubetzkoy was born in Moscow into a noble Russian family with a long tradition in politics, the military, the arts and in scholarship. His father, Prince Sergei Trubetzkoy, was professor of philosophy and rector of Moscow University. The young Prince Trubetzkoy studied Sanskrit and historical linguistics at Moscow University, and later at Leipzig, where he was taught by Young Grammarians (and found himself in one class with Leonard Bloomfield and Lucien Tesniere). When the October Revolution began to rage he was compelled to flee from Russia. After various professorships here and there in Eastern Europe, he accepted the chair of Slavonic philology at Vienna University, where he stayed till his untimely death in 1938. In 1928 Mathesius invited him to become a member of the newly formed Prague Linguistic Circle, which led to a renewal of his contacts with Jakobson, whom he knew from their Moscow days. His most notable contribution to phonology is his uncompleted and posthumously published general introduction to phonology.

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Many visitors among whom Emile Benveniste (1902 – 1976) had the opportunity of presenting papers in the circle.

The circle brought together scholars who wrote and published their papers in German, French, Russian and Czech. They had the same preoccupations and interests without using the same language. Thus an important aspect in the activity of the circle was its multilingualism. The fact that the Prague Linguistic Circle benefited from the former activity of the Moscow Linguistic Circle and inherited the legacy left in the field of language by Ferdinand de Saussure turned The Circle into one of the most influential, multilingual and important schools of linguistics before the war. In 1928, at the first International Congress of Linguistics organized in The Hague, the Prague participants presented the Prague Circle program drafted by Roman Jakobson and co-signed by Nicholay Trubetzkoy and Seghey Karcévsky.

The hallmark of Prague linguistics was that it saw the language in terms of function. Prague linguists looked at language as one might look at motor, seeking to understand what jobs the various components do and how the nature on one component determines the nature of others.

Vilém Mathésius was one of the first scholars to perceive that synchrony is not identical with static rigidity but that, even if viewed synchronically, language is always „in a state of flux”. Joseph Vachek states that

„there is another branch of linguistic research which can claim to have Mathésius as its forerunner, if not initiator, and that is the branch now termed contrastive linguistics” [p.6, Vachek 1980].

Mathésius himself used somewhat different terminology. He called his method analytical comparison and the result obtained by it

he called „linguistic characterology”. It should be added that Mathésius’ Czeck and Slovak followers denote the method as „confrontational” because in their view the term „contrastive” appears to put excessive emphasis on the differences of the compared language systems, while the term used by themselves implies an analysis taking into consideration both the differences and the correspondences of the said systems.

Mathésius’ arguments draw a distinctive line between linguistic characterology and descriptive grammar¹⁷:

„If it is the task of descriptive grammar to give a complete inventory of all formal and functional elements existing in a given language at a given stage of its development, linguistic characterology deals only with the important and fundamental features of a given language at a given point of time, analyses them on the basis of general linguistics, and tries to ascertain relations between them” [Матезиус, 1989, с. 18].

He emphasized that comparison of languages of different types

„irrespective of their genetic relations, is most valuable for any research in linguistic characterology as it contributes to the proper understanding of the nature of the lingual phenomena under study”.

As a basis of comparative analysis Mathésius recommends mainly the study of the ways in which „common grammatical functions are expressed”. This functional basis of contrastive

¹⁷ A descriptive grammar looks at the way a language is actually used by its speakers and then attempts to analyze it and formulate rules about the structure. Descriptive grammar does not deal with what is good or bad language use. It can be compared with a prescriptive grammar, which is a set of rules based on how people think language should be used. E.g., a descriptive grammar might include “He goes...” meaning “He said”.

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research is of fundamental importance because it guarantees the highest possible degree of objectivity in dealing with language materials. Since the communicative needs can be regarded as roughly identical in the communities using the compared languages, one can treat them as a safe background against which the characteristic differences of the compared languages will distinctly stand out. Without such a firm functionalist basis the contrastive comparison might lose its way in a purely subjective selection of the items to be compared, and the results might then be of doubtful value.

Mathésius' ideas were incorporated into the Circle's Collective theses which were presented to the first International Congress of Slavists held in Prague in 1929. They were formulated by Mathésius on the basis of his earlier proposition presented at the Hague. He emphasized that there are mainly two lines of development leading to the establishment of linguistic characterology. One goes back to Humboldt. The other is more practical and is oriented towards stylistic instruction pointing out the characteristic features of a foreign language for the use of native learners of it.

In his essay „On Linguistic Characterology” (first published in 1929 [Mathesius, 1929] and translated into Russian in 1989 [Матезиус 1989]) Mathesius remarked that

“a closer examination of sentences from the viewpoint of assertiveness shows an overwhelming majority of all sentences to contain two basic content elements: a statement and an element about which the statement is made.” [Матезиус 1989].

The element was „the basis of the utterance or the Theme” and the statement was „the nucleus of the utterance or the Rheme”. He further invited readers' attention to the fact that the basis of the utterance (the Theme) is often called the psychological subject and the nucleus (the Rheme) the psychological predicate. This division

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was very important. It disclosed the fact that besides the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate there were other subjects which stood out on the basis of their functions in the communication.

Mathésius produces evidence for an important difference that can be found between Modern English, on the one hand and modern Slavonic languages (including Czech) on the other, concerning the different functions of the grammatical subject of these two types of languages. While in Modern Czech it denotes, essentially, the doer of the action (as in ancient Indo-European languages) in Modern English its function has been altered into one denoting the theme of an utterance (in terminology of some scholars, the topic, as opposed to the comment). In Mathésius' opinion this alteration accounts for the frequent use in Modern English of the passive voice as opposed to active found in comparable sentences in Modern Czech.

According to Mathesius, Theme is the segment „that is being spoken about in the sentence”. Mathesius elaborates further by stating: “...an overwhelming majority of all sentences contain two basic elements: a statement and an element about which the statement is made”: the element about which the statement, or Rheme, is made is the Theme. Thus, Mathesius developed his theory of „functional sentence perspective expressed”. After his death in 1945 these ideas were taken up and further developed by others. The most prominent among these are Petr Sgall (born 1926) and Eva Hajičova (born 1935) who kept the Prague School going against all odds under the communist regime, and succeeded in officially reviving The Prague Linguistic Circle in November 1992, three years after the downfall of communism.



PART 4. SAPIR'S AND WHORF'S VIEWS ON LANGUAGE



Edward Sapir



Benjamin Whorf

(Excerpts from the article: Basel Al-Sheikh Hussein. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis Today / Basel Al-Sheikh Hussein // Theory and Practice in Language Studies. – Vol. 2. – No. 3. – P. 642 – 646. – [Electronic resource]. – Mode of access: <http://ojs.academypublisher.com/index.php/tpls/article/viewFile/tpls0203642646/4439>)

A. Sapir

For Sapir, language does not reflect reality but actually shapes it to a large extent. Thus, he recognizes the objective nature of reality; but since the perception of reality is influenced by our linguistic habits, it follows that language plays an active role in the process of cognition. Sapir's linguistic relativity hypothesis can be stated as follows:

- a) the language we speak and think in shapes the way we perceive the world;
- b) the existence of the various language systems implies that the people who think in these different languages must perceive the world differently.

The idea that a given language shapes reality resembles

Humboldt's idea of the world view inherent in every language. Sapir was acquainted with Humboldt's views, but his ideas on the role of language in the process of cognition were not genetically linked with Humboldt's opinions. Sapir's reflections on language were based on empirically verifiable data resulting from his own work on American Indian languages. Sapir realized that there is a close relationship between language and culture so that the one cannot be understood and appreciated without knowledge of the other. Sapir's views on the relationship between language and culture are clearly expressed in the following passage taken from his book „Language“:

„Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the „real world“ is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.“

B. Whorf

The formulation of the linguistic relativity, for which Whorf is famous, was the result of his prolonged study of the Hopi language (an American Indian language). His first attempts at interpreting the Hopi grammar according to the usual Indo-European categories were abandoned when they produced unexplainable irregularities. The linguistic structures that he found were very different from those of

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his mother tongue, English. Whorf argues that this implies a different way of thinking. Since thought is expressed through language, it follows that a differently structured language must pattern thought along its lines, thus influencing perception. Consequently, a Hopi speaker who perceives the world through the medium of his language must see reality accordingly. Whorf's formulation of the linguistic relativity hypothesis is more radical than Sapir's but it is the one that is referred to as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This hypothesis is not homogeneous as its name would indicate. Sapir did not doubt the existence of an objective world. He said that human beings do not live in the objective world alone, but that the real world is, to a large extent, unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. Whorf stated that the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by the linguistic system in our minds. This would seem to make the objective world into something totally subjective for Whorf.

Whorf extended his master's (Sapir's) ideas, and went much further than saying that there was a „predisposition“; in Whorf's view, the relationship between language and culture was a deterministic one. The strongest Whorf's statement concerning his ideas is that the -background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly, between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find

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there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees. Even though Whorf's view is a deterministic one, he does not claim that a language completely determines the worldview of its speakers; he states that

“This fact [the close relationship between language and its speakers, world-view] is very significant for modern science, for it means that no individual is free to describe nature with absolute impartiality but is constrained to certain modes of interpretation even while he thinks himself most free. The person most nearly free in such respects would be a linguist familiar with very many widely different linguistic systems. As yet no linguist is in such position. We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated”.

Different speakers, then, view the world differently, and even sophisticated linguists aware of structural differences between languages cannot see the world as it is without the screen of language. Kinds of claims that the Sapir – Whorf hypothesis makes are: if speakers of one language have certain words to describe things and speakers of another language lack similar words, then speakers

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of the first language will find it easier to talk about those things. This is the case if we consider the technical terms used in different sciences; for instance, physicians talk easily about medical phenomena, more than anyone else. A stronger claim is that, if one language makes distinctions that another does not make, then those who use the first language will more readily perceive the differences in their environment which such linguistic distinctions draw attention to.

The application of Whorf's views to the area of grammar makes his claims stronger, since classification systems that belong to gender, number, time, are both more subtle and more pervasive. The effect of such grammatical systems is stronger on language users than vocabulary differences alone. The strongest claim of all is that the grammatical categories available in a particular language not only help the users of that language to perceive the world in a certain way but also at the same time limit such perception. You perceive only what your language allows you, or predispose you, to perceive. Your language controls your worldview. Speakers of different languages will, therefore, have different world-views.

Whorf acquired his views about the relationship between language and the world through his work as a fire prevention engineer, and through his work, as Sapir's student, on American Indian languages, especially on the Hopi language of New Mexico. Whorf found through his work as a fire prevention engineer that English speakers used the words *full* and *empty* in describing gasoline drums in relation to their liquid content alone; so, they smoked beside *empty* gasoline drums, which weren't actually *empty* but *full* of gas vapor. Whorf was led by this and other examples to the conclusion that

„The cue to a certain line of behavior is often given by the

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analogies of the linguistic formula in which the situation is spoken of, and by which to some degree it is analyzed, classified, and allotted its place in that world which is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group."

The real work that led Whorf to make his strongest claims was his involvement in American Languages, in particular his contrastive studies on the Hopi Indian Language. He contrasted the Hopi linguistic structure with that of English, French, and German. Whorf found that these languages share many structural features that he named Standard Average European (SAE). Whorf, then, came to the conclusion that Hopi and SAE differ widely in their structural characteristics.

For example, Hopi grammatical categories provide a „process” orientation toward the world, Whereas the categories in SAE give SAE speakers a fixed orientation toward time and space so that they not only „objectify” reality in certain ways but even distinguish between things that must be counted, e.g., *trees, hills, and sparks*, and those that need not be counted, e.g., *water, fire, and courage*. In SAE „events occur”, „have occurred”, or „will occur”, in a definite time; i.e., present, past, or future; to speakers of Hopi, what is important is whether an event can be warranted to have occurred, or to be occurring, or to be expected to occur.

Whorf believed that these differences lead speakers of Hopi and SAE to view the world differently. The Hopi see the world as essentially an ongoing set of processes; objects and events are not discrete and countable; and time is not apportioned into fixed segments so that certain things recur, e.g., minutes, mornings, and days. In contrast, speakers of SAE regard nearly everything in their world as discrete, measurable, countable, and recurrent; time and

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space do not flow into each other; sparks and flames are things like pens and pencils; mornings recur in twenty-four hour cycles, and past, present, and future are every bit as real as sex differences. The different languages have different obligatory grammatical categories so that every time a speaker of Hopi or SAE says something, he or she must make certain observation about how the world is structured because of the structure of the language each speaks.

In this view, then, language provides a screen or filter to reality; it determines how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the natural world and the social world. Consequently, the language you speak helps to form your world-view. It defines your experience for you; you do not use it simply to report that experience. It is neutral but gets in the way, imposing habits of both looking and thinking.

Those who find the Whorfian hypothesis attractive argue that the language a person speaks affects that person's relationship to the external world in one or more ways. If language A has a word for a particular concept, then that word makes it easier for speakers of language A to refer to that concept than speakers of language B, who lack such a word and are forced to use a circumlocution. Moreover, it is actually easier for speakers of language A to perceive instances of the concept. If a language requires certain distinctions to be made because of its grammatical system, then the speakers of that language become conscious of the kinds of distinctions that must be referred to; for example, sex, time, number, and animacy. These kinds of distinctions may also have an effect on how speakers learn to deal with the world, i.e., they can have consequences for both cognitive and cultural development. Boas (1911) long ago pointed out that there was no necessary connection between language and culture or between language and race. People with very different cultures speak

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languages with many of the same structural characteristics, e.g., Hungarians, Finns, and the Samoyeds of northern Siberia; and people who speak languages with very different structures often share much the same culture, e.g., Germans and Hungarians, or many people in southern India, or the widespread Islamic culture. Moreover, we can also dismiss any claim that certain types of languages can be associated with „advanced” cultures and that others are indicative of cultures that are less advanced. As Sapir himself observed on this last point:

„When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting Savage of Assam”.

When he published three papers in MIT's *Technology Review* in 1940 and 1941, Whorf became for the first time a name known to the general public. He had no time to build on his growing renown, however, for he succumbed to cancer at the age of 44 on July 26, 1941, at his home in Wethersfield, Connecticut. By the mid-1950s a *New York Times* reviewer could refer to Whorf's ideas as accepted and generally valid, writing that "As Benjamin Whorf's work ... has now made the reading public aware, all languages are loaded with implicit and often conflicting philosophies." The growth of the linguistic ideas of Noam Chomsky, however, dented Whorf's reputation, as linguists discovered common mental structures and learning processes that underlay all languages and their acquisition.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, Whorf's ideas experienced a resurgence (documented in a 1992 article in *Scientific American* magazine entitled *New Whorf in Whorf: An Old Language Theory Regains Its Authority*). The widely read books of linguist George Lakoff, showing the preconceptions embedded in a culture's use of metaphor, owe something to Whorf conceptually. And the

rapid disappearance of many of the world's languages as the new millennium began was of great concern to linguists for reasons Whorf himself might have articulated: when a language is lost, a way of looking at the world, unique and interrelated and irreplaceable, is lost with it, and lost forever.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

(Adapted from the book *The Act of Writing* by Daniel Chandler –
Mode of access: <http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/short/whorf.html>)

Within linguistic theory, two extreme positions concerning the relationship between language and thought are commonly referred to as 'mould theories' and 'cloak theories'. *Mould theories* represent language as 'a mould in terms of which thought categories are cast' (Bruner et al. 1956, p. 11). *Cloak theories* represent the view that 'language is a cloak conforming to the customary categories of thought of its speakers' (ibid.). The doctrine that language is the 'dress of thought' was fundamental in Neo-Classical literary theory (Abrams 1953, p. 290), but was rejected by the Romantics (ibid.; Stone 1967, Ch. 5). There is also a related view (held by behaviourists, for instance) that language and thought are *identical*. According to this stance thinking is entirely linguistic: there is no 'non-verbal thought', no 'translation' at all from thought to language. In this sense, thought is seen as completely determined by language.

The Sapir-Whorf theory, named after the American linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, is a *mould* theory of language. Writing in 1929, Sapir argued in a classic passage that:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood,

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but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (Sapir 1958 [1929], p. 69).

This position was extended in the 1930s by his student Whorf, who, in another widely cited passage, declared that:

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds - and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way - an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by

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subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees. (Whorf 1940, pp. 213-14).

I will not attempt to untangle the details of the personal standpoints of Sapir and Whorf on the degree of determinism which they felt was involved, although I think that the above extracts give a fair idea of what these were. I should note that Whorf distanced himself from the behaviourist stance that thinking is entirely linguistic (Whorf 1956, p. 66). In its most extreme version 'the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis' can be described as consisting of two associated principles. According to the first, *linguistic determinism*, our thinking is determined by language. According to the second, *linguistic relativity*, people who speak different languages perceive and think about the world quite differently.

On this basis, the Whorfian perspective is that translation between one language and another is at the very least, problematic, and sometimes impossible. Some commentators also apply this to the 'translation' of un verbalized thought into language. Others suggest that even within a single language *any* reformulation of words has implications for meaning, however subtle. George Steiner (1975) has argued that *any* act of human communication can be seen as involving a kind of translation, so the potential scope of Whorfianism is very broad indeed. Indeed, seeing reading as a kind of translation is a useful reminder of the reductionism of representing textual reformulation simply as a determinate 'change of meaning', since meaning does not reside *in* the text, but is generated by *interpretation*. According to the Whorfian stance, 'content' is bound up with linguistic 'form', and the use of the medium contributes to shaping the meaning. In common usage, we often talk of different verbal formulations 'meaning the same thing'. But for those of a Whorfian persuasion, such as the literary theorist Stanley

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Fish, 'it is impossible to mean the same thing in two (or more) different ways' (Fish 1980, p. 32). *Reformulating* something *transforms* the ways in which meanings may be made with it, and in this sense, form and content are inseparable. From this stance words are not merely the 'dress' of thought.

The importance of what is 'lost in translation' varies, of course. The issue is usually considered most important in literary writing. It is illuminating to note how one poet felt about the translation of his poems from the original Spanish into other European languages (Whorf himself did not in fact regard European languages as significantly different from each other). Pablo Neruda noted that the best translations of his own poems were Italian (because of its similarities to Spanish), but that English and French 'do not correspond to Spanish - neither in vocalization, or in the placement, or the colour, or the weight of words.' He continued: 'It is not a question of interpretative equivalence: no, the sense can be right, but this correctness of translation, of meaning, can be the destruction of a poem. In many of the translations into French - I don't say in all of them - my poetry escapes, nothing remains; one cannot protest because it says the same thing that one has written. But it is obvious that if I had been a French poet, I would not have said what I did in that poem, because the value of the words is so different. I would have written something else' (Plimpton 1981, p. 63). With more 'pragmatic' or less 'expressive' writing, meanings are typically regarded as less dependent on the particular form of words used. In most pragmatic contexts, paraphrases or translations tend to be treated as less fundamentally problematic. However, even in such contexts, particular words or phrases which have an important function in the original language may be acknowledged to present special problems in translation. Even outside the humanities,

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academic texts concerned with the social sciences are a case in point. The Whorfian perspective is in strong contrast to the extreme *universalism* of those who adopt the *cloak* theory. The Neo-Classical idea of language as simply the dress of thought is based on the assumption that the same thought can be expressed in a variety of ways. Universalists argue that we can say whatever we want to say in any language, and that whatever we say in one language can always be translated into another. This is the basis for the most common refutation of Whorfianism. 'The fact is,' insists the philosopher Karl Popper, 'that even totally different languages are not untranslatable' (Popper 1970, p. 56). The evasive use here of 'not untranslatable' is ironic. Most universalists do acknowledge that translation may on occasions involve a certain amount of circumlocution.

Individuals who regard writing as fundamental to their sense of personal and professional identity may experience their written style as inseparable from this identity, and insofar as writers are 'attached to their words', they may favour a Whorfian perspective. And it would be hardly surprising if individual stances towards Whorfianism were not influenced by allegiances to Romanticism or Classicism, or towards either the arts or the sciences. As I have pointed out, in the context of the written word, the 'untranslatability' claim is generally regarded as strongest in the arts and weakest in the case of formal scientific papers (although rhetorical studies have increasingly blurred any clear distinctions). And within the literary domain, 'untranslatability' was favoured by Romantic literary theorists, for whom the connotative, emotional or personal meanings of words were crucial (see Stone 1967, pp. 126-7, 132, 145).

Whilst few linguists would accept the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in its 'strong', extreme or deterministic form, many now accept a 'weak', more moderate, or limited Whorfianism, namely that the

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ways in which we see the world may be *influenced* by the kind of language we use. *Moderate Whorfianism* differs from extreme Whorfianism in these ways:

- the emphasis is on the potential for thinking to be 'influenced' rather than unavoidably 'determined' by language;
- it is a two-way process, so that 'the kind of language we use' is also influenced by 'the way we see the world'; any influence is ascribed not to 'Language' as such or to one language compared with another, but to the use *within a language* of one variety rather than another (typically a *sociolect* - the language used primarily by members of a particular social group);
- emphasis is given to the social context of language use rather than to purely linguistic considerations, such as the social pressure in particular contexts to use language in one way rather than another.

Of course, some polemicists still favour the notion of language as a *strait-jacket* or *prison*, but there is a broad academic consensus favouring moderate Whorfianism. Any linguistic influence is now generally considered to be related not primarily to the formal systemic structures of a language (*langue* to use de Saussure's term) but to cultural conventions and individual styles of use (or *parole*). Meaning does not reside *in* a text but arises in its interpretation, and interpretation is shaped by sociocultural contexts. Conventions regarding what are considered appropriate uses of language in particular social contexts exist both in 'everyday' uses of language and in specialist usage. In academia, there are general conventions as well as particular ones in each disciplinary and methodological context. In every subculture, the dominant conventions regarding appropriate usage tend to exert a conservative influence on the framing of phenomena. From the media theory perspective, the

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sociolects of sub-cultures and the *idiolects* of individuals represent a subtly selective view of the world: tending to *support* certain kinds of observations and interpretations and to *restrict* others. And this transformative power goes largely unnoticed, retreating to transparency.

Marshall McLuhan argued in books such as *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) and *Understanding Media* (1964) that the use of new media was the prime cause of fundamental changes in society and the human psyche. The technological determinism of his stance can be seen as an application of extreme Whorfianism to the nature of media in general. Similarly, the extreme universalism of the cloak theorists has its media counterpart in the myth of *technological neutrality* (Winner 1977; Bowers 1988). My own approach involves exploring the applicability of moderate Whorfianism to the use of media.

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PART 5. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRAGUE SCHOOL TO THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE

**Excerpts from the article by Crina Herțeg. – [Electronic resource]. –
Mode of access: [http://www.uab.ro/reviste_recunoscute/
philologica/philologica_2003_tom2/59.herteg_crina.pdf](http://www.uab.ro/reviste_recunoscute/philologica/philologica_2003_tom2/59.herteg_crina.pdf)**

The Prague Linguistic Circle represented an important moment in the development of phonology, structuralism and linguistics in general and it prepared the grounds for research and the subsequent evolution of linguistics. It came into being and properly started its activity in 1926, the official year of its members' first meeting and the „so-called” classical period in the activity of the circle. However, its members' earlier preoccupations and research in the field of language and their first irregular meetings should not be left aside. These supplied material for the papers and works which were later written and published by the members of the Prague School and represented the foundations on which further research was built. The circle's roots can be dated back as far as 1911 when Vilém Mathésius, who was to become an important member of the circle, independently of and without having any connection with Ferdinand de Saussure, predicted the synchronic study of language. The preoccupations and the research of its members did not emerge out of nothing, they set out with a solid foundation behind them. The forerunners of The Prague Linguistic Circle had been Ferdinand de Saussure's „Course in General Linguistics” and the Moscow Linguistic Circle, founded in 1915. The members of the Moscow Linguistics Circle were interested in and also dealt with problems

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regarding language and linguistics. The sources on which its members' studies were based were Ferdinand de Saussure's and Baudouin de Courtenay's works. Due to historical background and events which occurred there (The October Revolution from Russia) the members of the Moscow Linguistic Circle were forced to leave Russia and to continue their activity elsewhere. Roman Jakobson and Nicholay Serghey Trubetzkoy fled to Czechoslovakia, where they joined The Prague Linguistic Circle. Besides the scholars of Russian origin The Prague Linguistic Circle also counted among its founding members personalities such as Vilém Mathésius, Seghey Karcévsky, Jan Mukarovsky. In 1930s younger members joined the circle: René Wellek and Felix Vodicka and many visitors among whom Emile Benveniste had the opportunity of presenting papers in the circle. The circle united scholars who wrote and published their papers in German, French, Russian and Czech. They had the same preoccupations and interests without creating in and without using the same language. Up to that point mention should be made upon an important aspect in the activity of the circle, namely its multilingualism. Moreover not only did The Prague Linguistic Circle benefit from the former activity of the Moscow Linguistic Circle but it also inherited the legacy left in the field of language by Ferdinand de Saussure. All these turned The Prague Linguistic Circle into one of the most influential, multilingual and important schools of linguistics before the war. In 1928, at the first International Congress of Linguistics organized in The Hague, the Prague participants presented the Prague Circle program drafted by Roman Jakobson and co-signed by Nicholay Serghey Trubetzkoy and Seghey Karcévsky.

A year later, in 1929 at The First International Congress of Slavists held in Prague, the Prague scholars launched "Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague" where they recorded and published

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the results of their efforts. The first volume of “Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague”, volume entitled “Thèses du Cercle Linguistique de Prague” sets out the principles of the new linguistics, a structural linguistics.

The war broke out with the consequences it brought about. One of the consequences was the nonstimulating intellectual background, the lack of intellectual incentives the Czech universities being closed by the Nazis. The members of the circle had time to make public their ideas and their program but after the outbreak of the war the circle could not properly continue its activity and toned it down. They continued to meet in private places until 1945 when they could publicly resume their activities. By this time they had already lost some important members either due to natural death, Nicholay Serghey Trubetzkoy and Vilem Mathesius or due to exile, Roman Jakobson who had fled to the United States of America. However, even with the interruptions caused by the war, there was not any area of language to remain unexploited by the members of The Prague Linguistic Circle.

As regards linguistics, the members of the circle laid down as the basis for further research, important concepts and theories such as the approach to the study of language as a synchronic system, the functionality of elements of language and the importance of the social function of language. In the field of linguistics they were greatly influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure and by his incipient structuralism. Structuralism is unanimously believed to have appeared in 1916 when Ferdinand de Saussure's „Course in General Linguistics” was published and Ferdinand de Saussure is considered father of structuralism. He left a legacy, which greatly influenced linguistics in general and the first to be influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure were the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle. It is The

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Prague School by its exceptionally prolific scholar, Roman Jakobson, who is responsible for coining the term structuralism in 1929. One can detect in the earlier works of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Baudouin de Courtenay much of Ferdinand de Saussure's theory.

Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralism is to be found in his two dichotomies: *langue*/vs/*parole* and *form*/vs/*substance*. By *langue* Saussure understands the totality of regularities and patterns of formation that underlie the utterances of a language while *parole* represents language behaviour. This is what Wilhelm von Humboldt and Baudouin de Courtenay referred to and when they made the distinction between inner and outer form.

The Prague members approached language systematically and structurally and they defined language as a system of signs.

In studying language the Prague scholars took into account and attached a great importance to external factors (political, social and geographical factors). A strong emphasis was laid on the functions of language and this emphasis included both the function of language in the act of communication and the role of language in society. Linguists of the Prague Circle stressed the function of elements within language, the contrast of language elements to one another and the total pattern or system formed by these contrasts and they have distinguished themselves in the study of sound system. Prague structuralism is functionalistic. Functionalism represents approaching language from the perspective of the functions performed by it. The Prague School becomes famous for its interest in the application of functionalism, the study of how elements of a language accomplish cognition, expression and conation. This combination of structuralism with functionalism is yet another contribution to modern linguistics. Starting from Karl Buhler's tripartite system (emotive, conative and referential), Roman Jakobson was to develop

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a model of the functions of language, model which, has marked a decisive influence on literary theory.

Another distinction made by F. de Saussure and adopted by the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle is synchrony – diachrony. Ferdinand de Saussure made the distinction between diachronic and synchronic linguistics, he maintained that whereas synchronic linguistics should deal with the structure of a language at a given point in time, diachronic linguistics should be concerned with the historical development of isolated elements. To support this distinction, he argued that in the language system there are only differences without positive terms and every element derives its identity from its distinction to other elements in the same system. What the members of The Prague Linguistic Circle did was that they tried to reconcile Ferdinand de Saussure`s opposition of synchrony and diachrony. In supporting this Vilém Mathésius pointed out the positive and negative aspects of descriptive and historical research and Roman Jakobson taking into account Saussure`s theory stated that Saussure tried to suppress the tie between the system of a language and its modifications by considering the system as exclusively belonging to synchrony and assigning modifications to the sphere of diachrony alone. Moreover Jakobson showed that, as indicated in the different social sciences, the concepts of a system and its change are not only compatible but also indissolubly tied. The Prague School is basically associated with its phonology, with its phonologically relevant functions: expressive and demarcative and with the theory of oppositions which its members (Trubetzkoy) provided linguistics with. In fact, the distinction between phonetics and phonology is associated with The Prague Linguistic Circle. In the field of phonology two members of the circle stand out: Roman Jakobson and Nicholay Serghey Trubetzkoy, both of Russian origin

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and both former members of the Moscow Linguistic Circle. The circle's preoccupations in phonetics and phonology date from the outset of its coming into being. At the International Congress of Linguistics, held in 1928, the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle presented the famous Proposition 22, which became the manifesto of the circle. This program of the Prague Linguistic Circle changed the development of the European linguistics and marked the beginning of a new science – phonology. This new science operates with concepts, which are to become important for analytical grammar: opposition, synchrony, diachrony, marked, unmarked. Phonology represented yet another contribution brought by the Prague Linguistic Circle. It introduced new concepts, which were further inherited by linguists and linguistics.

As it is conceived by the members of the circle, phonology has the following tasks: to identify the characteristics of particular phonological systems in terms of the language particular range of significant differences among “acoustico-motor images”; to specify the types of differences that can be found in general; to formulate laws governing the relations of these correlations to one another within particular phonological systems; to found phonetic studies on acoustic rather than articulatory basis. Trubetzkoy chiefly contributed to phonology and phonological theory. He signed the birth certificate of functional phonology, he made the distinction between phonetics and phonology by taking into account the criterion of function and he also formulated the principles of phonology. It is also Trubetzkoy who provided the school's most encompassing and thorough work on phonology: „Principles of Phonology”. In separating phonetics from phonology and phoneme from sound, Trubetzkoy adopted Ferdinand de Saussure's distinction between langue and parole. Trubetzkoy defined the phoneme as a set

of distinctive features and he linked the concept of neutralization with the distinction marked/unmarked. According to his theory when two phonemes are distinguished by the presence/absence of a single distinctive feature one of them is marked and the other unmarked. Not only is he responsible for coining and circulating concepts of neutralization and archiphoneme, but he also laid stress on the concept of phonological opposition and founded a new theory, the theory of opposition. However, Trubetzkoy did not develop this theory without a solid ground behind him. Once again they turned to Ferdinand de Saussure's „Course in General Linguistics”.

Trubetzkoy did more than Saussure, in analysing oppositions he stated that oppositions suppose a base of comparison, similarity and properties, which are different. It is he who distinguished different types of oppositions, who gave a classification of oppositions and extensive examples of the different oppositions of various languages. Along with Roman Jakobson, Trubetzkoy attached a great importance to the oppositions among phonemes rather than to phonemes themselves. For Roman Jakobson oppositions represent the constitutive features of relations among phonemes. Jakobson initiated the theory of binary oppositions by which he states that the system of linguistic units depends on the idea of difference and the idea of difference depends on binary opposites.

Jakobson's contribution to linguistics and phonetics can be represented by concepts such as: feature, binary, redundancy, universals and by his rich publishing activity. The Prague phonology, concepts and theory did not remain without echo. Its contribution and its manifesto changed the direction of the development of the European phonology. Notions and concepts, developed in Prague phonology such as markedness were subsequently extended to morphology and syntax.

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The most important and valuable contribution of the Prague Linguistic Circle after the war was brought by Vilém Mathésius in the field of syntax namely the distinction, which he made between theme and rheme. He tried to surpass phonology and to study grammar, especially syntax. Vilém Mathésius approached and analysed the sentence from a functional perspective, he stated that the sentence has two parts: the theme and the rheme. By the theme of a sentence is meant the part that refers to what is already known or given in the context while the rheme is the part that conveys new information. Although this contribution represents the school's last efforts to tackle and conquer another area of linguistics, syntax, Mathésius' work and terminology remained unknown and without echo in the world of linguistics.

1948 represents the year when Prague scholars went public for the last time. This is the year when the last lecture of the circle took place. It is also in 1948 when the school's last representative works, Vodicka's monograph "The Beginnings of Czech Artistic Prose" and the three-volume edition of Mukarovsky's selected works "Chapters from Czech Poetics" were published.

The Prague Linguistic Circle greatly contributed to the way linguistics developed, by coining new concepts and theories by providing rich material for the following generations of linguists. Their works and papers are widely consulted nowadays, Trubetzkoy's "Principles of Phonology", Roman Jakobson's "Comments on Phonological Change in Russian Compared with that in Other Slavic Languages" (1929), "Characteristics of the Eurasian Language Affinity" (1931). The Prague School's linguistics, theory and activity influenced and changed the character of the European linguistics. Trubetzkoy's contributions were inherited and further elaborated by André Martinet who founds the functionalist school

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and develops functionalist linguistics. The new concepts and theories, launched by The Prague Linguistic Circle became key concepts in linguistics so happened with the concept of neutralization and the theory of markedness, which were inherited by generative grammar. It anticipated and supported the emergence of new movements in linguistics. Prague scholars provided the first systematic formulation of semiotic structuralism. Semiotics emerged from Prague Linguistic Circle structuralism. The Prague Linguistic Circle members were the first to claim that literary history has to be based on literary theory and the first to develop a comprehensive theory of literary history. Without the Prague School the image of the twentieth century structuralism and linguistics is incomplete both historically and theoretically. They brought innovations and contributions not only to the development of linguistics, but also to the development of phonetics, phonology and syntax.



ADDITIONAL
RESOURCES

PART 6. VILEM MATHESIUS



Excerpts from the article: Nekula M. Vilém Mathesius/ Marek Nekula // Handbook of Pragmatics [Eds. J. Verschueren, J.-O. Östman, J. Blommaert & Ch. Bulcaen]. – Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999. – P. 1–14. – [Electronic resource].

Mode of access:

http://www.bohemicum.de/fileadmin/Downloads/nekula/handbook_of_pragmatics_-_Mathesius.pdf

Historical survey.

Vilém Mathesius (1882 – 1945), founder of the Prague Linguistic Circle (PLC), was a representative of functional linguistics. Independently of de Saussure, he described the principles of function-structural language description in his paper *On the potentiality of language phenomena* (1911). He observes about the limited statistical dispersion of language phenomena, for which values are determined experimentally e.g. in phonetics, that such values always centre around one value, i.e. they show a certain characteristic trend. Therefore, according to Mathesius, the variability of speech is not unlimited. On the basis of many tokens a certain type can thus be discovered (an invariant, in PLC terminology), which covers again other potential tokens. Mathesius thus distinguished between the two forms of language which de Saussure called *langue* and *parole*. The novelty of Mathesius' approach becomes all the more apparent from the fact that Jan Gebauer, his Czech studies teacher at the Czech university in Prague, was a representative of the neo-grammarians school of linguistics.

More of a synchronic approach to language was offered to Mathesius in his course in English Studies at the German University in Prague. There, the predominant tone in humanities was that of Brentano's phenomenological psychology which presupposes the inherent intentionality of human consciousness. Concrete intentional acts are contrasted by their contents, the intersubjectivity of which is secured by their communicability.... This very intersubjectivity and communicability are pragmatic categories, which presuppose a speaking position considerate of the addressee, an intention and its possibilities of signalization, and to a lesser degree a point of view on what is called objective reality. Also inspiring for Mathesius was Brentano's student Masaryk (1885) with the distinction of static and

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dynamic, which Mathesius (1927a) would later approximate to the Saussurean terms of synchrony and diachrony. However, he continued to use the terms static/dynamic, especially in general contexts. Saussurean structuralism was never a dogma for him, and he followed his own path in functional linguistics throughout the life of the Prague Linguistic Circle.

Mathesius was founder of English Studies in Czech university education (he became a professor in 1912). He initiated also the linguistic society that went into history under the name of the Prague Linguistic Circle in 1926 and was editor-in-chief of its periodical *Slovo a slovesnost* (1936). As a professor of English Studies, he wrote about word order in modern English and worked on a history of English literature. His doctoral thesis, *Tainova kritika Shakespeara* (Taine's critique of Shakespeare), was dedicated to literature, and during the first half of his academic life, articles concerned with theory and the history of literature were predominant. However, this historical survey never got beyond Chaucer. A severe eye ailment kept Mathesius from completing it and transferred his interest to present-day Czech and to topics of general linguistics. This consideration of Czech and of its confrontation with English and German brought Mathesius to insist on the synchronic comparison of unrelated languages. This gave rise to the contrastive method, the *tertium comparationis* of which is function or communicative needs in general. The variations in nature, character, and frequency in different languages' uses of means of expression led him to the formulation of what he called linguistic characterology. It is in this that any specific language differs most characteristically from any other. With this concept, Mathesius can be situated into the context of structural typology in the tradition of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Georg von Gabelentz. Working with English as a

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background, Mathesius (1939b) worked out and described for Czech what he called the "functional sentence perspective" (aktuální členění věty), which was later successfully transferred to other languages as well. However, Mathesius' functional linguistics was not restricted to syntax, but became a complex description of language on all levels of language structure, including stylistics and cultivation of language, as well. Functional linguistics in this sense is considered a precursor of text linguistics.

Mathesius acted also as an organizer of academic community life; he was interested in culture in a very broad sense and actively supported a desire to culture, especially on a national basis. Functional linguistics Mathesius' accentuation of living language and, with it, of synchrony, intensified an awareness of functional alternatives in language(s). According to him, the functional interdependence of synchronic phenomena, understood as a complex of coherent facts that condition each other, has the character of an elastic stability (a dynamic system) with different outcomes, in which both the linguistic development of one specific language and its formations, and typologically different languages are reflected.

The starting point of Mathesius' functional linguistics, and of his functional grammar, the final shape of which is known thanks to Vachek, is basically psycholinguistic. According to Mathesius, functional linguistics takes the viewpoint of the speaker. Occasional obstructions and pathological disorders in the course of utterance formation indicate, according to Mathesius, two stages in the preparation of every informative message, on which rest "the systems of all languages": naming and interrelation, matching Marty's (1908) distinction of inner and constructive forms (innere/konstruktive Form). According to Mathesius, functional onomatology deals with naming, and functional syntax with purport, and with the

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interrelating sentence-forming act; these two are linked semantically. This distinction is made for analytic purposes, of course. One and the same linguistic unit can be viewed from both angles; for example, the category of tense has mainly a naming function, the sequence of tenses also one of interrelation. The contribution of functional onomatology lies, among other things, in its distinction of system meaning (conceptual or in a context of; what in analytical language philosophy is called literal meaning) and its concretization (fulfillment) in contexts of speech (i.e. in a context consisting of verbal, non-verbal, and situational components). Another element of Mathesius' conception that points beyond the views expressed in the linguistics of his time is his distinction of four components of meaning: fact-related contents (cognitive: Czech *proutek* means 'small elastic wooden sapling'), symbolic validity (connotations: in Czech, *proutek* is a metaphor for slimmness), emotional assessment (feelings, evaluation), and local flavouring (function-stylistic rating: e.g. familiar, colloquial, terminological, official).

Obviously, functional syntax is not identical with the concept of functional sentence perspective. Still, the concept of functional sentence perspective is present in Mathesius' functional syntax, for within the framework of functional syntax he distinguishes sentence and utterance, and it is the latter that is in the focus of his attention, especially with respect to word order. Discussing the concept of utterance, Mathesius states that "it has its own specific fact-related contents, springs from a specific situation, and always mirrors the speaker's actual view of the reality that he expresses in his speech, and his relation to the listener, whether that is a real or imagined one."

Pragmatics

If the analytic philosophy of language defines pragmatics as the discipline that is concerned with the interrelations between language, reality and action, then Mathesius has had a clear impact on pragmatics in the essay *Speech and actuality*: "...in speech, we do not express actual reality in all its immediacy, but process it under a directive of simplification" (Mathesius 1942). This general comment, variations of which turn up again and again, must not be understood solely as a statement in a neo-Humboldtian tradition. In that tradition, language conveys categories of thought and perception, and for Mathesius it was obvious that chaos and the indistinct outlines of the world are only further aggravated by language. But for Mathesius it is more a question of accentuating the constitutive role of the context in the production and interpretation of linguistic output that is related to it and structures it linguistically (for the role of context for the interpretation of utterances). In his statements about the relation of language and reality, Mathesius does not, of course, work with the terminology of modern analytical philosophy. Nonetheless we find in his work an understanding of those components of language output and speech situation that have been focused on in recent linguistics: context, encyclopedic and situational knowledge, semantic (existential), and pragmatic presuppositions, etc. Thus, with this background one can understand why it would be important for Mathesius to mention that his teacher in grammar school, Čeněk Dušek, was a subscriber to the journal *Mind*. This is a magazine that has been influential in language-analytic philosophy since the beginning of the twentieth century, and which Mathesius, due to his prior experiences, probably referred to during his stays in Oxford and Cambridge in 1908, 1910 and 1912.

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With respect to Mathesius' functional grammar, and to his distinction of naming and interrelation, we can observe that he understood utterance contents propositionally: in the background of referencing, there is, according to Mathesius "the entirety of namings that are present in a given language and, all taken together, constitute its vocabulary, whereas in the background of a sentence-forming act, there are sentence patterns in accordance with which the language shapes all kinds of sentences, and in general everything that somehow deals with sentence construction." (Mathesius 1942: 17) According to Mathesius, the function of sentence-forming interrelations (predication) is an informative message. Mathesius adds: "We can say that in language we have the word in the conceptual meaning and the sentence as an abstract pattern, whereas in speech we have the word as referring to concrete reality and the sentence as concrete utterance." Noteworthy furthermore in this context is Mathesius' conception that mental activity precedes the realization of a concrete utterance. According to Mathesius, the mind is organized in a way that allows the accomplishment of communicative needs (intentions). Thus, the speaker takes a communicative approach (standpoint), simultaneously selectively analyses the situation (or experience) for its segments, correlates these and forms them into a sentence. This anticipates not only the theory of speech acts, but even an interconnection of the theories of speech act and phenomenological theory of intentionality and intentional states, as e.g. Searle practises it. But most importantly, Mathesius gives us a number of impulses for the description of (pragmatically active) means of expressions: e.g. the intensification of the evaluative function with accentuation of the role of context and interaction in the interpretation of language output, or the aspect and its role in politeness, etc.

Text linguistics (functional sentence perspective)

Mathesius' original conception of functional sentence perspective, as it continues to be developed today especially in the work of František Daneš, Jan Firbas and Petr Sgall and others, mainly grew from Mathesius' affinity to spoken language, and from his contrastive approach in finding solutions to linguistic problems. In his interpretations of linguistic phenomena, he started from the text itself, but for making interpretations he also allowed situational context to be taken into account. Mathesius himself (1947: 435f.) derives his interest in the word order of utterances from his own poetic experimentations. His conception of his functional perspective had a precursor in Zubatý who, in 1901, observed that there are "psychological rules" that determine word order, and he even speaks of "psychological subject and predicate". Mathesius found similar thoughts in the work by Philip Wegener, as well. Eventually, even Mathesius' term 'functional sentence perspective' – if read in the light of what we know today – points towards psycholinguistics, with the concept of actualization of certain (lexical) units combined with a certain speech intention. Taking speech intention into consideration, Mathesius by functional sentence perspective understands the speaker's current view of reality as reflected in the arrangement of semantic information about the image of reality in mind and in utterances. Within a sentence, one can distinguish a theme (základ), i.e. the known element (this terminology is specific to Mathesius) and a rheme (jádro), i.e. the new, as yet unknown element. This distinction of meaning is prominent in the word order of Czech sentences. Thus in the utterance *Tatínek už jde!* (*Dad is already going!*), *tatínek* appears as the known information (theme), whereas in the utterance *To jde tatínek!* (*There goes Dad!*) it figures as the new information (rheme). In addition to utterance theme and rheme,

Mathesius assumes a further distinction within them into central and peripheral theme or rheme and mentions transitory components. This thought has been developed by the followers of Firbas with the terms theme proper, diatheme, transit, rheme proper.

Especially for Czech, Mathesius has also staked out 2 main types of functional sentence perspective: a) objective order (from context-embedded to non-context-embedded: *Tatínek už jde!*) b) subjective order (from non-context embedded to context-embedded: *Tatínek už jde!*). The position of words or phrases in the sentence decides, according to Mathesius, together with sentence type and position of centre of intonation, whether they are theme or rheme. Perceptibly, these fundamental types of functional perspective are equally applicable to assertion, question, explanation, wish and exclamatory sentences, and also in initiating sentences. This understanding of the importance of functional perspective for Czech as the crucial principle of Czech word order, as opposed to grammatical and rhythmical principles, convinced Mathesius that Czech does not have a free, but only a shapeable word order.

Stylistics

Mathesius' stylistics must be seen in the context of his functional linguistics. Mathesius (1942) distinguishes: a) the style of the linguistic basis (Czech, German, English), structurally predetermined by the language system, b) the style of an individual author (concrete personality), and c) the style of the functional object (e.g., a confidential vs. an official letter). Moreover, Mathesius speaks of an individual style, referring to the concrete realization of a text - i.e., how means of expression are used (selection, arrangement) with respect to given communicative needs. Functional style, by contrast, is his concept of the ways in which certain means of

expression can be used for a given communicative need; the use of the terms *langue* and *parole*, however, would be contestable here, for functional style is a matter not of system but of usage. The situation as context decides about the choice of an appropriate functional style, and this is determined by language material, speaker personality, and speaker-intended communicative aim (intention). Mathesius understands announcement, proclamation, offer, persuasion, etc., as functional styles, and is close in this to distinctions in terms of the typology of texts according to their dominant illocutionary function. He tries to classify these styles into major types: a) announcement, narration, explanation (assertive), b) persuasion, demand, invitation (directive), c) various types of emotional statements (expressive). Common to all these is - according to Mathesius - the existence of "content". For this reason, the "simple elucidating style" is for Mathesius the basis of any style. In the perspective of the Oxford school, this is of course an inadmissible reduction of all types of speech acts to the constative. Possibly in the spirit of Mathesius' concept of functional linguistics, Bohuslav Havránek (1942) made endeavours in another direction, by distinguishing communicative, practical specialist, theoretical specialist, and aesthetic style. The idea of functional styles has been further developed in the context of Czech linguistics.

Sociolinguistics

Mathesius' comments on the cultivation of language (Mathesius 1932, 1933, etc), the politics of language (Mathesius 1922), and similar topics, can be read in the contexts of both stylistics and sociolinguistics. From a sociolinguistic point of view, Mathesius' observation that no community is socially and linguistically homogenous is of fundamental importance; any

language community is usually a mixture of social dialects and slang (Mathesius 1911). A good knowledge of English in context brought Mathesius to the study of the degree to which linguistic phenomena are bound to social phenomena, and the inclusion of speaker personality into utterance interpretation (Mathesius 1942). He is aware of the attachment of linguistic phenomena to both generation and class (Mathesius 1910). According to Mathesius, in a socially stable community such issues as pronunciation standards are set by the higher classes of society, whereas "social changes in the Czech community impeded the formation of uniform higher classes and of higher forms of social life that could bring forward prestige positions that would determine the direction of language changes." Repeatedly, Mathesius observes the linguistic influence of schooling and of the newly-emerging media, especially radio broadcasting.

Conclusion

Mathesius played a decisive role in the Prague Linguistic Circle. He founded the Circle, anticipated de Saussure's distinction of *langue* and *parole* and, taking into consideration the necessity of scientific communication on an international level, adjusted to de Saussure's terminology. He shaped the Circle and Prague Structuralism not only as far as organization is concerned, but also theoretically, and in a number of ways. His work on linguistic characterology resounded both in typology and in contrastive linguistics. His theory of functional sentence perspective even initiated three schools within the Czech context: those of Jan Firbas, František Daneš, Petr Sgall.

Through his pupils, his theory found its way into international linguistics, as well. In Mathesius' functional approach to linguistics, the concept of function was attributed pivotal significance. This is

evident especially in his functional grammar which is explicitly related to by B. Trnka, another of Mathesius' pupils and fellow scholars. Yet Mathesius' concept of function has shaped Czech linguistics much more deeply. In functional-generative description of language it is innovatively reinterpreted, as well. It is precisely functionalism that seems to find a very special resonance in international linguistics. Through Bohuslav Havránek (1929, 1932, 1942) and his theory of functional styles, the concept of function has - in the context of the Prague Linguistic Circle - even been introduced into stylistics and continues to be maintained in the contexts of functional linguistics and sociolinguistics.

SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. What was the earliest methodological framework associated with contrastive descriptions of two languages?
2. What are the essential issues of „sign theory“?
3. How did B.L. Whorf use the term *contrastive linguistics*?
4. How can you comment on the statement that from the Whorfian perspective translation from one language into another is problematic and sometimes impossible.
5. Do you agree that *any* act of human communication can be seen as involving a kind of translation, so the potential scope of Whorfianism is very broad?
6. What was the hallmark of Prague linguistics and how did it contribute to CL development?
7. What solutions did Mathesius suggest to solve problems of language comparison?

SEMINAR LIBRARY

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- *Paradowsky M. B.* Comparative linguistics and language pedagogy: concise history and rationale / Michal B. Paradowsky // *Multilingualism and Applied Comparative Linguistics*, Vol. 1: Comparative Considerations in Second and Foreign Language Instruction. – Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007. – P. 1 – 18. – Mode of access: http://www.academia.edu/2400983/Comparative_Linguistics_and_Language_Pedagogy_Concise_History_and_Rationale
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- *Vachek J.* Vilem Mathesius as forerunner of contrastive linguistics studies / Joseph Vachek // Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics [Ed. Jacek Fisiak]. – Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University, 1980. – Vol.11. – P.5 – 16.
- *Seuren P.* Western Linguistics: An Historical Introduction / Peter Seuren. – Wiley-Blackwell, 1998. – 588p.
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Lecture 3. History of contrastive studies development: classical and modern period

The third lecture proceeds with the studies of the history of contrastive linguistics. The focus of attention is its main tasks and prominent figures during the classical period and the present stage of development.

1. Pedagogically oriented contrastive studies during the Classical period of CL development (1945 – 1965)
2. Modern period
3. Contrastive linguistics in Ukraine
4. Additional resources

PART 7. ROBERT LADO ON MENTALISTIC THEORY OF LANGUAGE LEARNING.

PART 8. EQUIVALENCE IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AS PRESENTED BY PROF. YU. O. ZHLUKTENKO

5. Seminar questions
6. Seminar library

1. Pedagogically oriented contrastive studies during the Classical period of CL development (1945 – 1965)

It is generally accepted that pedagogically oriented contrastive studies began after the Second World War when the interest in teaching foreign languages increased in the USA. Many linguists were concerned with pedagogically oriented contrastive studies, especially in trying to predict learning difficulties on the basis of comparing the native language with the foreign language being

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learnt, and also with the study of bilingualism and language contact phenomena. Crosslinguistic comparison became a vital source of information for language teaching methodology and was granted huge funds (especially in the US), following the declaration by Charles C. Fries (1887 – 1967)¹⁸ that:

„the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner” [Fries 1945, p. 9].

His students included Robert Lado (1915 – 1995) and Kenneth Pike (1912 – 2000). It is with the name of his pupil Robert Lado that classical period of CL development is associated. In 1957 he published his book „Linguistics Across Cultures.” [Lado 1957]. Its central tenets and other observations on second language acquisition became increasingly influential in CL in the 1960s and 70s. It is built upon ideas set out in linguistic relativity, which we have already discussed as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. This led to the automatic transferring of one language’s rules to another. In the preface of his

¹⁸ Charles C. Fries spent most of academic career at the University of Michigan where he developed programs in both theoretical and applied linguistics and founded (1941) the English Language Institute. He was part of the mainstream of American language study, a member of the Linguistic Society of America from its beginning, member of the National Council of Teachers of English, and once its president; and a supporter and vice president of the Modern Language Association. His ideas pioneered methods and materials for teaching English to foreigners. In 1949 Fries published his first book „English Word Lists” along with the teaching materials and method that were being developed around it. These materials, called „An Intensive Course in English for Latin American Students” included volumes entitled "Oral Pattern Practice," "Lessons in Vocabulary", and "English Sentence Patterns," among others. This was the beginning of the Michigan Method, which influences the ESL/EFL publishing industry to this day.

Among his many books are dictionaries of Early and Middle English.

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book Robert Lado highlights the significance of the approach of CL that rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that occasion difficulty in learning, on the one hand, and those that will not cause difficulty on the other. The publication of Robert Lado's book was the start of modern applied contrastive linguistics as it is understood in American and European tradition. In later studies the term *contrastive linguistics* when referred to language acquisition changed to *contrastive analysis (CA)*.

Fundamental ideas worded by Robert Lado are:

- 1) individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture – both *productively*, when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and *receptively* when attempting to grasp and understand the language and culture as practiced by natives;
- 2) those elements that are similar to the person's native language will be simple for this person, and those elements that are different will be difficult [Lado 1957].

In his later papers R.Lado attempted to add a necessary distinction between linguistic content and what he has called metalinguistic thought in a performance model of language use. The specific nature and description of metalinguistic thought is not fully clear, but its distinction from language content as encoded in a particular language and expressed through speech or writing seems clear enough. R.Lado also highlighted the necessity of dealing with linguistic sequences, series or situations rather than with the individual sentence for the explanatory description of a language and the contrastive comparison of structures across languages [Lado

1968]¹⁹. The most simplistic version of CA was the belief that linguistic differences based on similarities and differences alone could be used to predict learning difficulties: where two languages were similar, positive transfer would occur; where they were different, negative transfer, or interference, would result. The idea of positive and negative transfer meant that a detailed examination of the two languages needed to be undertaken to identify where students would have problems. By examining the languages and identifying the problem areas, educators could then predict the elements of negative transfer and drill these elements to form the “correct” habit. In this way, behaviorism, structuralism, and CA all worked together to inform the educator which components needed more attention.

In the two decades following World War II several projects were launched at various centres of active research, with over a thousand papers and monographs written over that period. The rationale for using insights from CA in language pedagogy at that time was based on the notions of „**transfer**” and „**interference**”. This coincided with behaviourist views²⁰ of learning as habit



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PART 7. ROBERT LADO ON MENTALISTIC THEORY OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

²⁰ *Behaviourism (in the 1960s and early 1970s): also called the learning perspective (where any physical action is a behaviour), is a philosophy of psychology based on the proposition that all things that organisms do – including acting, thinking, and feeling – can and should be regarded as behaviours, and that psychological disorders are best treated by altering behavior patterns or modifying the environment. According to the behaviourist theories prevailing at the time, language learning was a question of habit formation, and this could be reinforced or impeded by existing habits. Therefore, the difficulty in mastering certain structures in a second language (L2) depended on the difference between the learners' mother language (L1) and the language they were trying to learn. Hence,*

formation through analogy rather than deductive analysis. From this perspective, interference from prior knowledge, i.e. proactive inhibition, when old habits get in the way of attempts to form new ones, was taken to constitute the main impediment to learning. Consequently, the degree of difficulty in language learning was believed to reflect the extent to which the target-language patterns differ from the mother tongue. Until the 1970s, the emphasis of applied CA was laid first and foremost on this inhibitive influence of the mother tongue, and more specifically on the way contrastive information can help anticipate foreign language learners' „errors” when using the target language. As such, CA became strongly associated with error analysis, and there was a tendency to interpret all target-language errors which showed similarity to an L1 feature as evidence of L1 interference.

2. Modern period

In the 1970s, however, CA came under fire because its model for anticipating obstacles to foreign-language learning was considered too simplistic. This coincided with a decline in the popularity of behaviourist views of learning in general. In response, researchers reapplied CA as a tool for pinpointing potential areas of difficulty and relocated the notion of transfer within a cognitive framework. In addition, the emphasis started to shift from inhibitive factors (i.e. the contrasts between the mother tongue and the target

Contrastive Linguistics (Analysis) is based on a behaviourist conception of language acquisition, insofar as it is based on the assumption that foreign language learners constantly resort to the „habits” they acquired in the process of first language acquisition: “The basic problems [when learning a second language] arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new language themselves but primarily out of the special ‘set’ created by the first language habits.” (Charles C. Fries in: Lado 1957, foreword)

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language) to factors that could promote and facilitate foreign language learning (i.e. the similarities between both languages).

While the proponents of Error Analysis (EA) kept incorporating CA in their methodology, implicitly or explicitly, it was stressed that the scope of CA was actually wider than that of EA. CA can bring to light areas of difficulty that are overlooked by EA as not all errors are directly observable. For instance, a learner's utterance, though superficially well formed, may have been produced correctly „by chance”, by way of a set of rules different from that of the TL owing to holophrastic (expressing a complex of ideas in a single word or in a fixed phrase) learning, or with the actual meaning different from the intended one, or through the systematic avoidance of problematic structures.

Among the arguments that have been put forward in defence of CA we find the following:

- CA is useful for EA. While it is true that not all of a learner's problems are attributable to direct interference from the mother tongue, every experienced language teacher will confirm that a substantial number of persistent errors and mistakes are due to the learner carrying over L1 patterns into TL performance, and that the overall patterns of error do tend to be language-specific. If certain items are regularly substituted in the TL, then there is a good chance that this is caused by L1 interference, and what is needed is more CA, not less. Moreover, the very knowledge that a target item is nonexistent in the learners' L1 is useful in identifying a problem area, even if it can go no further.
- The finding that not all CA-based predictions are always borne out does not invalidate the theory. The nonoccurrence of a predicted error may simply be indicative of a learner's

avoidance of structures that are felt too challenging precisely because of contrasts with the mother tongue. The failure of predictions in particular instances only calls for a refinement of the theory rather than its rejection.

- The critics of the lack of a 100% predictive ability forgot that the aim of CA was only to refer to „behavior that is likely to appear with greater than random frequency” [Lado 1968], never claiming that it accounts for all errors. As long as transfer is one of the variables contributing to success or failure in foreign language learning, CA should have a place in foreign language teaching methodology. For example, CA is not incompatible with a view of language learning as a process of hypothesis testing, if the psychological basis of „interference” shifts from the behaviourist conditioning principle to something more akin to transfer of training, where the mother tongue may be selected as one of the learner’s initial hypotheses (or „processing strategies”).

CA is an extremely useful instrument in materials design, able not only to predict areas of potential error, but also to explain and remedy many of those problems that actually crop up. Thus, it is able to provide an inventory of useful data for authors of textbooks and pedagogical grammars on at least some areas. CA can help determine the frequency and stylistic distribution of certain structures in both languages, which may inform the selection, grading, and presentation of foreign language input.

From the late 1980s onwards, interlingual transfer was re-established as a major factor in SLA/FLL, giving comparative linguistics the green light over again [James 1998]. The focus, obviously, had to depart from the original one, now moving towards reconciling the phenomenon with the cognitive perspective.

In his article, “Contrastive analysis as a method of speech investigations” (1979) Yu. A. Zhluktenko emphasized that contrastive linguistics is not an independent science but is a branch of linguistics that has the same subject and aim, investigates the nature and peculiarities of different languages and differs from linguistics only in its method – synchronous comparative method.

Yu.A. Zhluktenko asserts that the main requirements to contrastive investigations are:

- the choice of the most important and effective language elements for the analysis;
- the choice of an adequate and reliable basis for comparative analysis;
- taking into consideration interlanguages equivalence, which as a rule is not connected with the equality of form [ЖЛУКТЕНКО 1979].

3. Contrastive linguistics in Ukraine

The research and advance of contemporary CL is impossible without knowing the history of their development. Therefore, research into contribution of separate personalities in different historical periods is promoting better understanding of historical processes taking place in the development of a discipline or its branch. The development of both applied and theoretical contrastive studies in Ukraine is associated with name of prof. Yu. O. Zhluktenko (1915 – 1990).

He dedicated much effort to elaboration of such issues as:

- definition of the term contrastive linguistics and contrastive analysis,

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- connection and relation of CL to other disciplines (typology, historical linguistics, aerial linguistics, theory of translation),
- terminological multiplicity in CL,
- application of CL in Language teaching,
- Prague Linguistic circle as forerunners and founders of CL,
- equivalence in CA,
- Tertium Comparationis,
- comparability in CA,
- linguistic model that could be used as a basis for contrastive research,
- overview of main achievements of CL and centres of contrastive research.

Yu. O. Zhluktenko's article (co-authored by V. Bublyk) „Contrastive Linguistics. Problems and Prospects” published in „Movoznavstvo” in 1976 [Жлуктенко 1976] was the first Ukrainian article introducing theoretical CL as a discipline. He defined it as a linguistic discipline aiming at synchronic-comparative description of two or several lingual systems on all levels based on one and the same linguistic model [Жлуктенко 1976, p.3.]. He drew the demarcation line between:

- HCL and CL emphasizing that the first deals exclusively with related languages and concentrates on similarities in researched languages while the second can deal with structurally different languages and aspires to discover the ultimate goal of typological singularities;
- Linguistic Typology and CL_which study both differences and analogical phenomena in compared languages but the ultimate goal of typology is the classification of language types and determination of language universals. Thus the starting point of

typological studies is the isomorphic nature of language structures which makes the basis for future typological classifications. On the contrary, the object of CL are more or less non-homogeneous languages, moreover inadequacy of their structural relations is „programmed” beforehand;

- Areal linguistics and CL which are related due to the fact that they both research languages irrespective of their genetic ties, but the first is based on the obligatory territorial or geographical principle and pays much attention to interlanguage impacts, while CL is not confined to territory;
- Translation theory and CL claiming that the first deals with the linguistic process of recoding the message coded in the text of L_1 using means of the target L_2 and thus providing the communication of the sender and the receiver. Thus both linguistic disciplines have the same object – relation of two language systems. Means used for recoding can be not identical means of source language but should provide sense equivalence. Thus equivalence is the central notion of translation theory and CL but is treated differently in them. One of the axiomatic provisions of CL is the absence of the full identity in sense and content of two language phenomena in compared languages. Structural equivalence occurs not rarely but functional-semantic equivalence is, as a rule, of relative character and in most cases is violated when viewed from the stylistic or distributional point of view. Thus CL studies practically all aspects and „blocks” of compared language systems and the translation theory focuses mainly on „difficult

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spots” of interlingual correlations assuming *de bene esse*²¹ that other things in those languages are analogous.

Yu. O. Zhluktenko also attracts attention to the relatedness of CL and psychlinguistics (practical illustration of the psychological processes of convergence and divergence); logic (interrelation of form and content categories viewed through the prism of two language structures); semiotics (criteria and forms of comparison procedures) and others. He claims that CL may contribute greatly to the language theory in general and theory of language modeling in particular.

Some other aspects he touched upon, in particular terminological problems in the field of CL, the notions of equivalence and *tertium comparationis* and his contribution to methodology of foreign language teaching are of great value and have been researched by O. Litviniak.²²

Some other achievements of Ukrainian linguists are the following. First of all, researchers from Odessa university should be mentioned as still in 1912 A.I. Tomson, a professor of Odessa University, published some articles and essays dealing with the comparative description of Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian

²¹ *Conditionally ; provisionally ; in anticipation of future need. A phrase applied to proceedings which are taken ex parte or provisionally, and are allowed to stand as well done for the present, but which may be subject to future exception or challenge, and must then stand or fall according to their intrinsic merit and regularity [http://thelawdictionary.org/de-bene-esse/].*



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languages (Томсон А.И., 1912, 1922). In 1952 two books were published that threw light on the comparison of foreign and Ukrainian speech sounds and were based on experimental investigations: „Comparative analysis of consonants in contemporary Ukrainian and German languages” (Prokopova L.I., 1952) and „Comparative analysis of systems of English and Ukrainian vowels and consonants” (Brovchenko T.A., 1952). A decade later (1964) T. A. Brovchenko published her „English Phonetics”, based on the experimental contrastive analysis of phonetic systems of English and Ukrainian languages (Brovchenko T., Bant I., 1964). The results of the research of intonation structures of English and Ukrainian utterances were presented by T.A. Brovchenko in the article „Intonation contour of the semantic centre in English and Ukrainian speech”. The contrastive analysis made it possible to reveal acoustic characteristics of the intonation structures of utterances in English and Ukrainian depending on different positions of semantic centres (Brovchenko T. A., 1979).

One more article in the field of contrastive phonology was published by I.V. Borisuik in the collective monograph „Intonation of Speech” (1963). It dealt with intonation characteristics of rhetoric questions in Ukrainian and French dialogical speech.

The first contrastive manual dealing with grammar was based on Ukrainian – Russian comparison. It was written by a group of Ukrainian linguists (Баймут Т.В., Бойчук М.К., Волинський М.К., Жовтобрюх М.А. і Самойленко С.П.) and was published in 1957 under the title „Contrastive Grammar of the Ukrainian and Russian languages”.

Contrastive grammatical study of the Ukrainian and English languages was initiated by Yu. O. Zhluktenko in 1960 in his „Comparative Grammar of the English and Ukrainian languages”

[Жлуктенко 1960]. It was followed by a number of works. Their value was critically analyzed by professor Z.H.Kotsuiba in her article „English – Ukrainian contrastive grammatical studies in Ukraine (extension of the traditions and unlearned lessons of professor Zhluktenko)” (to be published). She claims that latest contrastive grammars, namely those written by A. E. Levytskiy [Левицький 2008] and I. D. Karamysheva [Карамішева 2008] in many aspects imitate Zhluktenko’s book, but there are cases where the opinions expressed by Yuriy Oleksiyovych are left unnoticed and do get further conceptual development.

A number of fundamental works in CL were published in Ukraine in 1970s – 90s. Important recommendations (both theoretical and practical are provided in „Sketches on Contrastive Linguistics”, a collection of papers by Ukrainian linguists edited by prof. Zhluktenko [Нариси 1979]. In his programme paper he defines the subject-matter and tasks of CA. Other problems treated in „Sketches” comprise methodology of language teaching, as well as CA of different subsystems in Ukrainian and other related and non-related languages: CA of verbal systems (A.Mukhovetskiy, H.Bublik, B.Rohovska, D.Kveselevitch); prosodic systems (L.Prokopova, T.Brovchenko, D.Baturska); lexical systems (S.Semchynskiy, R.Pomirko); phraseological units (R.Zorivchak); morphological systems (V.Berezynskiy, V.Vovk, S.Lytvak); derivational systems (N.Klymenko); syntactic systems G.Yatel’, I.Korunets’, K.Tkachenko, O.Chrednychenko, G.Pocheptsov).

In 1992 Kyiv State Linguistic University started publishing a series of collections of scholarly papers edited by M.Kocherhan in which various aspects of contrastive study of Ukrainian and other languages have been treated. International conferences in contrastive

semantics have been held at this university since 2001 (the last one took place in September 17 – 18, 2015).

Contrastive study of English and Ukrainian lexicology were started by I.V.Bubleinyk [Бублейник 1996] and developed by V.N.Manakin [Манакин 2004] and L.Verba [Верба 2008].

It should be taken into consideration that the division of modern contrastive reserach is formal to some extent. On the one hand, systematic comparative researches is not purely theoretical and are often supplied with some definite results of comparison between or among linguistic phonetic phenomena. On the other hand, systematic practical comparative descriptions contains some theoretical considerations and conclusions.



PART 7. ROBERT LADO ON MENTALISTIC THEORY OF LANGUAGE LEARNING



(excerpts from the Robert Lado's article „Contrastive Linguistics in a Mentalistic Theory of Language Learning,, [Lado 1968]

.....Metalinguistic thought and language are not coextensive. Metalinguistic thought, for example, is usually multidimensional: it may encompass simultaneously combinations of space, movement, color, smell, sound, touch, subjectivity (I, you, he, etc.), etc. Vision comes closest to metalinguistic thought in that it too is multidimensional and color sensitive. Perhaps this is why we say that we 'see' a problem when we understand it, yet this is only an analogy since thought includes additional dimensions such as sound,

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goodness, etc. that sight does not. In listening or reading we separate understanding the utterance sentence by sentence from grasping the metalinguistic thought that the particular speaker wishes to communicate by his imperfect verbal report in a particular language. Metalinguistic thought in this case is understanding the reference beyond the language content as encoded. Witness a speaker trying to have the listener identify a person or event familiar to both but which the listener fails to recall readily. The language report is usually quite incomplete, with additional information supplied until the listener says he remembers. He remembers much more than the content of the spoken utterance he has heard. And of course he could make the wrong identification, in which case he still remembers things that were not part of the message.

Another example might be understanding how to operate a new tape recorder from the incomplete and imperfect instructions that come with it. One might understand the instructions sentence by sentence but fail to understand the operation of the machine as metalinguistic thought. Metalinguistic thought might presumably include an incorrect understanding of the operation of the machine, it need not be correct or logical thought, but it must be autonomous of the particular sequence and specific units of the language in which it is expressed. When a coordinate bilingual says in Spanish, *Tengo nostalgia de aquella casita blanca de la playa*, literally, 'Have homesickness of that yonder house little white of the beach', and when he says in English, *I am homesick for that little white cottage at the beach*, does he activate his thinking already encoded in Spanish or English, or does he do it in some other multidimensional metalinguistic thought, and then, as he encodes it into Spanish or English, order it according to the linear, hierarchical rules and categories of the specific language? If we were to carry Whorf's

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hypothesis to its extreme, which he did not advocate, we would presume that the bilingual did all his thinking in the units and syntax of Spanish, when speaking this language, and, when speaking English, switched his total thought to the units and syntax of English.

Whorf (1941), highlighting the influence of SAE (Standard Average European) and Hopi on the thought of its speakers, implies a distinction between his 'Linguistic Meaning, residing in the name or the linguistic description commonly applied to the situation' and 'the habitual thought worlds of SAE and Hopi speakers'. By 'habitual thought' and 'thought world' I mean more than simply language, i.e. than the linguistic patterns themselves. I include all the analogical and suggestive value of the patterns (e. g., our 'imaginary space' and its distant implications), and all the give-and-take between language and the culture as a whole, wherein is a vast amount that is not linguistic but yet shows the shaping influence of language. In brief, this 'thought world' is the microcosm that each man carries about within himself, by which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm. Obviously his term 'habitual thought' implies a non-habitual thought also. His 'linguistic meaning' refers to the content side of language. His habitual thought worlds plus the implied nonhabitual thought world include my metalinguistic thought plus that part of thought which is culturally shaped but not linguistically labelled.

Although SAE lumps together as plurals and cardinal numbers both aggregates like 'ten men' and sequences like 'ten days', and Hopi does not, we cannot conclude that SAE speakers do not think of groups and sequences as different. I certainly had no difficulty grasping the distinction when reading Whorf's discussion of it in English, not Hopi. The difference becomes crucial, however, when encoding the metalinguistic thought of 'ten men' and 'ten days' into

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Hopi or English: in English it can be disregarded, whereas in Hopi it cannot.

It is interesting that Stuart Chase, who enthusiastically endorses Whorf's hypotheses in the foreword to the volume of selected writings edited by Carroll (1956), says the following: Probably everyone experiences brainstorms too fast to be verbalized. In writing, I frequently have them. But before I can handle such bolts from the blue, I must verbalize them, put them into words for sober reflection, or discussion. Unverbalized brainstorms do not get anywhere on paper. This, it seems to me, refers to the distinction between one type of metalinguistic thought and language thought.

Belyayev (1963) distinguishes what he calls objective content of thought and subjective content. The following quotation illustrates what he means:

„When people say that an idea expressed by means of two different languages is identical, this assertion can only be applied to the objective content of this thought. To the typical Russian expression „dva chasa nochi” (Literally, „two hours of night”, the Russian expression for „two o'clock in the morning” — Translator's note) corresponds the French expression „deux heures du matin”. Here the objective content is the same; the same moment of the day is envisaged. But the subjective content of these two expressions is far from identical, because in Russian the concept „noch” – „night” is used, and in French the concept „matin”, these two not having the same or equivalent meaning”.

Belyayev's subjective thought seems to refer to language content and his objective thought to one type of metalinguistic thought. Metalinguistic thought, however, need not be objective; it

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can be quite subjective and individual and it is not limited to lexical items but encompasses complex problem solving as well. Bruner et al. (1966) at the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard University have dealt with two types of thought which seem to precede the development of symbolic thought, namely, enactive and iconic. Enactive thought develops when young subjects who perform physical manipulation of tasks are able to enact these manipulations internally, without having to perform them overtly, and are further able to change strategies in their performance. Iconic thought includes spatial imagery that eventually permits subjects to solve problems in their head without appeal to symbols or to enactive thought. An illustrative example is that of a driver returning from a football game who finds himself bottled up in traffic. He frets impatiently until he thinks of a way to get out of the traffic jam via a detour. He can do this in iconic thought without language symbols. Metalinguistic thought encompasses more than enactive and iconic thought. It encompasses sound, smell, subjectivity, etc. It underlies the content of language utterances. It may be more complete and specific than linguistic meaning as in the identification example used above, in which both speaker and listener grasped more in their metalinguistic thought than the linguistic meaning of the utterances exchanged; and it may be vaguer than linguistic meaning as in the solution of a complex problem which one understands in essence but proceeds to make clearer and more explicit as he encodes it into a particular language.

The interesting thing is that metalinguistic thought does not occur typically in individual sentences; it occurs in complexes that are better related to linguistic sequences or connected series of sentences, or texts. The thought that can be encoded in a single sentence does not represent the typical case in language

communication but rather an exceptional one, just as the thought that can be equated with a single word is only accidentally a full communication. The word has long been rejected as the unit of linguistic analysis. The question is now whether we can adequately analyze a language; or, in terms of our contrastive problem, whether we can compare two languages adequately at the sentence level. My thesis has been that we cannot.



ADDITIONAL
RESOURCES

PART 8. EQUIVALENCE IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AS PRESENTED BY PROF. YU. O. ZHLUKTENKO



(based on the article by O.Litviniak:

*Еквівалентність у контрастивному аналізі
з погляду професора Ю.О. Жлуктенка /*

*О. Пилипчук // Іноземна філологія. - 2011. - Вип.
123. - С. 163 – 169).*

Electronic Ukrainian version accessible at:

http://lnu.edu.ua/faculty/inomov.new/Foreign_Philology/Foreign_Philology/Foreign_Philology_123/articles/Pylypchuk.pdf

Central notions of Contrastive Linguistics as a discipline are contrastive analysis, which simultaneously is the main method it employs, and equivalence, which is an inevitable part of the process of contrasting languages. These notions are of importance both for theoretical and practical (or, as it sometimes is referred to – applied) CL. According to T. Krzeszowski, “those who, by their own admission, undertake contrastive studies only involve themselves in that part which we shall presently refer to as contrastive analysis

proper, paying insufficient heed to matters of principle, which motivate the analyses and provide them with methodological tools. In any case, the emphasis falls on actual practice and applications to the detriment of the theory and methodology of contrastive studies. Whatever issues arise in connection with these latter two aspects of contrastive studies, they are treated only marginally, as it were, in passing, and without sufficient attention paid to matters of finer detail. Consequently, the number of works explicitly and exclusively devoted to the theory and methodology of contrastive studies is negligible”[Krzeszowski, 1991, P.1].

Among those few works on theory of CL are the articles by Yu. O. Zhluktenko, who also dwelt upon the notion of Contrastive Analysis and Equivalence in Contrastive Linguistics. In his article on equivalence criteria he wrote that the task of contrastive analysis of the languages is usually seen as an investigation of convergent and divergent features of the two synchronically contrasted languages [Жлуктенко, 1981. – С. 6-13].

However, many scholars argue that such a broad definition, despite being widely accepted among contrastive analysis scholars, allows for a variety of different outcomes. Thus, M. Lipinska claims that defining Contrastive Analysis as a method that enables “the differences and similarities between languages to be stated explicitly” presupposes multiple approaches to its task depending on the linguistic theory used by a particular researcher. And since theories might be radically different, the results might also differ significantly [Lipińska P. 5-62].

The same idea is supported by T. Krzeszowski. In his article Contrastive Analysis in a new dimension he writes: “The linguistic nature of elements selected for comparison is strictly dependent upon a particular linguistic theory employed in the description of the

compared languages” [Krzyszowski Tomasz P Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics. – Vol. 6, p. 5].

There is even a more radical opinion that even two linguists who have similar views in regard to the levels and categories of language description can nevertheless analyze the same linguistic data differently [Джеймс 1989, С. 205 – 306].

This leads to a logical conclusion that using different linguistic theories as well as comparing and contrasting various levels and aspects of the two languages will, in fact, yield different results. According to A. Chesterman, “salience, because of its component of diagnosticity, is thus not an absolute concept. That is, a given feature of an entity is not salient *per se*. It is salient *to someone*, to an observer, from a particular point of view. Likewise, a given feature is relevant *with respect to some purpose* or, again, from a particular point of view” [Chesterman, p. 10].

“Depending on the platform of reference (or *tertium comparationis*) which we adopt, the same objects turn out to be either similar or different [Krzyszowski 1991, P.15]”.

All these contemplations, nevertheless, presuppose that regardless of the theory of language that is taken as the basis for contrastive research, there has to be determined the ground for comparison, i.e. *tertium comparationis*. And having defined *tertium comparationis* it is possible to speak of equivalence, as Yu. O. Zhluktenko claims that equivalence is the criterion for comparability [Жлуктенко 1977, С. 5 – 13].

S. Kurteš claims that the notion of equivalence was transplanted into Contrastive Linguistics from translation theory and “it involved the concept of translation equivalence” [Kurteš, p. 116].

There is an opinion, and not an unjustified one, that equivalence in Translation Studies and in Contrastive Linguistics is different and its establishment has, in fact, different aims.

Thus, first of all, translation equivalence is less constrained. One can depart from the original more or less depending on different factors, such as difference in language structures, connotative differences of the expressions, stylistic needs, cultural differences, etc.

A. Chesterman writes that:

„Translation Theory has tended to take different views in equivalence, depending on the tolerated degree of divergence between the derived phenomenon and the original; Contrastive Analysis has tended to view equivalence more stringently, so that the relation between different phenomena is seen as convergence or non-convergence, identity or non-identity”
[Chesterman, p. 15].

However, there are scholars who do not consider it necessary to distinguish between equivalence in TrSt and CL. On the contrary, they are trying to combine the developments of both. Among them is M. Halliday, who however sees equivalence mostly possible at sentence level: „If we take two texts in different languages, one being a translation of the other, at what rank (among the grammatical units) what would be prepared to recognize “equivalence”? In general, this would be at the rank of the sentence, this being the contextual unit of language; it is the sentence that operates in situations. In other words, as could be expected from what is said about the way language works, it is generally the case that (1) a single sentence in language₁ may be represented by a single sentence in language₂ [...]; and (2) a particular sentence in language₁ can always be represented by one and the same sentence in language₂.

But this equivalence of units and of items is lost as soon as we go below the sentence; and the further down the rank scale we go, the less is left of the equivalence. Once we reach the smallest unit, the morpheme, most vestige of equivalence disappears. The morpheme is untranslatable, the word a little less so, but it is nevertheless very rarely that we can say that a particular word in language₁ may always be translated by one and the same word in language₂ – this being condition (2) above; even condition (1) is not always fulfilled for the word, since one word in language₁ is often the equivalent of part of word or of several words, in language₂. The nearer we come to the sentence, the greater becomes the probability of equivalence; yet it remains true to say that the basic unit of translation is the sentence” [Halliday, 2007. – P. 162].

Equivalence appears to be a problematic notion even at the stage of its definition. There are many possible ways of defining it. However, neither of them can be considered an ultimate one. There are always some drawbacks or omissions that allow for reinterpretation. Thus, in the *Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*, compiled by O. Akhmanova, equivalence is considered to be a language unit that has the same function as another language unit, or the language unit that can perform the same function as another language unit [Словарь лингвистических терминов / Сост. О. АХМАНОВА. - М., 1966. – С. 522].

The Encyclopedia of Translation Studies also provides a definition for equivalence (already from TrSt perspective): „proponents of equivalence-based theories of translation usually define equivalence as the relationship between a source text (ST) and a target text (TT) to be considered as a translation of the ST in the first place. Equivalence relationships are also said to hold between parts of STs and parts of TTs” [Routledge Encyclopedia of

Translation Studies, 2001, P. 77]. Unfortunately, the definition is very ambiguous and does not provide for a single interpretation.

Yu. Zhluktenko claims that “the condition under which the analyzed object coincide with the model completely, could be considered the state of their equivalence [Критерии эквивалентности. – С. 6].

Something similar is also expressed by T. Kreszowski, who is of the opinion that „only equivalent systems, constructions and rules are comparable” [Contrastive Analysis in a new dimension, P. 6].

However, he must have understood the notion of equivalence in a different way, as in his other research the author claimed that if the languages are structurally identical, they could not be compared, „since there would be nothing different to consider” [Contrasting Languages. – P. 4].

In his book *Contrasting Languages* he also writes that „the hypothesis concerning the identity of semantic representations of equivalent sentences leads to the semantic paradox, which is based on the fact that what is identical is not subject to comparison, and what is different is not comparable” [Contrasting Languages, P. 7].

What is interesting, in his earlier article *Contrastive Linguistics. Problems and Prospects*, co-authored by V. N. Bublyk, Yu. O. Zhluktenko provided a different definition of equivalence than the one presented above: “under the notion of equivalence linguistic publications of the recent years understand content adequacy of the two structures with possible deviations in terms of structure” [ЖЛУКТЕНКО 1976, P.9].

Returning to relation of equivalence in CL and TrSt it is worth mentioning the Yu. O. Zhluktenko does not seem to distinguish between equivalence in these two linguistic disciplines. On the contrary, writing about equivalence in CA he mentions TrSt scholars,

in particular V. N. Komissarov. In addition, he also considers that equivalence, established on the basis of translation is the criterion for comparability and, therefore, translation is one of the main notions of comparability and an important notion in synchronic comparative linguistics [ЖЛУКТЕНКО 1977].

Something similar was expressed also by M. Halliday, who claimed that „when we undertake a comparative description of two languages, we have as it were two kinds of evidence at our disposal. The first is translation equivalence; the second is formal comparison. The translation equivalents are linked to the category of grammatical unit, and they enable us to say that each particular item or category in language₂ is the normal (that is, most probable) equivalent of an item or category in language₁; this means, or at least suggests, that the two items or categories are comparable. The possibility of translation equivalence is, of course, a prerequisite of comparison: if two items can never translate each other, it is of no interest to compare them. Translation can thus be considered as a contextual comparison: if we say that an item *a* (1) in language₁ can be translated by an item *a* (2) in language₂, this means that the two items would have the same role in the situation” [Halliday, P. 165].

As to the types of equivalence in CA, there is also no unanimity among the scholars. “Theoretical discussions tend to be limited to only two types: formal correspondence and semantic equivalence” [Contrasting Languages. P. 16].

Yu. O. Zhluktenko considers that for the purposes of CA of languages the notion of equivalence is necessary, but it is usually understood as functional and semantic equality of the content. And in the few cases when they are supplemented by formal similarity, it is considered to be a special kind of congruent equivalence [ЖЛУКТЕНКО 1981].

Many scholars consider necessary to include semantic factor. “Generally, the opinion that the best basis for comparing different languages is their meaning is very popular, and in many contemporary investigations in CL it is either openly advocated or is implied” [ЖЛУКТЕНКО 1979].

This approach is supported by D. Preston: „Although semantic-based grammars are by no means uniform, all suggest that deeper (and therefore closer to universal) categories of syntactic ‘classification’ may be uncovered by considering primarily semantic notions” [Preston, P. 74].

M. Lipinska also thinks that „CA has to be meaning-based. What is to be compared are the ways of expressing the same meaning in different languages” [Lipinska. P. 47].

The reverberation of this idea can also be found in works by T. Krzeszowski. However, he goes further and adds to equivalence based on semantics congruence based on structure: “The traditional luggage of CA must, therefore, contain a set of statements motivating the movement from a specific element in L_1 to a specific element in L_2 . These statements must be based on semantic considerations associated with the notion of *equivalence* and also on structural (syntactic and morphological) considerations associated with the notion of *congruence*” [Contrastive Analysis in new dimension. P. 5].

In the mentioned article *Contrastive Linguistics. Problems and Prospects* the authors speak of formal vs. functional equivalence. Apparently, such a distinction seemed not exhaustive enough to Yu. O. Zhluktenko, as in the article on criteria of equivalence he mentions different types of equivalence which can occur in CA.

Thus, he outlines four main types of equivalence in CA:

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- referential equivalence (when both languages have signs for representation of the same referent);
- conceptual equivalence (as soon as the cases of notion/concept coincidence are few, this type of equivalence is quite limited);
- contextual equivalence;
- situational equivalence.

Another theoretician of CL, Polish scholar T. Kezeszowski, elaborated his own classification of equivalence in CA, which is even more extensive than the one already presented. He distinguishes seven types of equivalence:

- statistical equivalence (between two selected items that have the maximum degree of similarity in terms of their occurrence frequency);
- translation equivalence (this type of equivalence includes all types of translation from less to more deviant);
- system equivalence (can exist between comparable paradigms);
- semanto-syntactic equivalence (equivalence between constructions that have identical deep structure);
- rule equivalence (similarity of phrase structure formation rules, etc.);
- substantive equivalence (based on extra-linguistic substance);
- pragmatic equivalence (which evokes similar cognitive reaction) [Contrasting Languages].

As can be seen, both classifications, despite being created for the purposes of CL have something in common with TrSt and the types of equivalence that were suggested by different translation theorists. Thus, Yu. O. Zhluktenko's referential equivalence is similar to Koller's denotative equivalence and T. Krszeszowski's pragmatic equivalence can be correlated both with Koller's

pragmatic equivalence and with E. Nida's dynamic equivalence. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the abovegiven classifications have adopted some elaborations of translation theories to be used for the purposes of CL.

Yu. O. Zhluktenko points out that it is important to distinguish paradigmatic and syntagmatic equivalence. Paradigmatic aspect of CA usually concerns the correlation between different units within one and the same class [Критерии эквивалентности].

T. Krzeszowski notes that «traditional CA's are all conducted along the *horizontal* dimensions necessarily involved in comparing an element or a class of elements in L₁ with an equivalent element or a class of elements in L₂ and/or vice versa" [Contrastive Analysis in new dimension. P. 5].

Yu. O. Zhluktenko warns that it is necessary to remember that equivalence can be full and partial and the minimum, which allows the units to be considered partially equivalent has not been determined yet [Критерии эквивалентности].

He also makes an interesting suggestion that in the process of determining the degree of equivalence between the units of two different languages it might be possible to employ „pairwise proximity factor" introduced by S. G. Beozhan for studying synonyms" [Критерии эквивалентности].

However, this suggestion doesn't seem to have been taken up by many scholars (if any at all).

Unfortunately, due to the fact that most articles in theoretical CL, written by Yu. O. Zhluktenko were intended as „introductions" (either to certain editions or to theoretical CL in general, as is the case with the article *Contrastive Linguistics. Problems and Prospects*), he mostly gives a general overview but does not go any further. It would, however, be very interesting to find the

substantiation of the types of equivalence in CA he distinguished in one of his works.

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SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. Why were pedagogically oriented contrastive studies revived after the second World War?
2. What names is the classical period of CL development associated with?
3. Comment on the definitions of bilingualism and the connection of the ideas below with the classical period of CL development.

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- *the practice of alternately using two languages* (Weinreich, 1953, p.1);
 - *native-like control of two languages* (Bloomfield, 1933, 55);
 - *the point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language* (Haugen, 1953, p.7);
 - *from whatever angle we look at it, bilingualism is a relative concept* (Hoffman, 1991, p.31);
 - *bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use* (Mackey, 1970);
 - *paradoxical as it may seem, Second Language Acquisition researchers seem to have neglected the fact that the goal of SLA is bilingualism* (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986);
 - *all too often imposing Bloomfield's criteria on bilinguals has led to their stigmatisation as being somehow deficient in their language capacities.* (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p.3);
 - *bilingualism is the regular use of two (or more) languages, and bilinguals are those people who need and use (two or more) languages in their everyday lives* (Grosjean, 1992, p.51).
4. What fundamental ideas of CL were worded by Robert Lado? Specify his contribution to mentalistic theory of language learning (Additional resources Part 7).
 5. What notions were insights from CA in language pedagogy based on and how did they coincide with behaviourist views of learning?
 6. Specify the interconnections of CA and EA.
 7. How did applied and theoretical contrastive studies develop in Ukraine?

8. Read the article by O.Litviniak (Additional resources Part 8) and discuss:
- a) principal notions of Contrastive Linguistics as a discipline as viewed by Yu. O. Zhluktenko;
 - b) his ideas concerning the equivalence in comparison with those put forward by Polish scholar T. Kezeszowski.

SEMINAR LIBRARY

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Lecture 4. Theoretical versus applied contrastive studies: terminological problems

The question we set out to answer in the fourth lecture is the division of contrastive linguistics into theoretical and practical with special attention to terminological issues and tasks of researchers.

1. Theoretical versus applied contrastive studies
2. Terminological problems in the field of contrastive studies
3. Principles developed in theoretical contrastive studies
4. Contrastive analysis hypothesis in applied contrastive studies
5. Tendencies in contrastive studies development
6. Additional resources

PART 9. J. FISIAK ON THEORETICAL AND APPLIES ISSUES IN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

PART 10. PROBLEMS FOR THE CL HYPOTHESIS (RESPONSE AND CRITICISM)

7. Seminar questions.
8. Seminar library

1. Theoretical versus applied contrastive studies

Modern linguistic theories that began to flourish in the 20th – 21st century could not fail to affect the state of affairs in CL. Interest in methodology and theory of contrastive studies began to grow. Linguistic explorations into the nature of language, its complex,

multilayer and hierarchical structure, its systematic but changing nature became a subject of very close scrutiny of modern linguistics. We have already mentioned that many of these problems arose before. For centuries people wrote grammars (including contrastive grammars) and for centuries they were interested in how languages reflect human thought. But modern linguistic theories have given new dimensions to old problems and have created new problems. Obvious things ceased to be obvious, and completely new paradigms of linguistic research have developed (e.g. cognitive-discourse paradigm). Modern linguistic theories have made CL sensitive to methodological and theoretical problems in their own field. Contrastive studies began to aspire to the status of a rigorous scientific discipline. What was once a relatively simple, intuition-based procedure, began to assume the format of an algorithm and the late 60-s of the previous century happened to be the period of vigorous controversies concerning the status, validity, application etc. of CL. Most of the criticism against CL has come from those quarters which consider this special area of study as merely a part of applied linguistics. This misunderstanding stems partly from developments in the United States in the 50-s and early 60-s as well as from ignorance of the history of CL and of developments in this field in Europe in general and in East Europe in particular.

At present there are two generally accepted types of contrastive studies: theoretical (pure) and applied. Theoretical contrastive linguistics (TCL) presents a comprehensive and exhaustive analysis of semantics, syntactics and pragmatics of lingual objects in two or more languages. It specifies the objects subjected to comparison and the way of carrying out the comparison. It provides an adequate model for comparison. One of the main approaches in TCL is concerned with universal categories. For instance, Jacek Fisiak states

that,

firstly,

„Theoretical semantico - syntactic studies operate with universals, i.e., they specify how a given universal category is realized in the contrasted languages”;

secondly,

„Theoretical contrastive studies give an exhaustive account of the differences and similarities between two or more languages, provide an adequate model for the comparison, and determine how and which elements are comparable ...They are language independent, which means that they do not investigate how a particular category or item presented in language A is presented in language B, but they look for the realization of an universal category X in both A and B” [Contrastive linguistics and the language teacher 1981, p. 2].

Applied contrastive linguistics (ACL) is an important branch of applied linguistics. It depends on the findings of the TCL in providing a framework for the comparison of languages. Applied contrastivists select the important information for the purpose of teaching languages and translation. ACL attempts to identify the potential problematic area in the target language. It is not restricted to differences but also points out similarities to save learners' efforts of identifying them.

It has been argued whether applied linguistics is a science in its own right or not. Some scientists regard applied linguistics as a technology based on pure linguistics, not as a science of its own and argue that applied linguistics is a consumption of theoretical linguistics and not producing theories. However, [James 1980] advocates the view that there are applied linguistic sciences:

„The applications of linguistics can, and should, be looked upon as sciences in their own rights.... we must be very careful not to mix up practical applications with purely scientific research”.

The assignment of ACL (most commonly referred to as *contrastive analysis* – CA) to a science of applied linguistics is attributed to two reasons:

1) it is different from pure linguistics in drawing on other scientific disciplines;

2) linguistics is the science it draws most heavily upon.

The sole objective of ACL is to improve pedagogy and as a result, it is truly a field of applied language research. The term *contrastive analysis* is especially associated with applied contrastive studies as a means of predicting and /or explaining difficulties of second language learners with a particular mother tongue in learning a particular target language.

Supporting the view that CA is a form of both pure and applied linguistics, Carl James [James 1980] concludes that applied CA is a central concern of applied linguistics. In the same connection, David Wilkins [Wilkins 1972, p. 224] supports the view that the sole objective of CA is to improve pedagogy and as a result, it is truly a field of applied language research.

With the broadening of linguistic studies in general in the 1970s and 1980s, contrastive studies became increasingly concerned with macrolinguistic contrastive analysis [James 1980]: text linguistics and discourse analysis. Most contrastive linguists have either explicitly or implicitly made use of translation as a means of establishing cross-linguistic relationships and in his book „*Contrastive Analysis*” Carl James [James 1980, p.178] arrived at the conclusion that translation is the best basis of comparison as he says:

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«We conclude that translation equivalence of this rather rigorously defined sort [including interpersonal and textual as well as ideational meaning] is the best available TC [tertium comparationis] for CA [contrastive analysis]».

Thus, it can be summed up that CA is considered as a major subdiscipline of Applied Linguistics. Contrastive statements may be derived from either (a) a bilingual's use of himself as his own informant for both languages, or (b) close comparison of a specific text with its translation.

Theoretical contrastive studies are most commonly referred to as *contrastive linguistics*. CL develops its own theoretical principles and makes a distinctive contribution to linguistics generally. The theoretical conclusions of CL contribute to the areas of language typology and language universals. The contrastive descriptions of specific languages and language systems contribute to the understanding of individual languages and their structures.

The major issues of theoretical CL which have drawn the attention of scholars are the choice of model for contrastive analysis, the notions of equivalence and contrast, the form of contrastive descriptions (uni-directional or bi-directional), the scope and status of CL, to name just a few¹⁸.



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ADDITIONAL
RESOURCES

**PART 9. J. FISIAK ON THEORETICAL AND APPLIED ISSUES IN
CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS**

2. Terminological problems in the field of contrastive studies

Though the term *contrastive analysis* is widely accepted and used to refer to the special area of applied study concerned with pedagogically oriented contrastive studies, and the term *contrastive linguistics* to refer to theoretical contrastive studies, still there exists the problem of terminological diversity. In her article „Contrastive Analysis at work” Svetlana Kurteš¹⁹ [Kurteš 2006] mentions that in the relevant linguistic literature we encounter such terms as:

- parallel description [Fries 1945, p. 9],
- differential studies [Lee 1974, p. 141],
- differential description [Mackey 1965, p. 80],
- dialinguistic analysis [Nemser 1971, p. 15],
- analytical confrontation [Nemser 1971, p. 15],
- analytical comparison [Mathesius 1964, p. 60],
- interlingual comparison [Filipović 1975, p. 6],



¹⁹ **Dr Svetlana Kurteš** is a UK-based scholar, specialising in intercultural education, applied linguistics, (intercultural) pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and English language studies. She has an extensive international experience in higher education contexts, having been an invited and/or guest lecturer at universities in a number of countries, including Azerbaijan, India, Macedonia, Montenegro, Poland, Portugal, Romania, etc. Her postdoctoral academic engagement was with the University of Cambridge and her current affiliation is with the University of Portsmouth, where she is a lecturer in English Language and Linguistics. Since 2010 Svetlana has been Vice-President of the European Network for Intercultural Education Activities (ENIEDA), a collaborative academic network exploring innovative initiatives that promote the values of plurilingualism, democratic citizenship and global intercultural cooperation through trans-disciplinary dialogue.

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- comparative descriptive linguistics' [Halliday-McIntosh-Stevens 1964, p. 112, 113],
- descriptive comparison' [Catford 1968, p. 159].

A number of linguists writing in German refer to CL as *konfrontative Linguistik*. Thus Gerhard Helbig differentiates between *confrontational* and *contrastive* linguistics. The former term corresponds to Ukrainian *зіставна* and refers to research having theoretical orientation as it deals with similarities and differences between languages. The term *contrastive* linguistics refers to researches dealing primarily with differences [Хельбиг 1989]. V. Huck does not see any fundamental differences between *confrontational* and *contrastive* linguistics and claims that there are no grounds for their differentiation. Though practical application of CL data, in particular for language teaching, presupposes laying emphasis on differences but still it is important to trace isomorphism of allomorphic facts. Both approaches make use of the same research methods and the main point here is *what* is taken into consideration when the results are being applied [Гак 1989, с.9].

Ol'ga Akhmanova and Dmitrij Melenčuk speak about *linguistic confrontation* [Akhmanova 1977]. Nevertheless, probably for traditional reasons, the term *contrastive linguistics* is the most frequently used and occurs in most languages which have the subject of this type of investigation. Such terms as *cross-linguistic studies*, *confrontative studies*, and such esoteric terms as, for example *diaglossic grammar* (suggested by William Dingwall in 1964 in his Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University), enjoyed but a brief existence. The word *contrastive* is likely to outlive all the competing terms since it appears in titles of monographs and collections of papers on the subject.

Although consistency is certainly wanting, there is an

observable tendency to select a particular collocation to refer to particular domains of cross-language comparisons. And so the term *contrastive studies* appears to be the least marked, as it fits all contexts in which other collocations with *contrastive* are also appropriate. The term *contrastive linguistics* is also often used with reference to the whole field of cross-language comparisons, with a slight tendency to focus on those instances when theory or methodology of comparisons come into play.

The scope of the collocation *contrastive analysis* is often restricted to the sphere of language teaching and method of comparison.

The very term *contrastive linguistics*, as we have already mentioned, was coined by Benjamin Lee Whorf in his article „Languages and logic” published in 1941, where he drew the distinction between comparative and contrastive linguistics, maintaining that the latter was „of even greater importance for the future technology of thought” and defining it as a discipline which „plots the outstanding differences among tongues – in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience” [Whorf 1956].

3. Principles developed in theoretical contrastive studies

Proceeding from the conviction that CL is free to develop its own theoretical principles we can state that it makes a distinctive contribution to linguistics generally. The theoretical findings of CL contribute to the areas of language typology and language universals. The contrastive descriptions of specific languages and language systems contribute to the understanding of individual languages and their structures.

CL, like descriptive or historical linguistics, is dependent on theoretical linguistics since no exact and reliable exploration of facts

can be conducted without a theoretical background, providing concepts, hypotheses, and theories which enable the investigator to describe the relevant facts and to account for them in terms of significant generalizations. But CL is also dependent on descriptive linguistics since no comparison of languages is possible without their prior description. In brief, then, CL is an area of linguistics in which a linguistic theory is applied to a comparative description of two or more languages, which need not to be genetically or typologically related. The success of these comparisons is strictly dependent on the theory applied. As will be seen later, in extreme cases, the linguistic framework itself may preclude comparison. Therefore, CL imposes certain demands on the form and nature of the linguistic theory which is to be “applied” in such comparisons. Summing up different ideas developed in TCL eight principles of contrastive studies can be formulated which are based on three approaches. The approaches are presented in Fig. 4.1.

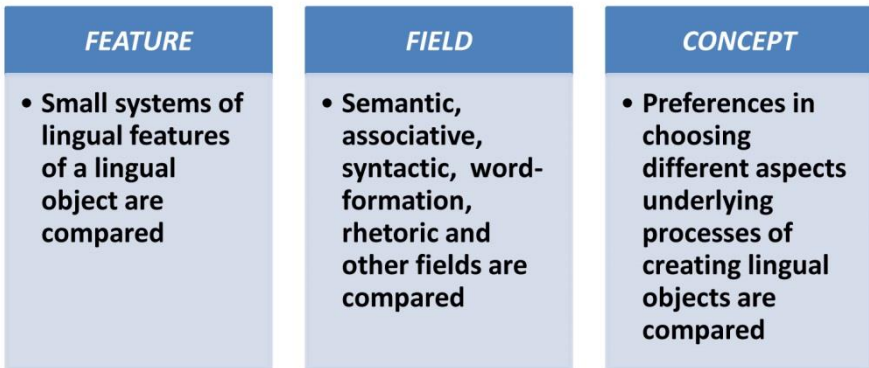


Fig. 4.1. Approaches to comparison in TCS

The principles of TCL are the following:

1. Principle of comparability. In the process of research it may be discovered that in one language there exists an important

component which is not represented in the other language. E.g., there is no verb corresponding to English verb *to knife* in Ukrainian. In such a case we have to contrast lingual objects of different levels the equivalence of which can be defined by translation: *to knife* (word) – *різати ножем, вдарити ножем* (word-combination). Comparability depends on the approach selected (Fig.4.1.).

2. Principle of terminological adequacy. Before we start the contrastive research we have to define the terms applied so that they adequately denote contrasted objects (depending on the approach) in both languages. Languages cannot be described using the same terms but having different interpretations in different languages.

3. Principle of the adequate depth of comparison. This principle presupposes finding of all substantial convergent and divergent features in languages under contrast. The deeper the analysis and the closer the attention paid to the connections of the analyzed features with other features of the language, the higher the probability of discovering new facts not noticed while describing a separate language.

4. The principle of taking into consideration the genetic relationships. Typological proximity of contrasted languages imposes some limitations on the techniques of comparison. Thus while contrasting nearly related and typologically cognate but genetically non-related languages the possibility of applying of the first approach (see Fig.1.4.) is more promising and when typologically non-cognate languages are contrasted the first approach has a lower potential but fields, logical and translational approaches play a more important role.

5. The principle of taking into consideration the linguistic knowledge. This principle is based on the assumption that linguistic knowledge about one language though undoubtedly helpful for

analyzing the other language should not be transferred to this other language.

6. The principle of bilaterality of comparison. Bilateral comparison is possible only in case of systems comparability [Ярцева 1981] and it allows to discover interlingual interferences and characteristic features of both languages.

7. The principle of considering functional styles. This principle presupposes that if languages under study have the same inventory of functional styles, the texts selected for CA should belong to the same genre.

8. The principle of territorial indefiniteness. Territorial distribution of languages is of great importance for aerial linguistics and is of no significance for CL. Contrasted languages can function on the same territory or be remote in space

4. Contrastive analysis hypothesis in applied contrastive studies

Contrastive analysis is more often used for applied contrastive studies as a method in foreign language teaching, thus often associated with contrastive analysis hypothesis (CAH). It is based on the following claims:

- 1) first language acquisition and foreign language learning differ fundamentally, especially in those cases where the foreign language is learnt later than a mother tongue and on the basis of the full mastery of that mother tongue;
- 2) every language has its own specific structure. Similarities between the two languages will cause no difficulties („positive transfer”), but differences will, due to „negative

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transfer” (or „interference”). The student’s learning task can therefore roughly be defined as the sum of the differences between the two languages;

- 3) a systematic comparison between the mother tongue and foreign language to be learnt will reveal both similarities and contrasts;
- 4) on the basis of such a comparison it would be possible to predict or even rank learning difficulties and to develop strategies (teaching materials, teaching techniques etc.) for making foreign language teaching more efficient.

CAH was widely accepted in the 1950s and 1960s in the USA and its original purpose was purely pedagogical. The teaching method which used the CAH as its theory of learning was the audiolingual method.

Based on behaviorist and structuralist theories, the basic assumption for this hypothesis was that „the principal barrier to second language acquisition is the interference of the first language system with the second language system ...” and „... that second language learning basically involved the overcoming of the differences between the two linguistic systems – the native and target languages” [Brown 1980: 148]. The term *interference* here refers to any influence from the L1 which would have an effect on the acquisition of L2.

The assumptions about L1 interference were supported by the evidence from speakers’ performance in their second language. As Brown states, «it is quite common, for example, to detect certain foreign accents and to be able to infer, from the speech of the learner alone, where the learner comes from» [Brown 1980: 149].

Lado’s practical findings were based on his own experience and family background. Being an immigrant to the USA and a native

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speaker of Spanish, he observed what difficulties his Spanish-speaking parents had with learning English and how interference was evident in their speech.

In the preface to *Linguistics across Cultures*, Robert Lado explains:

„The plan of this book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and the culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student”.

Later in the same book he claims that:

„the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult. The teacher who has made a comparison of a foreign language with the native language of the student will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them”. [Lado 1957]

This formulation of the CAH was later called by Ronald Wardhaugh „the strong version” of the CAH [Brown 1980: 157]. Another linguist supporting the strong version of the CAH was Fries. In his opinion:

„the most effective [teaching] materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with parallel description of the native language of the learner” [Fries 1945]

The practical process of contrasting languages involved four stages:

- 1) description (i.e. the two languages were formally described);
- 2) selection (i.e. certain items or areas were selected for

comparison);

- 3) comparison (i.e. finding similar and different items);
- 4) prediction (i.e. in which areas the errors will most probably occur).

Ronald Wardhaugh believed that the strong version of the CAH was „unrealistic and impracticable”, since „at the very least, this version demands of linguists that they have available a set of linguistic universals formulated within a comprehensive linguistic theory which deals adequately with syntax, semantics, and phonology” (cited in [Brown 1980, p. 157]). As a reaction to the criticism of the strong version of the CAH, Wardhaugh offered a „weak version”:

„The weak version does not imply the a priori prediction of certain fine degrees of difficulty. It recognizes the significance of interference across languages, the fact that such interference does exist and can explain difficulties, but it also recognizes that linguistic difficulties can be more profitably explained a posteriori – after the fact”. [Brown 1980, p. 157].

Thus it has rather explanatory power, helping the teachers of foreign languages understand their students’ sources of errors. The starting point in the contrast is provided by actual evidence from such phenomena as faulty translation, learning difficulties, residual foreign accents, and so on. Accordingly, CA and EA are regarded as being complementary. Proponents of CL have pointed out, however, that certain discrepancies between error varieties and the relevant target languages are not directly observable, e.g. „covert errors” and underrepresentation or overrepresentation, and that the identification of learning difficulties cannot rely on EA alone.

In the 1970s, Jhn W. Oller and Seid M. Ziahosseiny proposed a compromise between the two versions of the CAH and called it a

„moderate version”. Their theory was based on their research of spelling errors in learners of English as L2 which showed that spelling errors were more common among those learners who used a Roman script in their native language (e.g. Spanish or French) than among those who used a non-Roman script (e.g. Arabic or Chinese). However, the strong version of the CAH would predict the contrary, i.e. more difficulties on the part of the learners who had to acquire a new writing system [Brown 1980].

H. Douglas Brown concludes that interference is more likely to occur when there is similarity between the items to be learned and already known items than in the case of learning items which are entirely new to the learner. He also points to the fact that most of the errors committed by L2 learners are „intralingual” errors, i.e. errors which result from L2 itself and not from L1.

Randal L. Whitman and Kenneth L. Jackson carried out a study in which predictions made in four separate contrastive analyses by different linguists were used to design a test of English grammar which was given to 2,500 Japanese learners of English as L2. After comparing the results of the test to the predictions based on the four contrastive analyses, Whitman and Jackson found out that they differed a lot. They came to the conclusion that «contrastive analysis, as represented by the four analyses tested in this project, is inadequate, theoretically and practically, to predict the interference problems of a language learner» [Brown 1980; p. 158].

Besides the problem of inappropriate predictions, [R. Towel and R. Hawkins] state two other problems. One of them is that „not all areas of similarity between an L1 and an L2 lead to immediate positive transfer” [Towel and Hawkins 1994; p. 19]. Towel and R. Hawkins support this argument by the findings of T. Odlin’s study in which L1 Spanish learners of L2 English omitted the copula ‘be’

at the early stages of learning regardless the fact that Spanish also has a copula verb adequate to English 'be' and thus the positive transfer was possible. However, it didn't happen. The other problem, they argue, is that only a small number of errors committed by L2 learners could be unambiguously attributed to transfer from L1.

Thus, the strong version of the CAH has been proved inadequate, except for the phonological component of language, where it is quite successful in predicting the interference between the L1 and L2 in pronunciation in the early stages of L2 acquisition.

The weak version is not satisfactory because it is only able to offer an explanation for certain errors. The only version which remains acceptable is the moderate version. However, its findings are in contradiction with Lado's original idea.

This doesn't mean that the idea of L1 interference was completely rejected, but the CAH is most commonly applicable in practice only as a part of Error Analysis²⁰.

5. Tendencies in modern theoretical contrastive studies development

Fifty years after Robert Lado's (1957) seminal book *Linguistics across Cultures* triggered the establishment of contrastive linguistics as a separate branch it is obvious that its scope and depth is ever increasing and the variety of approaches and theoretical



ramifications deployed is quite impressive. Modern linguistic approaches as well as modern technology have opened new horizons for CL and the new direction into which it strives can now be recognized quite clearly. More precisely, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics, etc. have all offered new theoretical frameworks and methodology that have been incorporated into recent contrastive studies, thus laying the foundation of contrastive analysis of the 21st century.

Most recent trends in the discipline show a few important characteristics that are worth mentioning in this context:

a) modern contrastive studies deal with a growing number of languages, in many cases including some regional lingua francas, languages of demographically more prominent migrant communities, or of special historic and cultural importance, etc., which some of the more recent projects persuasively show: e.g. French – Finnish (Välakangas-Helkkula 1995), French – French-based Creoles (Arends 2003); Macedonian – Bulgarian (Topolinjska 1996), Ukrainian – Russian (Bubleinyk 1996), Arabic – Persian (‘Abd al-Mun`im 2004), German – Arabic (Ahmad 1996), German – Russian (Paul-Maslova 1999), German – Bulgarian (Petkov-Wiegang 2000), Estonian – Finnish (Grünthal-Kasig 1998), Turkish – German (Johanson-Rehbein 1999), Yiddish – Polish (Sitatz 2000), Italian – Polish (Latos 2006), Mandarin Chinese – Korean (Lehonkoski 2000), Brazilian Portuguese – Spanish (Simoes 1992), etc.;

b) there is a growing number of trilingual contrastive grammars, some on them including some less widely spoken or endangered languages (e.g. Islander Caribbean – Standard English – Spanish (Bartens 2003)); Spanish – Catalan – French (Camprubí 1999); Greek – Polish – Swedish (Lindvall 1998), etc.;

c) while contrastive analysis in its earlier stages focused on grammar and lexicon, in the 1980s and 1990s matters of language use came to the fore and new fields such as contrastive sociolinguistics, cross-cultural pragmatics and contrastive rhetoric emerged. There is a growing number of studies contrasting language phenomena such as registers (Biber 1995), aspects of rhetoric and composition (Connor 1996), elements of culture (Kurteš 1991, 1999; Kniffka 1995 etc), text and discourse (Yarmohammadi 1995), lexicon (Altenberg-Granger 2002), conceptual metaphors (Barcelona 2001), grammatical prototypes (Zhang 1995; Manney 2000; Kurteš 2005, 2007; etc.), to name but a few.



PART 9. J. FISIAK ON THEORETICAL AND APPLIES ISSUES IN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS



(Excerpts from Fisiak J. The Contrastive Analysis of Phonological Systems // Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics. – John Benjamins Publishing, 1981. – P. 215 – 224)

The first CS were predominantly theoretical (Grandgenr 1982, Viětör 1894, Baudouin de Courtenay 1912, Passy 1912, Bogorodickij 1915). The applied aspect was not totally neglected (Viětör 1903) but was definitely more peripheral and of secondary importance. Theoretical CS attached equal importance to both differences and similarities between languages. Their aim was to characterize one language vis-à-vis another, which made them different from traditional linguistic typology interested in the classification of languages on the basis of the occurrence of one or more features.

Lecture 4

The idea of CS as a theoretical undertaking was further developed and refined by the Prague school of linguistics, notably by Mathesius (1928, 1936) and his followers, as the so called *language characterology*.

The Second World War aroused great interest in foreign language teaching in the United States where enormous efforts were made in working out the most effective and economical methods and techniques of teaching. CS was recognized as important part of foreign language teaching methodology. C.C.Fries (1945) pointed out that „the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the native language of the learner”. As a result a series of contrastive theses, dissertations, papers and monographs began to appear... The approach adopted by the authors of almost all of these works was, as could be expected, pedagogically oriented. Their aim was to discover and predict difficulties by comparing the native language with the foreign language.

The basic assumption underlying these studies, as Lado (1957) put it was „that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult. The teacher who has made a comparison of a foreign language with the native language of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them”.

This view that differences are most difficult prevailed in the United States (and elsewhere) well into the sixties, and was abandoned only a few years ago when enough evidence was produced to prove that both similarities and differences may be equally troublesome in learning another language.

Lecture 4

Apart from pedagogically motivated CS American linguists also contributed to more theoretically oriented CS, i.e. to the area of language contact phenomena. The works of Weinreich (1953, 1957) and Haugen (1953, 1954, 1958) clarified a number of contrastive issues...

An important contribution of American linguistics to the theory of CS, however, remained somehow unnoticed and had no influence on the development of the field. G.L.Trager (1949) discussing the field of linguistics used perhaps for the first time the term *contrastive linguistics* to denote the branch of linguistics which uses the products of the analysis of descriptive linguistics and deals with both differences and similarities between linguistic systems and subsystems. Trager distinguished two types of CS; each of which may be further subdivided into synchronic and diachronic:

(a) *intralingual* (i.e. encompassing similarities and differences within one language):

1. s y n c h r o n i c (e.g. dialect geography),
2. d i a c h r o n i c (e.g. the development of the language system in an individual, i.e. language acquisition);

(b) *interlingual* (i.e. analyzing two or more languages):

1. s y n c h r o n i c (e.g. typology),
2. d i a c h r o n i c (e.g. comparative historical linguistics).

In the 1960s the interest in CS increased and several organized projects were launched on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States the Center for Applied Linguistics produced a series of synthetic contrastive monographs. In the second half of the sixties, contrastive projects came into being also in Europe (e.g. the German-English Projekt für Angewandte Kontrastive Studien in Kiel, later relocated in Stuttgart, the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian Contrastive

project in Zagreb and the Polish-English Contrastive project in Poznań). But even earlier individual European scholars were contributing to the field...

The main difference between the contrastive work done in Europe and in America was that almost all the works were pedagogically oriented whereas in Europe the importance of the theoretical aspects of CS was recognized on a larger scale and both pedagogical CS and theoretical CS were produced. Some contrastive projects (i.e. the Polish-English contrastive Project) are even more theoretically biased, thus continuing the early European tradition.

The development of contrastive studies in recent years (viz. the proliferation of projects and published materials) has been accompanied since late sixties by vigorous discussions and controversies concerning the theoretical status of CS, their place in both general and applied linguistics as well as their form.

Many linguists as well as language teachers have gone so far as to reject the validity and usefulness of CS. It seems that this attitude results from a number of misunderstandings created by such factors as the peculiar methodological status of CS, the lack of a clearcut distinction between theoretical and applied CS (Stockwell 1968, Fisiak 1971) and the lack of precise formulation of different aims of theoretical CS and applied CS as well as the confusion of the relationship between CS, psycholinguistic theories of interference and errors and the theory of second language learning. Some confusion stems from the misunderstanding of the relationship between CS and linguistic theory.

Let us begin with the distinction between *theoretical* and *applied* PCS (phonological contrastive studies – N.A.). *Theoretical* PCS should give an exhaustive account of the differences and similarities between two phonological systems. The adequacy of the

comparison as well as its exhaustiveness will be determined by the adequacy of the theoretical model underlying the analysis.

Applied PCS are part of applied linguistics. Drawing on the findings of theoretical contrastive studies they provide the framework for the comparison of phonologies of two languages, selecting whatever information is necessary for a specific purpose, e.g. teaching pronunciation, explaining phonological errors, etc. It is obvious that e.g. the information an English learner of Spanish needs is „to know... how he articulates English surface phonology, and how to articulate Spanish surface phonology in order to transfer the right articulations at the right time and in order not to transfer the wrong articulations at any time” (Stockwell 1968: 15). In other words applied pedagogically oriented PCS will contain maximum information about the low phonetic rules (e.g. voice assimilation) and phonetic features and segments with very little (if at all) abstract („deep”) phonological information.

Comparing theoretical and applied CS it is easy to notice a peculiar methodological status of the former which as T.Zabrocki (forthcoming) has rightly pointed out „might be an indirect cause of much of the criticism directed against CA (contrastive analysis) in general. The most important methodological feature of TCA (theoretical contrastive analysis) is that it does not provide any explanation which TCA and no other branch of science can provide. In this sense it is not an explanatory science. What TCA provides is a set of observations concerning what may be called contrastive facts”. Yet we assume that the existence of independent theoretical CS is well grounded. T. Zabrocki (forthcoming) justifies their existence as follows:

1. „The set of contrastive statements it (CA) provides, constitutes the basis of all applications of CF in the area of

psycholinguistic theory of interference, error analysis, and the theory of second language learning”.

2. „TCA, whose results do not explain anything in themselves and which does not even provide any original explanation for contrastive facts it collects, has a useful role supplying premises for the explanations provided by other branches of science such, as those mentioned in 1”.
3. „TCA has a useful role in that the consideration of contrastive data might suggest solutions to various linguistic problems, especially those which cannot be solved without the analysis of evidence taken from more than one language”.

Another issue which has caused much confusion in the field of CS, as has been pointed out, is their relationship to the theory of interference, error analysis and foreign language learning. The major issue at stake is the predictive power of CS.

It is necessary to point out that theoretical CS as part of theoretical linguistics are totally neutral with respect to this problem since their aim is to provide linguistic information concerning two grammars, i.e. to provide what underlies language competence and not to predict how this competence is converted into performance. It is the theory of interference, using the necessary amount of information provided by theoretical CS as well as psychological and other extralinguistic factors that will have to account for errors, i.e. distortions in performance. The fact that differences in particular areas of the phonological systems of two languages cause interference only in some cases and not in all and that no linguistic solution can be provided is due not to the weakness of CS as has sometimes been stated but to extralinguistic factors which can only be accounted for by the theory of language errors.

Lecture 4

In recent years CS were basically criticized for the lack of theoretical base. ...First of all many critics of CS confuse *contrastive techniques* with *contrastive theory*. Secondly, some of them maintain a strange view concerning the adequacy of a particular linguistic theory for CS. CS, as has already been indicated, have no separate theory from the one which underlies the description of the two compared languages. To provide contrastive facts, however, certain techniques have to be worked out so that identities and differences between a given pair of languages can be stated. In other words the question of how to compare, e.g. the phonologies of two languages, has to be answered. The technique which has been used for this purpose is known as translation. It allows us to determine which elements are equivalent in any two languages and which are different. The basis for phonological translation is a universal feature system which provides the basis for translatability, i.e. comparability, of phonetic segments in two different languages.

As regards the adequacy of linguistic theory for contrastive purposes, it seems obvious that the theory which is most adequate for the description of a particular language should also be most adequate for contrastive purposes since CS provide only a set of observations of contrastive facts concerning two languages, their structure being described in terms of the most adequate linguistic theory. It would definitely be wrong to assume that one theory will be better for one purpose and another theory will suit another purpose. ...



PART 10. PROBLEMS FOR THE CL HYPOTHESIS

(RESPONSE AND CRITICISM.)

Available at: https://aabulinguistics.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/course-material_contrastive-linguistics-part-2.pdf

What may be discouraging about CA approaches is the fact that the various procedures involved in conducting an actual comparative analysis are also quite questionable and, as a result, adherents of CA have easily lent themselves to much criticism.

A contrastive analysis must proceed through four steps; *description*, *selection*, *contrast*, and *prediction*. Unfortunately, most analyses are weakened by insufficient care or attention at one or more of these steps, each of which is beset with a host of problems.

Predictions of difficulty by means of contrastive procedures had many shortcomings. For instance, the process could not account for all linguistic problems or situations not even with the five levels of difficulty, and the predictions of difficulty level could not be verified with reliability.

The attempt to predict difficulty by means of contrastive analysis was called the strong version of the CAH (Wardhaugh, 1970) – a version that he believed unrealistic and impractical. Wardhaugh also recognized the weak version of the CAH – one in which the linguistic difficulties can be more profitably explained *a posteriori* (relating to or derived by reasoning from observed facts) by teachers and linguists. When language and errors appear, teachers can utilize their knowledge of the target language and native language to understand the sources of error. The so-called weak version of the CAH is what remains today under the label cross-linguistic influence (CLI) – suggesting that we all recognize the significant role that prior

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experience plays in any learning act, and the influence of the native language as prior experience must not be overlooked. Syntactic, lexical, and semantic interference show far more variation among learners than psycho-motor-based pronunciation interference.

The contrastive hypothesis has soon faced strong criticism among linguists because it was viewed as being too simple and undifferentiated in many respects such as:

1. There was no distinction between various types of foreign language learning (e.g. natural vs. mediated, sequential vs. simultaneous, second vs. third language, etc.).

2. It neglected the age of the learner and the fact that we may approach the linguistic competence of a native speaker if one starts to learn a language early enough or is exposed to it very frequently. Wienold (1973) added to this that the relations between mother tongue and language to be learnt are only one of many factors entering into the learning process.

Another hypothesis argues that the major learning problem might simply be ignorance rather than interference. In that sense Newmark and Reibel (1986) pointed out:

„A person knows how to speak one language, say his native one. Now he tries to speak another one; but in his early stages of learning the new one, there are many things he has not yet learned to do; [...] But he is induced to perform [...] in that new one by an external teacher or by his internal desire to say something. What can he do other than use what he already knows to make up for what he does not know? [...] The problem of ‘interference’ viewed thus reduces to the problem of ignorance, and the solution to the problem is simply more and better training in the target language, [...].”

The assumptions made by Lado were thus, in many ways, too strong, which led many linguists to claim that the contrastive hypothesis has failed:

„Languages do not differ from each other without limit in unpredictable ways, statements to the contrary notwithstanding. All natural languages have a great deal in common so that anyone who has learned one language already knows a great deal about any other language he must learn. Not only does he know a great deal about that other language even before he begins to learn it, but the deep structures of both languages are very much alike, so that the actual differences between the two languages are really quite superficial. However, to learn a second language – and this is the important point – one must learn the precise way in which that second language relates the deep structures to its surface structures and their phonetic representations. Since this way is unique for each language, contrastive analysis can be of little or no help at all in the learning task because the rules to be internalized are, of course, unique.” [Wardhaugh 1970, p. 127]

3. Empirical studies have shown that foreign language learners made numerous mistakes that were not at all predicted by contrastive studies. On the other hand, mistakes that were predicted were hardly ever made by learners. This applies, in particular, to grammar, but also – to a lesser extent – to phonetics and phonology. Furthermore, only about 50% of all mistakes are due to interference, which shows that there is a variety of factors which are responsible for learning difficulties.

4. The contrastive hypothesis lacks a foundation in learning psychology as well as an empirical basis. A systematic comparison of certain pairs of language had not been realised until the 1970s.

This is one of the major points of criticism pointed out by König and Gast (2007): instead of publishing detailed and comprehensive comparative surveys, linguists mostly made isolated observations about differences between pairs of languages. However, a number of publications from the 1970s and 1980s led to a revival of contrastive linguistics, with John Hawkins' (1986) monograph «*A comparative typology of English and German – Unifying the contrasts*» being the most important publication.

Given that contrastive linguistics turned out to be less useful for specific purposes than was expected, it is no longer considered a branch of applied linguistics, but as one type of comparative linguistics.

SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. What two types of contrastive studies are generally accepted at present? Dwell on the differences in their goals (make use of Part 9 of Additional resources).
2. Why has it been argued whether applied linguistics is a science in its own right or not? Provide arguments to support the statement that CA is a major subdiscipline of Applied Linguistics.
3. What terms are used with reference to the whole field of cross-language comparisons and why there is an observable tendency to give preference to the term *contrastive studies* or *contrastive linguistics*?
4. What are the principle approaches that modern contrastive linguists base their research upon?
5. Formulate eight principles of modern contrastive studies.
6. Sum up the main ideas of CAH in applied contrastive studies (make use of Part 10 of Additional resources).

SEMINAR LIBRARY

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Lecture 5. Method of Contrastive analysis

In this lecture we will discuss the procedure of contrastive analysis as treated in theoretical and applied contrastive linguistics.

1. Scientific standard – theory – method
2. Multilingual research: objectives and methods
3. Procedure of contrastive analysis
 - 3.1. Unilateral and bilateral approach
 - 3.2. The structuralists procedure
4. Contrastive analysis in theoretical contrastive studies
5. Additional resources

PART 11. THEORY AND OBSERVATION IN SCIENCE

PART 12. KRZESZOWSKI T. P. ON CONTRASTING LANGUAGES.

6. Seminar questions
7. Seminar library

1. Scientific standard – theory – method

Any scientific research is based on **scientific standards**. Linguistics as an empirical science is supposed to be based on the following minimal standards:

- The inquiry must deal with perceivable data of a certain phenomenon.
- The statement about the phenomenon (hypotheses) must be objective.

Lecture 5

- These statements must be logical and coherent (no contradiction in a statement and between statements).
- They must be systematically ordered (in addition to coherence). Statements must be formulated so that they can be proven wrong or inadequate (if they are).

A **theory** is a system of hypotheses for describing and/or explaining a certain area of objects. Each theory must satisfy certain requirements, such as consistency, completeness, adequacy, simplicity. It must be **falsifiable** in principle.

A **model** is a formal representation of the structural and functional characteristics of an object of study. Models are used in order to explain a theory, to simulate a process or to illustrate the functioning of an object of study.

The quality of a theory and its methods must be judged according whether they lead to results that meet test criteria. A theoretical statement is supposed to be adequate, general and simple. It is adequate to the extent that it applies to all the known data which it is established to explain. It is general insofar as it posits theoretical constructs beyond observed phenomena and can therefore apply to the greatest amount of yet undiscovered data. The last criterion of simplicity is an internal one. It is used for the reliable and transparent decisions between alternative and competing theories.

The adequacy of a theory is tested on several dimensions:

- the extent to which the theory explains the phenomena that it is supposed to explain (empirical/observational and descriptive power, coverage of data),
- the extent to which the theory makes correct predictions for old and new data of the phenomenon under examination (explanatory and predictive power),

- the extent to which it fits with other theories that deal with related facts (cross-theoretical coherence, independent motivation).²¹

The ways linguists may build their theories on the basis of data and use correspondent methods may be different.

The first view of a linguistic way of approaching data and building theories was held by many scholars and is propagated by teaching scientific topics in schools and in popular accounts of science in the media. According to this view, a scientist must begin by collecting observations or produce data by experiments. After he has made a large and sufficient number of such observations or experiments (corpus of research), he proceeds to a generalization about these data. This generalization is expected to be supported by the original (given) data. After several attempts at generalizing he may proceed to a new (modified) hypothesis by looking at new data. The modified hypothesis should cover the old original data and the new data. This way of arriving at hypotheses is called **inductive**. The most typical inductive approach in linguistics is found in American Structuralism with its Discovery Procedures. It is based on the assumption that one has to start without any pre-knowledge or pre-conception about the linguistic object under examination.

The other, more accurate account of scientific method is the following. The scientist has some ideas, some knowledge, or may be interested in a problem (including some knowledge) as the input to his theory-construction. How he comes to that knowledge is of no



theoretical consequence or importance. The scientist then formulates a first working hypothesis as a tentative answer to his problem. A good hypothesis is based on common Scientific standards. It is then tested against a collection of observations or experimental data and might be modified on this data basis. This way is called **deductive** insofar as it assumes that the hypothesis is derived (deduced) from already existent knowledge and then tested by empirical data (see Fig. 5.1).

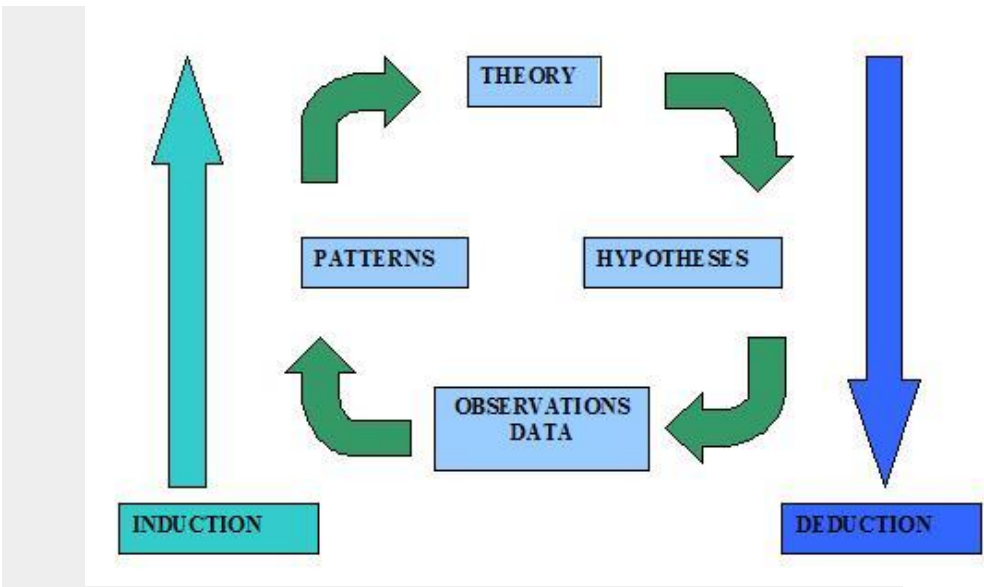


Fig. 5.1. Linguistic way of approaching data and building theories

In some cases it is more appropriate to begin with the inductive approach (i.e. observing patterns, outcomes and behaviours and drawing conclusions from the empirical data). In other cases the contextual framework within which the research will be conducted is much clearer and can therefore be the point of departure for the

research. Often the lines between inductive and deductive processes are blurred in the research process (i.e. both occur); while the main thrust of the study might be inductive, the interaction between the conceptual and empirical aspects of the subject matter might well imply a deductive element inherent in the research. In general (but not always), **quantitative research** methods are usually associated with **deductive** approaches (based on logic), while **qualitative research** methods are usually associated with **inductive** approaches (based on empirical evidence). Similarly, deductive-quantitative designs are usually more structured than inductive-qualitative designs.

A key concept relevant to a discussion of research methodology is that of **validity**.²² When an individual asks, „Is this study valid?“, they are questioning the validity of at least one aspect of the study. There are four types of validity that can be discussed in relation to research and statistics. Thus, when discussing the validity of a study, one must be specific as to which type of validity is under discussion. Therefore, the answer to the question asked above might be that the study is valid in relation to one type of validity but invalid in relation to another type of validity.

Statistical Conclusion Validity: unfortunately, without a background in basic statistics, this type of validity is difficult to understand. The question that is being asked is – „Are the variables under study related?“ or „Is variable A correlated with Variable B?“. If a study has good statistical conclusion validity, we should be relatively certain that the answer to these questions is „yes“. Examples of issues or problems that would threaten statistical

²² For more information go to :
<http://www2.webster.edu/~woolfjm/methods/devresearchmethods.html>

conclusion validity would be random heterogeneity of the research subjects (the subjects represent a diverse group – this increases statistical error) and small sample size (more difficult to find meaningful relationships with a small number of subjects).

Internal Validity: Once it has been determined that the two variables (A and B) are related, the next issue to be determined is one of causality. Does A cause B? If a study is lacking internal validity, one can not make cause and effect statements based on the research; the study would be descriptive but not causal. There are many potential threats to internal validity. For example, if a study has a pretest, an experimental treatment, and a follow-up posttest, history is a threat to internal validity. If a difference is found between the pretest and posttest, it might be due to the experimental treatment but it might also be due to any other event that subjects experienced between the two times of testing (for example, a historical event).

Construct Validity: One is examining the issue of construct validity when one is asking the questions „Am I really measuring the construct that I want to study?“ or „Is my study confounded (Am I confusing constructs)?“ For example, if I want to know a particular drug (Variable A) will be effective for treating depression (Variable B) , I will need at least one measure of depression. If that measure does not truly reflect depression levels but rather anxiety levels (Confounding Variable X), then my study will be lacking construct validity. Thus, good construct validity means that we will be relatively sure that Construct A is related to Construct B and that this is possibly a causal relationship. Examples of other threats to construct validity include subjects apprehension about being evaluated, hypothesis guessing on the part of subjects, and bias introduced in a study by expectancies on the part of the experimenter.

External Validity: External validity addresses the issue of being able to generalize the results of your study to other times, places, and persons. For example, if you conduct a study looking at heart disease in men, can these results be generalized to women? Therefore, one needs to ask the following questions to determine if a threat to the external validity exists: „Would I find these same results with a difference sample?“, „Would I get these same results if I conducted my study in a different setting?“, and „Would I get these same results if I had conducted this study in the past or if I redo this study in the future?“ If I can not answer „yes“ to each of these questions, then the external validity of my study is threatened.

Alongside with research methodology and research methods scholars suggest the notion of **research design** as the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent (and achievable) empirical research. The research design articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyse this data, and how all of this is going to answer your research question. Both data and methods, and the way in which these will be configured in the research project, need to be the most effective in producing the answers to the research question (taking into account practical and other constraints of the study). Different design logics are used for different types of study (Fig. 5.2).

The research design also reflects the **purpose of the inquiry**, which can be characterised as one or more of the following:
exploration → description → explanation → prediction → evaluation → history.

Exploratory study is the most useful (and appropriate) research design for those projects that are addressing a subject about which there are high levels of uncertainty and ignorance about the subject, and when the problem is not very well understood (i.e. very

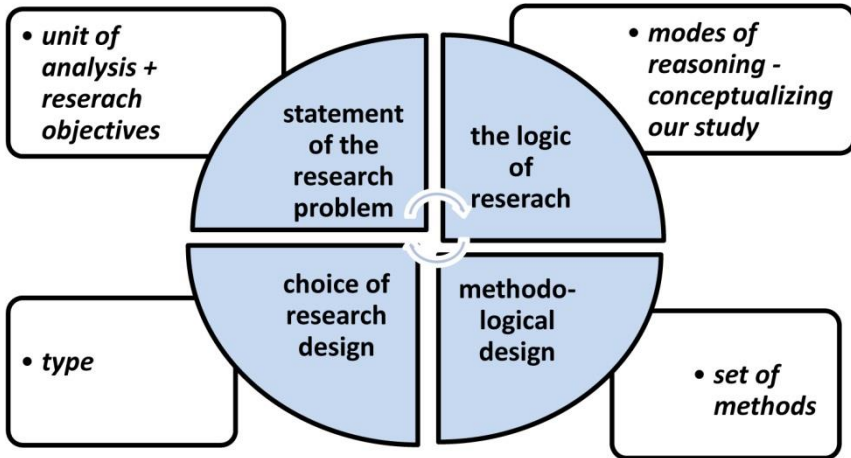


Fig. 5.2. Connecting the conceptual research problems to the empirical research

little existing research on the subject matter). Such research is usually characterised by a high degree of flexibility and lacks a formal structure. The main aim of exploratory research is to identify the boundaries of the environment in which the problems, opportunities or situations of interest are likely to reside, and to identify the salient factors or variables that might be found there and be of relevance to the research.

Descriptive study aims at providing an accurate and valid representation of the factors or variables that pertain / are relevant to the research question. Such research is more structured than exploratory research.

Explanatory study is referred to as **analytical** study. The main aim of explanatory research is to identify any causal links between the factors or variables that pertain to the research problem. Such research is also very structured in nature.

Types of research design include:

- generating **primary data**, e.g. surveys, experiments, case studies, programme evaluation, ethnographic studies;
- analysing **existing data**, e.g. text data – discourse analysis, content analysis, textual criticism, historical studies, or – numeric data – secondary data analysis, statistical modelling.

RESEARCH DESIGN VS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research design	Research methodology
Focuses on the end-product : What kind of study is being planned and what kind of results are aimed at. E.g. Historical - comparative study, interpretive approach OR exploratory study, inductive and deductive etc.	Focuses on the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used. E.g. Document analysis, survey methods, analysis of existing (secondary) data/statistics etc)
Point of departure (driven by) = Research problem or question.	Point of departure (driven by) = Specific tasks (data collection or sampling) at hand.
Focuses on the logic of research: What evidence is required to address the question adequately?	Focuses on the individual (not linear) steps in the research process and the most 'objective' (unbiased) procedures to be employed.

Fig. 5.3 Research design vs research methodology

Lecture 5

Thus your research will dictate the kinds of research methodologies you use to underpin your work and methods you use in order to collect data (see Fig. 5.3.). If you wish to collect quantitative data you are probably measuring variables and verifying existing theories or hypotheses or questioning them. Data is often used to generate new hypotheses based on the results of data collected about different variables. One's colleagues are often much happier about the ability to verify quantitative data as many people feel safe only with numbers and statistics. However, often collections of statistics and number crunching are not the answer to understanding meanings, which are better understood through qualitative data. And quantitative data, it must be remembered, are also collected in accordance with certain research vehicles and underlying research questions. Even the production of numbers is guided by the kinds of questions asked of the subjects, so is essentially subjective, although it appears less so than qualitative research data.

Qualitative research is carried out when we wish to understand meanings, look at, describe and understand experience, ideas, beliefs and values.

The common approach is to use **quantitative and qualitative research methods together**. It helps to back up one set of findings from one method of data collection underpinned by one methodology, with another very different method underpinned by another methodology - for example, you might give out a questionnaire (normally quantitative) to gather statistical data about responses, and then back this up and research in more depth by interviewing (normally qualitative) selected members of your questionnaire sample.

2. Multilingual research: objectives and methods

It is rather uncommon to find language typology, contrastive linguistics and translation studies subsumed under one label, such as the label of multilingual research. Translation studies is largely considered an academic discipline of its own right; and language typology and CL, while being disjoint areas of multilingual research, are part of linguistics. However all three of them are clearly concerned with accounting for cross-linguistic variation. What is it exactly that distinguishes them?

Any academic discipline is defined by its subject of investigation, i.e. by **what** it does, by its objectives, i.e. **why** or for what purpose it does it, and by the methods it employs, i.e. by **how** it arrives at its findings. Given that the three areas of multilingual research in focus here are by and large disjoint disciplines, then they must exhibit differences in one or more of these respects:

- subject of investigation: what is compared cross-linguistically in language typology, CL and linguistic translation analysis? The subject of investigation in multi-lingual research is either the comparison of language systems or of texts in more than one language;
- objectives: What is the motivation for carrying out such comparisons? The goal of cross-linguistic comparison is either the detection of universals or cross-linguistic commonality or it is the description of cross-linguistic contrast;
- methods: how are these comparisons carried out? The methods employed range from qualitative and introspection-based/elicitation-based to empirical (observation of real-world data) and quantitative techniques of analysis.

Another issue concerning the methods employed in

multilingual research is the choice of *tertium comparationis*, on the basis of which analysis is carried out. In the case of translation studies, the *tertium comparationis* is the text; a source language (SL) text and its translation into a target language (TL) are comparable simply by virtue of being in a translation relation. In language typology and CL what is primarily compared are linguistic forms and structures. If explanation of the cross linguistic variation is sought, various sources are considered, ranging from historical change, over socio-semiotic variation, to cognitive processing. Generally cognitive explanations prevail, if a universalist perspective is taken on; cross linguistic variation, and socio-semiotic explanations are predominant, if a relativist point of view is taken.

To recollect what the difference between universalist and relativist perspective is let us answer two separate questions:

1. Are semantic distinctions in languages determined by largely arbitrary linguistic convention?
2. Do semantic differences cause corresponding cognitive or perceptual differences in speakers of different languages?

The traditional framing implicitly assumes that the two questions will receive the same answer: either both „yes“ (relativist), or both „no“ (universalist). A relativist holds that there is no universal vocabulary of thought and perception, so languages are free to vary largely arbitrarily in their semantic partitioning of the world (yes to question 1), and these linguistic differences can leave their imprint on thought and perception (yes to question 2). A universalist, in contrast, holds that there is a universal vocabulary of thought and perception, so languages are constrained to reflect it (no to question 1), and cannot alter it (no to question 2).

3. Procedure of contrastive analysis method

3.1. Unilateral and bilateral approach

Two bases of CA are usually mentioned by the linguists.

1. CA is termed unilateral when languages are compared on the basis of one of the analysed languages and one of them is used as a model. Unilateral CA is widely used in the analysis of foreign languages comparing them with the learner's native language.
2. CA according to which both compared languages are studied from the point of view of some third language system, is termed bilateral. This third language may be:
 - a living language which may function as an intermediary in communication,
 - a dead language which is fixed in invariable state (Latin, Ancient Greek),
 - an artificial language applied in the process of typological analysis of a number of languages,
 - a special metalanguage created to ensure most objective and exact description of other languages.

A bilateral method is most commonly applied for theoretical studies and unicentral method – for educational purposes.

3.2. The structuralists procedure

CA is applied differently for theoretical and educational purposes (in theoretical and applied CL). But some general assumptions will be identical. Thus, language comparison presupposes that a special theoretical model is chosen before structures are compared and contrasted.

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Specific linguistic models applied in the description of languages involved in contrastive studies are structural, transformational, stratificational or systemic. Most of the contrastive studies carried out have been based on surface structure characteristics, such as those described by the structuralists. The procedure followed was:

(1) **selection** (*i.e. certain items, which may be entire subsystems such as the auxiliary system or areas known through error analysis to present difficulty, are selected for comparison*); selection is necessary because it is impossible to compare every sound, word, word structure and etc. of two languages, so the analyst should be limited. He/she can do the selection through personal experience or bilingual intuition. Actually in this step you should decide what is to be compared with what;

(2) **description** (*i.e. a formal description of the two languages is made*); description is the stage at which the selected material is linguistically described and it is substantial that description is done within the same theory, for example for describing the sound systems of two languages we use structural phonology. Different theories are used for describing grammar etc.;

(3) **comparison** (*i.e. the identification of areas of difference and similarity*);

(4) **prediction** (*i.e. identifying which areas are likely to cause errors*);

(5) **verification.**

In (3), comparison, the simplest procedure was to identify which aspects of the two languages (on the level of form, meaning or functioning) were similar and which were different. However, contrastive analysts soon realized that there were degrees of similarity and difference. Here are some of the possibilities that a

comparison might reveal:

1) no difference between a feature of the first and second language, e.g. The contracted form '*J'ai*' in French is mirrored by the contracted form '*I've*' in English;

2) 'Convergent phenomena' (i.e. two items in the first language become coalesced into one in the L2), e.g. Where the L2 is English, German '*kennen*' and '*wissen*' coalesce into 'know';

3) An item in the first language is absent in the target language, e.g. *In German, subordinate clauses require a different word order from main clauses, whereas in English the word order is the same in both clause types;*

4) An item in the first language has a different distribution from the equivalent item in the target language, e.g. *In many African languages [η] occurs word-initially, but in English it only occurs word medially or finally (e.g. singer or thing);*

5) No similarity between first language feature and target language feature e.g. *In Spanish, negation is preverbal ('No se'), whereas in English it is postverbal ('I don't know'). in addition English negation involves the use of the auxiliary system, whereas Spanish negation does not;*

6) 'Divergent phenomena' (i.e. one item in the first language becomes two items in the target language), e.g. *Where the L2 is French, English 'the' diverges into 'le' and 'la'.*

It is one thing to develop categories, such as (1) to (6) above, for classifying the ways in which two languages differ. It is quite another, however, to relate these linguistic differences to learning difficulty. Differences can be identified linguistically, but difficulty involves psychological considerations. Linguistic differences can be arranged in a 'hierarchy of difficulty'. For example, (1) to (6) above are ordered from zero to greatest difficulty. This claim is not based,

however, either on a psycholinguistic theory which explains why some differences create more learning difficulty than others, or on empirical research. It is based only on the conviction that the degree of linguistic difference corresponds to the degree of learning difficulty.

Most contrastive analyses have compared phonological systems, probably as a recognition of the role that the L1 plays in ‘foreign’ accents. However, the Contrastive Structure Series (Stockwell, Bowen and Martin) provided full-length studies of the contrastive syntax of the major European languages and English, while the 1970s saw a number of studies in Europe. There have been relatively few studies of vocabulary and Lado’s (1957) suggestion that contrastive studies of cultures should be carried out has not been really taken up.

In (4) prediction we judge whether difference and similarities discovered through comparison are problematic or not (deviant structures and interference structures are predicted).

Verification (5) is the final step of contrastive studies aimed to find out if the predictions made in the fourth step are true or not (do Ukrainian learners of English in reality commit the errors which the contrastive analyst predicts or not)

4. Contrastive analysis in theoretical contrastive studies

As we have already stated (Lecture 4) TCL provides an adequate model for the comparison of languages and determines how and which elements are comparable. Three different models can be singled out depending on the approach selected (Table 5.1).

Lecture 5

Table 5.1.

N ^o	MODEL	APPROACH
1	Small systems of lingual features are contrasted	Of limited systemacy
2	Semantic, associative, syntactic, word-formation, rhetoric and other fields are compared	Field
3	Preferences in choosing different aspects underlying processes of nomination of cognition	Denotative

There are other models suggested as frameworks for contrastive studies. For instance Di Pietro [Di Pietro 1971, P. 17 – 19] suggests autonomous and generalized models. In autonomous contrastive studies no explicit reference is made to any universal, underlying structure which the compared languages might share. In such studies each language is described independently and in its own right. In generalized models, explicit reference is made to those layers of structure which the compared languages share, not only on account of their typological or genetic similarity, but mainly because of the universal grammar which is believed to underlie all human languages. Generalized models are further divided into taxonomic and operational. Taxonomic models are restricted to stating similarities and differences across languages and to stating their „hierarchical importance“. Operational models seek to formulate a series of conversions performed on the source language in order to produce the forms of the goal language [Di Pietro 1971, p. 18]. This second model can lead to the formulation, in linguistic terms, of the steps which would have to be taken by the learner to acquire a

foreign language. Ideally such models would lead to the formulation of algorithms of foreign language acquisition.

But the majority of contrastive studies models is based on distinguishing various kinds of equivalence (hence tertium comparationis). There are the following kinds of equivalence:

- *formal* – based on linguistic structure,
- *derivational-semantic* – connected with the „depth” of the derivation,
- *translational* – limited by truth conditions and culture-specific considerations,
- *functional-communicative* – involving „mental processes of cognition and associative connotative components” [Kühlwein 1983].

This division does not explicitly relate the concept of equivalence to the concept of tertium comparationis.

The taxonomy suggested by T.P. Krzeszowski [Krzeszowski, 1990] is based on the assumption that various kinds of contrastive studies can be distinguished in a strict relation to various tertium comparationis adopted and, consequently, to various kinds of equivalence²³.

PART 11. THEORY AND OBSERVATION IN SCIENCE

(from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. – Mode of access: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/science-theory-observation/>)



²³ **PART 12. KRZESZOWSKI T. P. ON CONTRASTING LANGUAGES.**

Lecture 5

Scientists obtain a great deal of the evidence they use by observing natural and experimentally generated objects and effects. Much of the standard philosophical literature on this subject comes from 20th century logical positivists and empiricists, their followers, and critics who embraced their issues and accepted some of their assumptions even as they objected to specific views. Their discussions of observational evidence tend to focus on epistemological questions about its role in theory testing. This entry follows their lead even though observational evidence also plays important and philosophically interesting roles in other areas including scientific discovery and the application of scientific theories to practical problems.

The issues that get the most attention in the standard philosophical literature on observation and theory have to do with the distinction between observables and unobservables, the form and content of observation reports, and the epistemic bearing of observational evidence on theories it is used to evaluate.

.....Reasoning from observations has been important to scientific practice at least since the time of Aristotle who mentions a number of sources of observational evidence including animal dissection. But philosophers didn't talk about observation as extensively, in as much detail, or in the way we have become accustomed to, until the 20th century when logical empiricists and logical positivists transformed philosophical thinking about it.

The first transformation was accomplished by ignoring the implications of a long standing distinction between observing and experimenting. To experiment is to isolate, prepare, and manipulate things in hopes of producing epistemically useful evidence. It had been customary to think of observing as noticing and attending to interesting details of things perceived under more or less natural

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conditions, or by extension, things perceived during the course of an experiment. To look at a berry on a vine and attend to its color and shape would be to observe it. To extract its juice and apply reagents to test for the presence of copper compounds would be to perform an experiment. Contrivance and manipulation influence epistemically significant features of observable experimental results to such an extent that epistemologists ignore them at their peril. Robert Boyle (1661), John Herschell (1830), Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar (1979), Ian Hacking (1983), Harry Collins (1985) Allan Franklin (1986), Peter Galison (1987), Jim Bogen and Jim Woodward (1988), and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger(1997), are some of the philosophers and philosophically minded scientists, historians, and sociologists of science who gave serious consideration to the distinction between observing and experimentation. The logical empiricists and positivists tended to ignore it.

A second transformation, characteristic of the linguistic turn in philosophy, was to shift attention away from things observed in natural or experimental settings and concentrate instead on the logic of observation reports. The shift was justified by appeal, first of all, to the assumption that a scientific theory is a system of sentences or sentence like structures (propositions, statements, claims, and so on) to be tested by comparison to observational evidence. Secondly it was assumed that the comparisons must be understood in terms of inferential relations. If inferential relations hold only between sentence like structures, it follows that, theories must be tested, not against observations or things observed, but against sentences, propositions, etc. used to report observations.

Friends of this line of thought theorized about the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of observation sentences, and inferential connections between observation and theoretical sentences. In doing

so they hoped to articulate and explain the authoritativeness widely conceded to the best natural, social and behavioral scientific theories. Some pronouncements from astrologers, medical quacks, and other pseudo scientists gain wide acceptance, as do those of religious leaders who rest their cases on faith or personal revelation, and rulers and governmental officials who use their political power to secure assent. But such claims do not enjoy the kind of credibility that scientific theories can attain. The logical positivists and empiricists tried to account for this by appeal to the objectivity and accessibility of observation reports, and the logic of theory testing. Part of what they meant by calling observational evidence objective was that cultural and ethnic factors have no bearing on what can validly be inferred about the merits of a theory from observation reports. So conceived, objectivity was important to the logical positivists' and empiricists' criticism of the Nazi idea that Jews and Aryans have fundamentally different thought processes such that physical theories suitable for Einstein and his kind should not be inflicted on German students. In response to this rationale for ethnic and cultural purging of the German education system the positivists and empiricists argued that observational evidence should be used to evaluate scientific theories because of its objectivity. (Galison 1990).

Less dramatically, the efforts working scientists put into producing objective evidence attest to the importance they attach to objectivity. Furthermore it is possible, in principle at least, to make observation reports and the reasoning used to draw conclusions from them available for public scrutiny. If observational evidence is objective in this sense, it can provide people with what they need to decide for themselves which theories to accept without having to rely unquestioningly on authorities.

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Although theory testing dominates much of the standard philosophical literature on observation, it is by no means the only use to which observational evidence is put. Francis Bacon argued long ago that the best way to discover things about nature is to use experiences (his term for observations as well as experimental results) to develop and improve scientific theories (Bacon 1620 49ff). The role of observational evidence in scientific discovery was an important topic for Whewell (1858) and Mill (1872) among others in the 19th century. Recently, Judea Pearl, Clark Glymour, and their students and associates addressed it rigorously in the course of developing techniques for inferring claims about causal structures from statistical features of the data they give rise to (Pearl, 2000; Spirtes, Glymour, and Scheines 2000). But such work is exceptional. For the most part, philosophers follow Karl Popper who maintained, contrary to the title of one of his best known books, that there is no such thing as a ‘logic of discovery’. (Popper 1959) Drawing a sharp distinction between discovery and justification, the standard philosophical literature devotes most of its attention to the latter. Although most of what follows addresses questions about theory testing, some of it can be applied to questions about how observation figures in inventing, developing and modifying theories.

Theories are customarily represented as collections of sentences, propositions, statements or beliefs, etc., and their logical consequences. Among these are maximally general explanatory and predictive laws (Coulomb's law of electrical attraction and repulsion, and Maxwellian electromagnetism equations for example), along with lesser generalizations that describe more limited natural and experimental phenomena (e.g., the ideal gas equations describing relations between temperatures and pressures of enclosed gasses, and

general descriptions of positional astronomical regularities). Observations are used in testing generalizations of both kinds.

Some philosophers prefer to represent theories as collections of 'states of physical or phenomenal systems' and laws. The laws for any given theory are ...relations over states which determine...possible behaviors of phenomenal systems within the theory's scope. (Suppe 1977) So conceived, a theory can be adequately represented by more than one linguistic formulation because it is not a system of sentences or propositions. Instead, it is a non-linguistic structure which can function as a semantic model of its sentential or propositional representations. (Suppe 1977) This entry treats theories as collections of sentences or sentential structures with or without deductive closure. But the questions it takes up arise in pretty much the same way when theories are represented in accordance with this semantic account.



PART 12. KRZESZOWSKI T. P. ON CONTRASTING LANGUAGES.

(adapted from Krzeszowski T. P. *Contrasting Languages*.

The Scope of Contrastive Linguistics / Tomasz P. Krzeszowski. – Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. – 290 p.)

The first division is drawn between text-bound and systematic (or projective) contrastive studies. It is based on the familiar distinction between *la parole* and *la langue*. Text-bound studies involve comparisons of texts in two (or more) languages and do not go beyond such texts to generalizations about grammars, i.e. rules and systems that generate those texts. Projective contrastive studies are related to text-bound contrastive studies in the same way in which the study of language is related to the study of texts. Such

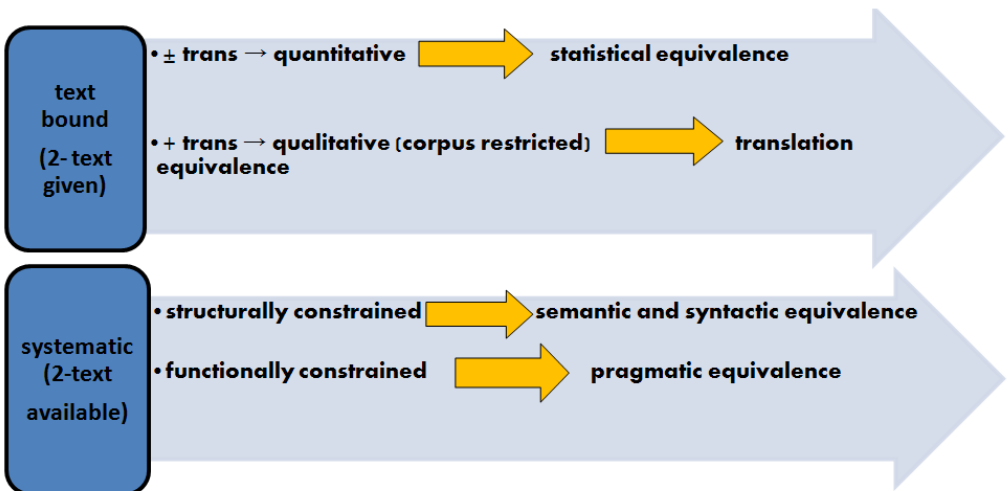
studies go beyond primary linguistic data found in texts in order to grasp and formulate generalizations about various aspects of compared languages. At this point it is useful to introduce the term *2-text* ['tu:tekst] to refer to any pair of texts, written or oral, in two languages which are used as data in contrastive studies. Every *2-text* can be described in terms of a binary distinction: [\pm translation] (henceforth [\pm trans]). A *2-text* marked as [+ trans] is such a *2-text* of which it can be asserted that its constituent texts can function as translations. Such *2-texts* usually provide data for qualitative contrastive studies, which constitute the main bulk of contrastive studies. *2-texts* which are not translations, marked [$-$ trans], can be used as data for quantitative contrastive studies.

Text-bound contrastive studies are corpus-restricted if no systematic generalizations outside the original data are made. Quantitative contrastive studies are necessarily corpus-restricted, even if they enable one to make statistical predictions concerning other similar texts. Quantitative text-bound contrastive studies may also be corpus-restricted as long as they do not aim at drawing systemic generalizations about the languages of the *2-text*. But they may also serve as basis for projective generalizations, if clearly stated constraints on the selection of the relevant *2-texts* are formulated and implemented. The relevant *2-texts* serve as linguistic data on which contrastive grammars as generalizations about differences and similarities in the compared languages are based. We can now see that *tertium comparationis* is in fact the reason why any two texts are brought together as a *2-text* and/or why any two items in two languages are juxtaposed for comparison. Each type of contrastive studies has its own type of *tertium comparationis*. Within each type of *tertium comparationis* it is possible to distinguish more specific subtypes, subsubtypes, etc., unique within each type. Each

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type of *tertium comparationis* is connected with a specific type of equivalence.

Text-bound contrastive studies may involve statistical comparative studies and the relevant 2-text need not be [+trans]. However to prevent comparisons of incomparables one has to establish a *tertium comparationis* (and consequently an equivalence). The *tertium comparationis* will restrict the class of texts that can undergo comparisons. Thus, it may be necessary to require that texts constituting a particular 2-text, be written in the same register or at least deal with the same topic or represent the same literary genre. Whatever requirements on the „sameness” of the constituent texts are imposed, they will determine the *tertium comparationis* relevant in these texts. If the compared texts are translations, no additional requirements are necessary. Statistical equivalence can be established on 2-texts which are either [+trans] or [-trans], but in the latter case the extra requirements, referred to above, must be met.



Statistical equivalence refers to various systematically equivalent items which appear in 2-texts and which have maximally similar frequencies of occurrence. In order to qualify as statistically equivalent, two items across languages need not be in the strictly delimited semantic and syntactic equivalence, but to be comparable at all, they have to be equivalent in some sense. In many instances statistically equivalent constructions are not semantically and syntactically equivalent.

Consider as an example the English participial construction in such sentences as:

(1) *I saw Peter entering the house*

The semantic-syntactic equivalent of (1) in Polish is

(2) *Widziałem Piotra wchodzącego do domu*

As the closest approximation to an acceptable word for word translation. If we consider quantitative data (1) and (2) will turn out to be non-equivalent. The intralinguistic count for English and an analogous count for Polish will reveal that the frequency of occurrence of the construction

Noun phrase 1 + Verb + Noun phrase 2 + ing-verb + X

represented by (1) in comparison with other English verb-complement constructions, is higher in the English texts than the frequency of occurrence of the semantically-syntactically equivalent Polish construction (2). In Polish (and in Ukrainian) this complement construction is less frequent than *Widziałem, jak Piotr wchodził*.

The same result can be obtained cross-linguistically and more directly by looking at various translations of a given construction into another language. The equivalent construction which is most frequently relative to other, nearly synonymous constructions, will also be used most frequently in translations. Thus statistical comparisons can be conducted both on texts which are attested as

translations and on texts which are not translations but are comparable on account of being written on a similar topic, by similarly qualified authors using similar registers, etc.

Semanto-syntactic equivalence is not required in the case of *2-texts* compared in respect of their styles and registers. Such texts need not be semanto-syntactically equivalent but must be acceptable translations, which means that they have to be pragmatically equivalent. Obviously erroneous translations must naturally be disregarded, as well as those translations which fail to convey some relevant pragmatic functions, especially is alternative, more adequate translations are available. Although constraints on the suitability of *2-texts* for stylistic contrastive studies are less rigorous than the constraints imposed on *2-texts* as data for syntactic contrastive studies, they are no less important and must be stated clearly and unequivocally, lest contrastive studies fail to grasp the relevant generalizations concerning the pragmatic aspect of the compared texts. Pragmatic equivalence as *tertium comparationis* for stylistic and sociolinguistic contrastive studies is such a relation that holds between constituent texts of *2-texts* selected in such a way that they evoke maximally similar cognitive reactions in the users of these texts.

The fundamental functional differentiation of style holds in roughly the same way for cultured languages and it makes itself felt in roughly the same tendencies even though not always realized by the same means of expression. In other words: French scientific style will be characterized by analogous stylistic tendencies as its counterpart in Czech, in the same way as the basic features distinguishing the *belles-lettres* narrative style from descriptive style will be the same in English as, say, in Italian. This is due to the impact of social, i.e. extralingual communicative needs which e.g. in

languages of the European cultural sphere in the given period bear on the whole an analogous character. This is why we engage in comparing discourses of belle-lettre prose in various languages, or scientific style in various languages and so on. In this manner a certain common foundation is gained upon which contrastive analysis of style can be built.

SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. What are the minimal standards linguistics as an empirical science is based on ?
2. What is a theory and how can its adequacy be tested?
3. Comment on possible ways of approaching data and building theories.
4. Explain the notion of validity and its types.
5. Describe the structuralist procedure applied in CA.
6. What different models for comparison can be singled in TCL depending on the approach selected?

SEMINAR LIBRARY

1. *Di Pietro R.J.* Language structures in contrast / Robert J. Di Pietro. – Rowly, Mass.: Newbury House, 1971. – 193 p.
2. *Krzeszowski T. P.* Contrasting Languages. The Scope of Contrastive Linguistics / Tomasz P. Krzeszowski. – Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. – 290 p.
3. *Kühlwein W.* Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Trier/Saarbrücken, 25. – 30.9.1978 / Kühlwein W., Thome W., Wilss G. eds.). – München: Fink, 1981. – 323 s.



Lecture 6. *Tertium comparationis* in contrastive studies

This lecture introduces one of the main problems of theoretical contrastive linguistics, namely the issue of the platform of comparison. It deals with *tertium comparationis* as an overall platform of reference which enables the comparison to be performed.

1. Comparability criterion and *tertium comparationis*.
Establishing comparability
2. Fundamental methodological issues of cross-linguistic comparability
3. *Tertium comparationis* in the course of time
4. Possible *tertium comparationis*
5. Additional resources

PART 13. INTERPRETING THE MEANING OF TRANSLATION

PART 14. BILATERAL CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH VERB SYSTEMS

6. Seminar questions
7. Seminar library

1. Comparability criterion and *tertium comparationis*.
Establishing comparability

As it has been emphasized in the previous lecture, in the late 1940s and 1950s, contrastive analysis was seen by many linguists

[Fries 1945; Lado 1957 and others] primarily as a pedagogical tool. Results of the analysis – similarities and differences found between the two language systems – were thought to be able to predict the difficulties in language learning and thus be directly relevant to language teaching methodology. In practice, these predictions did not always prove to be quite precise and successful.

Later empirical research tried to draw a distinction between theoretical and applied contrastive studies [Fisiak 1980; Chesterman 1998]. Theoretical studies in this sense were close to language typology, essentially non-directional, „starting from some shared or presumably universal property and looking at its manifestations in two languages” [Chesterman 1998, p. 40], while applied studies were still of high pedagogical relevance. They were said to be directional, as they „start from a property or expression in one language and investigate its manifestation in another” [Chesterman 1998] (Fig 6.1.)

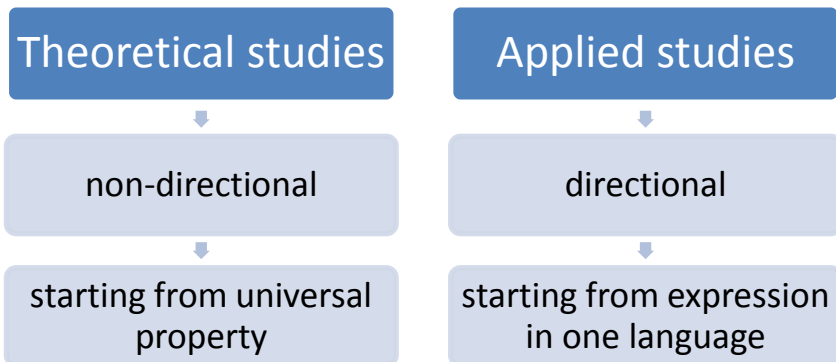


Fig. 6.1. Distinction between theoretical and applied CS in reference to starting point of contrastive research.

The ultimate goal of TCL is to discover the **degree of similarity** between languages through the analysis of actual realization of the chosen universal property.

Andrew Chesterman [Chesterman 1998], for example, makes a useful distinction between **similarity-as-trigger**, defining it as „*the notion of a particular relation existing between entities in the world, a relation that impinges upon human perception, from matter to mind*” and **similarity-as-attribution**, which goes in the opposite direction, from mind to matter. It is essentially a subjective, probabilistic, cognitive process that perceives two entities as being similar. Both aspects of similarity are always present. A. Chesterman suggests the following building-blocks for understanding similarity [Chesterman 1998, p.16]:

- a. The concept of similarity is Janus-faced. It simultaneously refers to a relation-in-the-world and a perception in the mind. The element of subjective perception is always present in any judgment of similarity.
- b. Two entities are perceived to be similar to the extent that their salient features match.
- c. Two entities count as the same within a given frame of reference if neither is perceived to have features which the other lacks.
- d. Assessments about what counts as a feature and how salient a feature is are both context-bound (where context includes the purpose of the assessment) and assessor-bound.
- e. Assessments of similarity are thus constrained by relevance.
- f. Degree of similarity correlates inversely with the extension of the set of items judged to be similar.

- g. Two main types of similarity relation can be distinguished: divergent and convergent.

Comparability criterion is one of the key concepts and has to be established prior to any analysis. The analyst is supposed to answer questions *what lingual objects can be compared* in the observed languages and *what the aspects of comparison are*.

In the previous lecture we have suggested three approaches to theoretical contrastive studies:

- 1) Small systems of lingual features of a lingual object are contrasted.
- 2) Semantic, associative, syntactic, word-formation, rhetoric and other fields are compared.
- 3) Preferences in choosing different aspects underlying processes of creating lingual objects.

Within these approaches different *tertia comparationis* are applied (Fig 6.2.)

Traditionally, there are three main ways of dealing with the problem of comparability. Originally, it used to be established either at the semantic or formal/grammatical level. The third way of establishing comparability criterion assumes defining the relations of equivalence, similarity and difference in the observed languages.

The notion of equivalence was originally taken from theory of translation and it involved the concept of translation equivalence. More specifically, equivalence in contrastive studies assumes that there is a universal feature, an overall platform of reference, *tertium comparationis*, which enables the comparison to be performed. The actual realization of that universal feature in the two languages is what the contrastivist is interested in. Tertium comparationis, which enables the comparison to be performed, is, in other words, a

Lecture 6

background of sameness, and the *sine qua non*²⁴ for any justifiable, systematic study of contrasts [Chesterman 2005, p.163]. Thus the main question is: which categories can be used to compare languages. The older practice of describing all languages with the categories of European languages has been discredited since the early 20th century: We know that languages have very different categories, and this urged linguists to describe each language in its own terms, i.e. with its own categories. This view was widespread in the structuralist period around the middle of the 20th century, but it also meant that it was no longer clear how to compare languages if each has different categories. With the advent of generative grammar, the prevailing view since the 1960s came to be that the categories of different languages are after all much more similar than claimed by the structuralists, and it was often assumed without discussion that categories like *verb, noun, determiner, complementizer, 3rd person, plural, subject, specifier, wh-element, anaphor* (or the features that constitute these categories) are universal or universally available. At the same time, successes in empirical world-wide comparison seemed to confirm that languages again and again show the same categories. But the last years have seen a resurgence of the controversy: some scholars defend the standard view of generative grammar, others returned to the view that each language has its own categories, so that language comparison must make use of a special set of comparative concepts.

²⁴ *An essential or indispensable element, condition, or ingredient.*

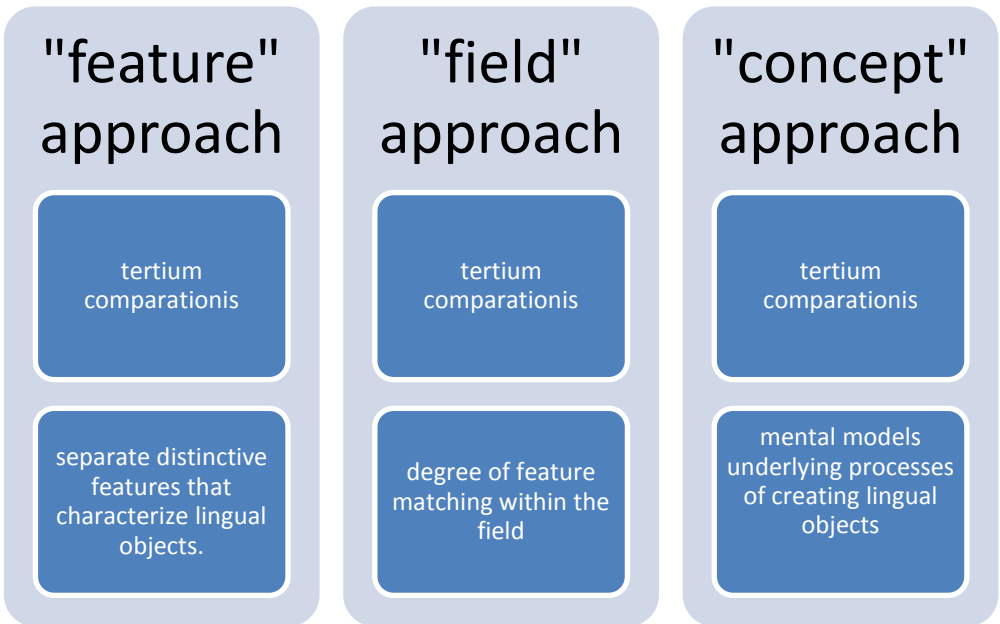


Fig 6.2 *Tertia comparationis* applied within three main approaches in contrastive studies.

Just like linguistic typology, CL has to face the problem of „comparability of incommensurable systems” [Haspelmath]. In non-universalist frameworks (such as early structuralist linguistics and its modern successors), linguistic categories are only defined relative to the system that they form part of. Accordingly, the question arises whether categories from different linguistic systems can be compared at all, and if so, how such a comparison can be carried out. In very general terms, **comparison can be defined** as the identification of similarities and differences between two or more categories along a specific (set of) dimension(s). The categories compared must be of the same type, i.e. there has to be a set of properties that they have in

common, or a superordinate category containing them. One major challenge for comparative linguistics thus is to determine the nature of that superordinate category ('C_s') for any pair of categories under comparison: (1) C_s C₁ C₂.

Martin Haspelmath [Haspelmath] has argued that cross-linguistic comparison needs to be based on „*comparative concepts*”, i.e. analytic notions that are used to describe specific aspects of linguistic systems, e.g. ‘*subject*’, ‘*case*’, ‘*(past/present/future) tense*’, etc. For instance, a ‘*subject*’ in German does not have precisely the (system-internal) properties of a ‘*subject*’ in English. Still, ‘*subject*’ can be used as a comparative concept, in the sense of ‘grammaticalized neutralization over specific types of semantic roles’. Determining the extent of similarity as well as the differences between the instantiations of the comparative concept ‘*subject*’ in the languages under comparison is precisely the task that a relevant contrastive study has to carry out. Thus, comparative concepts are concepts created by comparative linguists for the purpose of formulating readily testable cross-linguistic generalizations. They are potentially applicable to any human language. Their definitions contain other universally applicable concepts of four kinds: conceptual-semantic concepts, general formal concepts (such as *precede*, *overt*), universal formal concepts (such as *grammatical construction*), and other (more primitive) comparative concepts. Comparative concepts allow linguists to identify comparable phenomena in different languages, but by identifying a phenomenon in a particular language as a match of a comparative concept, nothing is claimed about the way in which that phenomenon should be analyzed within the language (what kind of descriptive category

should be used for it). Comparative concepts and descriptive categories are totally different kinds of entities that should not be confused.

2. Fundamental methodological issues of cross-linguistic comparability

Comparability does not mean ‘equivalence’: it is part of a CA to determine the degree of equivalence between (comparable) categories from different languages (‘non-equivalence’, ‘partial equivalence’, ‘near equivalence’). Comparative concepts are universally applicable, and they are defined on the basis of other universally applicable concepts: universal conceptual-semantic concepts, universal formal concepts, general formal concepts, and other comparative concepts [Haspelmath 2010, p. 665]. The exact way in which comparability is established depends on the type of phenomenon under comparison.

A typical example of comparison based on form alone is provided by Veronica Yartseva [Yartseva 1981] in the domain of grammar. She singles out minimal pairs based on attributive relations and considers the position of the component of the word combination. Thus comparison is carried out proceeding from:

- attribute position (before or after the attributed component),
- parataxis of the attribute or its separation from the attributed,
- lexico-grammatical type of the attribute (part of speech used to express it),
- form of syntactic ties (parataxis, agreement, government),
- possibility of synonymic substitution,

- possibility of expanding word-combinations by
 - a) parallel inclusion of homogeneous members,
 - b) expanding of word-combinations by adding members depending on it.

Thus lexico-semantic value of attributes in compared languages will finally depend on general grammatico-semantic properties of the language and semantic properties of its lexico-grammatical classes (parts of speech). For example, all languages have demonstrative pronouns but not all have articles, types of possessive pronouns also differ (e.g. *ceiũ* in Ukrainian)

Each language is first analyzed in its own terms, and the „raw data” is subject to a preliminary comparison based on relevant comparative concepts. The pairs of categories thus identified are then subject to a contrastive analysis, which is carried out against the background of bilingual output (Fig.6.3.).

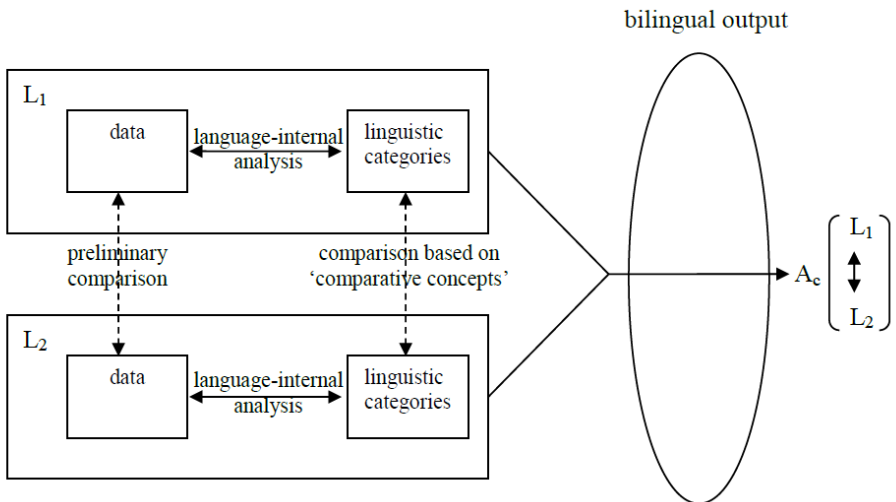


Fig. 6.3. Comparison in contrastive linguistics against the background of bilingual output

Fig. 6.3. provides the empirical basis for contrastive studies and functions as a conceptual link between the linguistic systems investigated, as it can be used to establish comparability between categories from different languages. It addresses some fundamental methodological issues, in particular the question of cross-linguistic comparability. It „works” for the comparison of purely formal categories (e.g. consonants) and comparison of linguistic categories that carry meaning or function (e.g. tense).

One more methodological remark should be made. It concerns the direction of research: from form to meaning and functions (semasiological approach) and from meaning and function to forms which render them (onomasiological approach). Thus semasiological analysis discovers in the English article *the* some definiteness, certain attribution, reference. It can be used with both singular and plural nouns and is syncretic in reference to gender. Onomasiological approach to CA allows discovering that the meaning of certain attribution in English can be rendered through different means, including special indicator – *the*-article and in Ukrainian the same meaning is signaled by some lexical units, word order etc. but special signal like article does not exist.

Thus in contrastive lexicological studies, especially based on cognitive approach, one can apply notional categories as *tertium comparationis*, e.g. thingness, definiteness, possessivity, obligation etc. and determine lexical means which render those categories in each language under study. The ideas of thematic and lexicosemantic groups is also very productive in comparative lexicology. Different aspects of CA in the field of lexicology will be discussed in the next lecture.

3. *Tertium comparationis* in the course of time

Tertium comparationis is used to determine whether lingual objects in languages under comparison are similar, the same or different. Two entities are similar if they share at least one feature. Two entities are the same if neither has features that other lacks. Two entities are different if they do not share any feature. A single shared feature would mean minimal similarity. But the list of features that any entity can be said to have is presumably open-ended. A. Chesterman emphasizes that any entity can be similar to any other entity in *some* respect [Chesterman 1998, p.8]. Two entities may share at least some attributes and hence be similar with respect to those attributes (like in Alice's riddle). „Similarity” must accordingly be constrained in some way.

Paradoxically enough, if each language is *sui generis*²⁵ influencing cognition differently in the Whorfian sense, then the very concept of similarity is simply impossible or extremely difficult to define. On the other hand, if all languages at some point share the same universal underlying structure, then why contrast them at all? Modern contrastive studies try to find a balance between the two approaches, emphasizing the fact that „human cultures are neither all the same nor totally different” [Whorf 1956]. Bearing that in mind, it seems only natural to accept the view that *similarity observed between the two entities should be understood only in relative terms*. In a more modern sense, by incorporating new interdisciplinary theoretical approaches into the contrastive analytical framework,

²⁵ A Latin phrase, meaning of its (his, her, or their) own kind; in a class by itself; unique”

contrastivists seem to be right to focus on overlap between different ways speakers of different languages tend to speak, committing themselves neither to an identical universal base nor to insurmountable difference of the languages in contrast.

One of the possible constraints is offered by prototype theory. Features are conceived of as being present or absent to a certain degree, not absolutely, and similarities are assessed in terms of relative closeness to a prototype. The prototype thus serves as a *tertium comparationis*. The relative closeness tends to be conceptualized in terms of features: robins are more similar to eagles, than penguins are because although all three are birds the first two are closer to the prototype „bird” since they share the prominent prototypical feature „ability to fly”.

Classical CA made use of various kinds of *tertium comparationis* [James 1980] that were either formally or semantically based. In the former case, similarity is established by means of „formal correspondence”, a relation established at the formal level, while in the latter case, similarity judgements are essentially dependent on translation (which can include use of corpora, native speaker’s intuition, bilingual translation competence, etc.) [Chesterman 1998, p.58]. Contrastivists today focus on „overlap between different ways speakers of different languages tend to speak”, committing themselves „either to an identical universal base nor to insurmountable difference” [Chesterman 1998, p.50] of the languages in contrast. Although every analysis performed in such a way is bound to be partially biased by the analyst’s own culture-specific cognitive perception of reality, it is certainly true that human beings can function mentally at the metaphorical level which enables

them to perceive reality from a different perspective [Chesterman 1998, p.52].

It is accepted in the linguistic theory and in the translation theory that these are contexts and texts that are compared and translated. But actually this textual-situational continuum is broken into separate discrete steps. Each step requires some translation decision and presents the procedure and the result of choosing one of the means from the „field” of possible means to render the sense²⁶.

One of the reasons why contrastive studies continue to perform the role of the Cinderella of linguistics is the fact that its most fundamental concept *tertium comparationis* remains as hazy as ever. The existing contrastive studies involve various platforms of interlinguistic reference, determined by specific linguistic models which they employ and specific levels of analyses which they embrace. The different *tertia comparationis* are used for comparisons in lexicology, in phonology and in syntax. In few of these studies they are explicitly explained.

Moreover, any two or more objects can be compared with respect to various features and, as a result, the compared objects may turn out to be similar in some respects but different in others. Thus, a square and a rectangle are similar as both consist of four sides at right angles. But they are also different, since in a square but not in a rectangle, the four sides are of equal length. If we compare squares and rectangles with respect to the angles, we ascertain that the two types of figures are identical. If, on the other hand, we consider the



length of their sides, we find them to be different. Depending on the platform of reference (or *tertium comparationis*), which we adopt, the same objects turn out to be either similar or different.

In cross-language comparisons, the choice of *tertium comparationis* will also constitute the determining similarities and differences between the phenomena compared. Since language is a complex hierarchical structure, operating at various levels of organization, any constituent at any level can undergo comparison with equivalent elements in another language. Therefore various kinds of contrastive studies can be distinguished, depending on the *tertium comparationis* adopted and the kind of equivalence involved.

In modern contrastive studies three methods of forming the basis of comparison are recognized:

- 1) a set of features of one of the compared languages is used as *tertium comparationis* (unilateral comparison),
- 2) general features characteristic of both compared languages are used as *tertium comparationis* (bilateral comparison),
- 3) a set of hypothetically determined features is used as the basis of comparison (comparison based on ideal „metalanguage“).

4. Possible *tertia comparationis*

Theoretical discussions tend to be limited to only two types: *formal correspondence and semantic equivalence*. Even a cursory glance at the wealth of the existing contrastive studies suffices to notice that these two types of *tertium comparationis* are not the only ones that are used in practice. Formal correspondence and semantic equivalence can serve as *tertia comparationis* for certain types of contrastive studies such as syntactic and lexical. Other types of

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contrastive studies, for example, phonological, pragmatic or quantitative, must be based on other *tertia comparationis*. Moreover, neither contrastive studies based on formal correspondence nor those based on semantic equivalence are free from difficulties. For example, it has been pointed out that formal likeness alone cannot serve as a *tertium comparationis* without support from semantic equivalence. At best a comparison based on formal criteria alone is incomplete, at worst it cannot be performed at all, and in many cases it is misleading. If, for example, if one compares Ukrainian and English personal pronouns, a formal analysis will ascertain the equivalence between the English *you* and the Ukrainian *mu/ви* and will be accurate as far as it goes. But such an analysis is incomplete as it leaves out such forms as *пан/пани* and other possible equivalents of *you*. These equivalents can only be established if other than formal criteria are employed. English articles cannot be compared to anything in those languages in which there are no articles, if only formal criteria are considered. It is generally recognized that a contrastive analysis based on purely formal criteria falls short of both theoretical and practical expectations.²⁷

Somewhat less obviously, a contrastive analysis based on semantic similarity alone can also be inadequate and misleading. In the contrastive practice, semantic equivalence is often erroneously identified with translation equivalence:

„*To establish that these [system of deictics], are comparable*



we first need to show their contextual equivalence; this can be done most simply by reference to translation [Halliday et.al. 1964: 115]

At this point it should be noted that semantic equivalence must be constrained formally, while translation equivalence may, but does not have to be thus constrained. When one translates one departs from semantic equivalence due to three types of reasons:

- 1) errors in translation,
- 2) formal properties of respective languages,
- 3) what is loosely called „stylistic” reasons.

The notion of *tertium comparationis* has evolved significantly in the course of time. In traditional contrastive studies it was defined as the common platform of reference [Krzyszowski, 1990, p. 15] and the starting point of a comparison *sine qua non*. It is that third element which enables the two entities to be compared. During the classical period of contrastive analysis *tertium comparationis* was either formally or semantically based. In the former case, similarity was established by means of „formal correspondence”, a relation established at the formal level, while in the latter case, similarity judgements were essentially dependent on translation (which could include use of corpora, native speaker’s intuition, bilingual translation competence, etc.).

Different, sometimes even opposing, approaches to language during the 20th century, most notably universalist and relativist ones, brought about different views on the nature and role of the *tertium comparationis* in contrastive studies. It seems, however, that both of the mentioned approaches in their strong versions made the very possibility of contrasting languages somewhat problematic.



PART 13. INTERPRETING THE MEANING OF TRANSLATION
(based on the paper by Andrew Chesterman „Interpreting the Meaning of Translation” read at the symposium “Translation – Interpretation – Meaning”, held at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies on January 27–29, 2005. – Mode of access: http://www.linguistics.fi/julkaisut/SKY2006_1 /1FK60.1.1.CHESTERMAN.pdf)

Abstract

Is “translation” a universal category? This question is examined via some contrastive etymological analysis of words meaning “translation” in a number of languages, mostly non-Indo-European. Different languages seem to give different emphases to three central semantic/semiotic features: difference, similarity, and mediation. Perhaps “translation” is a cluster concept.

1. Translation universals?

One recent trend in Translation Studies has been the search for what several scholars have called translation universals (see e.g. Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). Other scholars have preferred to use labels such as regularities, patterns, general tendencies or translation laws. All these terms refer to the underlying intuition that translations seem to share certain linguistic features regardless of the language pairs or text types concerned. Some of these features can be formulated as differences with respect to source texts (such as: a tendency for translations to reduce repetition, or to be more standardized in style, or to be marked by interference). Other potentially distinguishing features are defined with reference to

nontranslated native texts in the target language (such as: a tendency to use a more restricted lexis, more simplified syntax, fewer target-language specific items). The impulse to look for such universals stems partly from similar movements in general linguistics since Chomsky, and partly from computer programs enabling the quantitative analysis of large electronic corpora of various kinds. Insofar as evidence for translation universals is found, we can speculate that the causes for such widespread features may ultimately be cognitive ones, relating to the ways translators process and store language material.

This research trend has not gone without criticism. One of the most cogent points has been made by Maria Tymoczko (among others). She argues (1998) that such research is based on the flawed assumption that there is a priori some universal concept of translation in the first place, which could serve as a basis for collecting a corpus. The lack of such a universal concept thus also makes it impossible to test hypotheses about universals. Different times and cultures may well conceptualize the notion of “translation” in very different ways. To what extent might such conceptualizations overlap? Could there be a universal prototype notion of translation? (Cf. Halverson 1998.)

This question, and hence the theoretical validity of the underlying basis of claims about translation universals, can be approached in two ways. Working top-down, we might seek to establish necessary minimal characteristics of all translations at a purely conceptual level. Working bottom-up, we could investigate empirically the different ways in which the kinds of texts we call “translations” in English have been conceptualized in different languages and cultures, and look for shared or differentiating features. This paper works a bit in both directions.

Moving top-down, we could start with the abstract level of semiotic analysis. This is precisely what is done by Ubaldo Stecconi in some recent work (2004). He develops a theory of the semiotic “Foundation” of translation, based largely on his interpretation of some parts of Peirce. Stecconi proposes three key semiotic features for a universal category of translation. They are: similarity, difference and mediation. “Similarity”, in that there must be some relation of similarity between source and target texts. “Difference”, because the languages are different and total identity of meaning etc. is usually impossible. And “mediation”, because the translator stands in some sense between two sides, mediating between them. I will not enter here into a detailed discussion of Stecconi’s proposal; nor will I discuss the possibility of formulating the features in Langackerian terms, which may occur to some readers. But I shall make use of these three features in analysing some bottom-up data. On the assumption that the features are good candidates for specifying a universal category for “translation”, I am interested in seeing whether different languages might nevertheless give different weights to different features, highlighting one rather than another.

The data come from contrastive etymology. The basic idea is to compare the etymologies, and hence the underlying conceptualizations (and implicitly too the reflected meanings of words with a similar meaning). In my case, I start with the English words translation, translate and interpret, and examine the etymologies of the standard translations of these words in other languages. The other languages have not been selected systematically at this stage. Indeed, the present report is no more than notes on a few languages for which I have found helpful informants. However,

as I hope to show, even a small and nonrepresentative sample of languages provides interesting food for thought.

1. Some initial data from SAE and Finnish

Let us start with some familiar ground. The words denoting *translate*, *translation* in Standard Average European (SAE) languages derive from roots in Latin and Classical Greek. The basic notion is that of carrying something across, from Latin *transferre* or Greek *metapherein*. A SAE translation is etymologically a metaphor, whereby something is, in some sense, something that it literally is not. That man is a pig; *this article* is (in Finnish) *tämä artikkeli*. The semantic elements that are highlighted in this construal of the notion are (a) something (say ‘X’) remains the same, the something that is carried across; and (b) there are two contexts involved, which we can call the source and target contexts. X is thus transferred from source to target, across a border. This border is traditionally conceived of as a linguistic border, but it may also be defined differently. Definitions of ‘X’ also vary, but traditionally this is usually held to be the meaning, roughly speaking. Our average European construal thus stresses the preservation of identity, some notion of sameness or similarity, across a border of difference.

Within the Indo-European languages we can nevertheless already distinguish some different nuances in construal. Consider these three sets:

- (1) Classical Greek *metapherein*, Latin *transferre*, English *translate*
- (2) German *übersetzen*, Swedish *översätta*, Czech *překládat*
- (3) French *traduire*, Italian *tradurre*, Spanish *traducir*, Russian *perevesti* .

In set (1) the underlying cognitive schema is of carrying X across; here, the agent is conceived of as moving over together with X, like a messenger. In (2) the agent stands on the source side, putting or setting X across; X is transferred in a direction away from the agent. In (3) the agent etymologically leads X across; this suggests that the agent moves in advance of X, and the direction of movement is thus towards the agent. Rey (1992) suggests that the underlying metaphor here is of leading sheep. It would be tempting to interpret these different nuances in terms of the different contexts of translating: into one's native language ("towards" the agent) and into a second language ("away from" the agent).

Other languages, however, construe the notion of translation very differently. In Finnish, the normal verb meaning 'to translate' is *kääntää*, whose basic meaning is 'to turn', e.g. in the sense of (transitively) turning a page or (intransitively) turning a corner, turning in a new direction. 'A translation' is correspondingly *käännös*, literally 'a turn, a turning'. This construal is clearly different from the SAE one. It highlights difference, a new direction, entering a new context; what is not highlighted is any sense of preserving an identity, maintaining sameness. True, by implication there is a something that 'turns', and is presumably still there after the turning, but this is not foregrounded. The trope of 'turning' also occurs in equivalents for *translation* in other languages. Latin also used *vertere*, which had early cognates in several Germanic languages (Århammar 2004, Kilpiö 2005); and see also below.

The verb *kääntää*, in the translation sense, goes back to Agricola's time (16th century). However, from the early 19th century a second verb began to be used: *suomentaa*, literally 'to finnish' (Paloposki 2004). This verb obviously had, and has, a narrower

meaning, restricted to a single target language. (Compare the archaic ‘to english’.) This verb too highlights the target context, not the preservation of an identity.

Curiously enough, the Finnish verb *kääntää* also has a slang meaning, ‘to steal’. So translating can perhaps also be seen as a kind of theft, a change of owner-identity, of belonging-ness. This reminds us that the classical god of translators was Hermes, who was also the god of thieves.

Consider now the situation with words denoting oral translation. In English we have *interpreter*, *interpreting*, from Latin. The probable etymological root is ‘between prices’. The origin comes from the concept of trade, where goods are exchanged. The interpreter stands between the prices, or values, and ensures that there is adequate equivalence—equal value. This etymology thus stresses the mediating role of the interpreter. Finnish *tulkata*, and also the more general word *tulkita*, come from Swedish *tolk* ‘interpreter’, and its antecedents. The root meaning is ‘speak, make sense’ (cf. also Finnish *tolkku* ‘sense’). Both Finnish and modern English thus conceptualize written translation differently from oral translation. With respect to oral translating, however, both these languages highlight the notion of mediation, rather than difference or similarity. Interpreting is here construed etymologically as a rather different kind of activity from translating.

Let us now look briefly at some other languages. Do they highlight notions of difference, similarity or mediation? And do they have etymologically distinct terms for oral and written translating?

2. Data from different language families

Indo-European. Modern Greek has two distinct terms. ‘To translate’ is *metafrazo* ‘to speak across’, which seems to highlight

difference. ‘To interpret’ is *ermeneo*, which implies explaining, i.e. mediating. Czech also has two sets of terms: for translating *překladat, přeložit* ‘to put, lay across’ (the feature of similarity); and for interpreting *tlumořit*. The latter comes from the Arabic (see below) and highlights mediation. Ukrainian makes a similar distinction: *perekładaty* ‘put, set across’ and *tlumátšyty*. Slovene uses *prevajalec* ‘lead over’ for both senses.

In Sanskrit, there are several words for the idea of translating. A translator is *bhāsāntarakāri*, which glosses as ‘other language maker’; this highlights difference. On the other hand, some of the words meaning ‘translation’ seem to highlight other features. *Chāyānuharanam* means ‘loose translation’, and also ‘imitation, reflection (lit. ‘after-taking’), which suggests the feature of similarity. And *anuvādah* literally means ‘saying after, explaining’; this suggests the feature of mediation. An interpreter is *dvibhāsāvādī* ‘two-language speaker’ or *bhāsāntaravaktā* ‘other language speaker’. The second of these seems to indicate the difference feature.

Hindi also has two different sets of terms for written and spoken translation. Written translation is *anuvād* ‘saying after, explaining’ (*anu* ‘after’, *vadah* ‘speaking’); this suggests the mediation feature. Oral translating is done by a *dubhāsiyā*, a ‘two-language speaker’.

Uralic. The Hungarian word meaning ‘to translate’ is *fordítani*, whose literal meaning is ‘to turn something to the other side’. Like Finnish, this word seems thus to foreground the feature of difference, not similarity. The word for oral translation has different origins: *tolmácsolni*; an interpreter is a *tolmács*, from which German gets *Dolmetscher*. The etymology of these items may go back to the Hurrite language in Asia Minor, where *talima* seems to have meant a

mediator, someone standing between. Here again we see that interpretation is conceptualized primarily in terms of mediation.

Altaic. In Turkish the words meaning ‘translation’ highlight the feature of difference: the verb *çevirmek* literally means ‘make turn’, i.e. change. But Turkish also uses another verb, *tercüme etmek*, and one word for a translator is *tercüman*, which derives from Arabic (below) and highlights mediation.

The Japanese for a translation is *honyaku*, where *hon* has the basic sense ‘turn, turn over, flutter’ and *yaku* means ‘substitute words’. The main semiotic feature here seems to be difference. Oral translation is denoted by the verb *tsuuyaku suru*, where *tsuu* has the basic sense ‘pass through, transmit, communicate’. Here the salient feature seems to be the preservation of similarity.

In Korean, words for translating and interpreting both seem to foreground the notion of mediation: ‘translate’ is *tong yeok hada*, where *tong* means ‘transmit, communicate’ and *yeok* means ‘explain’. The verb for ‘interpret’ is similar: *dong si tong yeok hada*.

Afro-Asiatic. In Arabic, the central feature is closer to mediation, guiding. Arabic *targamah* ‘translation’, *turguman* ‘translator, interpreter’, are loanwords from Aramaic and beyond that, Sumerian. The cognate English *dragoman* still means a guide or interpreter. The verb *targama* ‘translate’ also means ‘write a biography’.

Sino-Tibetan. The Mandarin Chinese word for ‘translate’ is *yì* or *fānyì*. The verb *fan* has the basic meaning ‘flutter’, which suggests unstable movement, i.e. changes of state. For interpreting, the verb is *kouyi*, where *kou* means ‘mouth’. Lefevere (1998) suggests that the Chinese translation tradition differs from the Western one in that the Chinese have remained closer to the notion of interpreting,

explaining, rather than the notion of fidelity or equivalence. We might see a reflection of this tradition in the very word itself in Mandarin, which highlights difference rather than similarity.

In Classical Tibetan, the same word *skad-pa* (*skad* ‘voice, speech, language’) is used for a translator and an interpreter, but the activities are conceptualized differently. To translate is *sgyur-ba* (‘change, turn’), and to interpret is *grol-ba* (*grol* ‘untie, release, remove obscurities, explicate). Translating thus seems to highlight difference, and interpreting highlights mediation.

Austro-Asiatic. Vietnamese uses words for written translation that are cognate with the Chinese sense of ‘fluttering’, hence a highlight on difference. These are *dich* (‘change, move over’), *phiên-dich* (*phiên* ‘wave, flutter, turn upside down, inside out’), *thông-dich* (*thông* ‘penetrate, understand’). For oral translating different terms are used, which seem to highlight the feature of mediation: *làm thông-ngôn* (*làm* ‘do’, *ngôn* ‘word, speech’).

Malayo-Polynesian. Indonesian borrows *menterjemahkan* ‘translate’ from Arabic, but also uses *manyalin*, literally ‘copy, transfer’ (cf. Javanese *salin* ‘change dress’). Both mediation and similarity are involved here. Oral translating has a different term indicating a change of language: *mengalihbasakan* (*alih* ‘move, change’; *bahasa* ‘language’).

Dravidian. In Tamil, the same terms are used for the written and oral modes, and both stress the feature of difference, changing the language: *molipeyarkka* (*moli* ‘language’, *peyar* ‘transfer, change, turn over’).

3. Some conclusions

We have done no more than scrape the surface of a fascinating topic here. But even this mere scraping raises some questions. One

interesting suggestion is that the modern Indo-European languages seem to give more much prominence to the similarity dimension than some other languages, even to a requirement of identity, as reflected e.g. in early thinking on the translation of sacred texts. This may partly explain the central role played by the notion of equivalence in western translation theory, and our need to develop other terms, such as adaptation, to describe freer types of translation (cf. Lefevere's comment cited above). On the other hand, it is true that we are only talking of the relative highlighting of different features, not their inclusion vs. exclusion.

Most of the languages in this sample have different terms for oral and written translation, which suggests different ways of conceptualizing these activities. The oral mode is of course historically older. The etymologies of terms denoting interpreting seem to display the feature of mediation more frequently than those denoting written translation. It might also be interesting to see how many languages have, or develop, a hyperonym covering both modes. In English, translation is often used by laymen to include interpreting. In German, the recent coinage of *die Translation* is an interesting case, covering both *Übersetzung* and *Dolmetschen*. Yet another question would be whether there are separate terms for the more general sense of interpretation. Finnish makes a distinction between *tulkata* (languages) and *tulkita* (in general), but English does not differentiate the two.

So how can the meaning of the concept of translation best be interpreted? Do we have a universal concept? The answer may be yes, if we can allow such a concept to have a flexible cluster shape rather than a prototypical form. A prototype concept has, by definition, something prototypical at the centre. With respect to

translation, however, I doubt whether we can posit a single prototype, even if we postulated a fictive one with exactly equal highlighting giving to similarity, difference and mediation. What we seem to find, rather, is a cluster of closely related conceptualizations, some foregrounding one of the features proposed by Stecconi and some another.

A great many languages, of course, remain to be investigated from this point of view. A larger project could also look for correlations between particular constellations of relative feature dominance and empirical evidence of the ways in which “potential translations” of different kinds have been designated and classified in different cultures, i.e. correlations between semantic features and translation norms. It could also take into account other lexical items within the same semantic field, such as *adaptation* and *version* in English. At the very least, the present preliminary study illustrates how the notion of translation has been interpreted in different ways in a number of different languages. It shows that not all these interpretations give the same priority to the preservation of sameness which characterizes the words denoting “translation” in many modern Indo-European languages.



PART 14. BILATERAL CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH VERB SYSTEMS

***(based on the paper by prof. N. B. Ivanytska, Vinnytsia. – Mode of
access: <http://oaji.net/articles/2015/1739-1431338194.pdf>)***

Introduction Contemporary linguistics regards the verb as a universal language phenomenon. The verb is believed to have

peculiar lexical and grammatical semantics, syntactic capacity, functional specificity, as well as systemic and interlevel connections and relations with other linguistic units [1; 2]. The verb has got the top priority over all other parts of speech [3]; its significance is true for the verb-oriented syntax theories [4]. But it has been the centre of attention for the contemporary linguists. The verb is considered to be sufficiently researched and simultaneously controversial in comparative viewpoint, particularly in the Ukrainian-English parallel. For the present, the theoretical interpretation of the Ukrainian and English verbal systems is based on well-grounded understanding of the verb as one of the most complicated and capacious grammatical categories. Comparative studies are supposed to be very efficient to find the sense of the universality of verbal nature, as well as to understand its uniqueness in the language area, and to transfer this knowledge to explication common and particularly specific in the language worldview. The scientific powerfulness of contrastive studies seems to be indisputable in the context of social globalization covering all life spheres not leaving languages in their theoretical (metalinguistic) interpretation and practical (speech) interaction [5; 6]. Modern comparative linguistics is considered to be a multilingual study formed by different fields (comparative-historical, typological, universal linguistics). The Eastern scholars recognise that contrastive linguistics (as a part of comparative studies) can be autonomous [6]. The importance of identifying semantic universals and conceptual distinctions in languages have been mentioned by well-known linguists [7; 8]. Nowadays, linguists have been discussing the appropriate approaches and methods to compare linguistic units and phenomena [6; 8; 9].

Results and Discussion. Identifying the contrastive aspect of comparative linguistics, it is necessary to point out that cross-lingual studies have great advantages over other approaches to language comparison. They allow (1) avoiding a special focus on genetic factors, (2) building a linguistic model, abstracted from the closed / open distinctive features list and the list of languages that are important for characterology and typology. At the same time, such “simplicity” of contrastive analysis actually appears quite complex procedure demanding careful realisation that ensures identifying not only the common (isomorphic, identical) and divergent (specific, allomorphic) characteristics of the selected object in each compared languages. It also helps to reveal the structural laws of the language systems functioning, peculiarities of cross-language links, often not having been found in the intralanguage analysis. Contrastive study also provides a basis for further typological generalizations. In this regard, it is extremely significant that Ukrainian and English verbal systems, having been relatively profound researched within individual components and aspects, are open for complex lexical-semantic and grammar contrastive study. There are fundamental guidelines for cross-language Ukrainian and English verbal systems comparison: (1) considering current tendencies in intralanguage theoretical interpretation of verbs with the necessity in many cases to “adapt” them to the chosen research methodology, (2) ensuring the principle of consistency being important for cross-language comparison, (3) applying more efficient (we believe) two-way (bilateral) approach to comparison [6, p. 81-85; 10], the value of which is that compared language get equal status, so you can avoid “insulting language A to language B image” [11, p. 104] and avoid the research of other language(s) and culture(s) in the light of native

language [12, p. 48], (4) the substantiated choice of the *tertium comparationis* (basis of comparison) relevant to the research object. To compare language items, it is necessary to answer at least two problematic questions: (1) what do we focus on to compare? (2) How language units can be compared? The settling the first problem is based on the a priori consistent statement about possibility to compare any languages as well as variability of compared units. The capacity of languages to be compared is caused by human cognition capacity which is not in contrast to the idea of cultural specificity, social and daily activities of people as factors of worldview formation. The answer to the key question “How language units can be compared?” is more complicated. The scholars have been discussing on the priority of unilateral (oneway) or bilateral (two-way) comparison, and thereafter the choice of the *tertium comparationis* (basis of comparison). The alternative of the approach to comparison is caused by scholars theory, the subject matter, expected research results and so on. One can hardly affirm that the unilateral approach is ineffective for language teaching, translation theory, and other fields of applied linguistics. However, applying unilateral approach to the theoretical linguistics faces a number of obstacles that lead to getting less effective results of the study. The priority now is given to the bilateral approach of cross-language comparison. Many linguists have the opinion that the results of bilateral comparison are slightly relative because of epistemological basis of the selected scientific paradigm and some variability and relativity of the chosen *tertium comparationis*. The basic of comparison is defined as “an objective, not belonging to any of the compared languages unit” [10, p. 144], or “a system of characteristics and rules that exists regardless of individual languages, and is taken hypothetically-

heuristically” [6, p. 173], or “unified language as the totality of abstracted definitions that can explain the structure of all languages regardless of their typological differences” [13, p. 40], or “common basis reflecting distinctive features” [8, p. 15] and others. However, most scholars are fully confident that a *tertium comparationis* should be an initial basis for comparison. Being general and universal, it can serve like a specific standard, an indicator of the adequacy of the structural language characteristics. The *tertium comparationis* is viewed as a certain scientific artefact aiming at designing systems of identities (a kind of equivalent phenomena). It is a starting point of comparison. This system of equivalents may have a different structure, and a different degree of generalization and abstraction depending on the specific features of compared languages or linguistic units and the purpose of comparison. The propriety of a *tertium comparationis* choice is determined by (1) the linguistic nature of compared units, (2) their position in language system, (3) the degree of their intralanguage theoretical explications, (4) the aspects of contrastive study, (5) specific tasks of comparison, (6) the methodological background, (7) the typological features of compared languages. Comparing the verb systems in the Ukrainian and English languages, it is necessary to proceed from the understanding the language as the primary means of communication, closely related to social production and cognitive activities of people, as a sign system which indirectly and naturally expresses the ratio between the elements of reality and their reflections in the minds. In this case, the *tertium comparationis* can be defined as a generalized linguistic verbal (semantic and grammatical) category “process”. This category is an “umbrella notion” (a term that provides a super-set of grouping of related semantic and grammatical aspects) expressing complicated

categorical characteristics of the compared Ukrainian and English verbs. It should be emphasized that categorization is one of the most fundamental concepts of human consciousness. It is the theoretical reflection of human world perception reflected by words meanings. Linguistic category is supposed to be the most general concept resulting from abstraction of objects and their distinctive characteristics. The most scholars hold views that cognition is always asymmetric, people tend to perceive “some fragments of reality as if through a magnifying glass, and others - as if through inverted binoculars” [14, p. 23]. Categorical meanings and formed on their basis categories are considered to be meanings having been perceived through a magnifying glass because of their importance for the formation of a national language worldview. The system and structure of grammatical categories is the central link in the language structure reflecting the specific relationship between language, thinking, and typological features of individual languages and language groups. It is significant that modern linguistics qualifies category as “one of the central key notion in language theory (along with the form, meaning and function)” [6, p. 13]. The phenomenon of categorization covers all levels of the language system within which there are various categories. The basis of category is formed by different in degree of abstraction characteristics known as categorical. The range of linguistic categories in modern linguistics is rather complicated. Studying the categorical notions in cross-language comparison is seemed to be promising. The generalized, abstract nature of categorical feature, being in most cases universal, can serve as a reliable basis for comparison, ensuring effective bilateral approach to linguistic units. This is confirmed by a number of works on comparative linguistics conceptually oriented to

revealing language means of expression related to specific linguistic categories. Providing the verbal category “process” with the status of *tertium comparationis*, we qualify it (like the majority of other verbal categories) as a generalized abstract model being expressed through two aspects: semantic and grammatical. Each of them is the total of categorical (semantic) variants represented by sufficient set of distinctive features. Semantic and grammatical aspects of the category “process” are sufficiently completed. It is obviously that intersection and interconnection of certain principles, related to logical semantics, onomasiology, cognitive science and functional grammar, give reason for identifying the category “process” as functional-semantic. This approach allows forming the functionalsemantic field not only by verbal lexemes, but multiword nominations of the action and states that correspond to the conception of functional-semantic fields. Traditionally, they are suggested to be an alternative representation of language system to compare with traditional level language model. There is no doubt that cognitive, pragmatic (communicative-functional) approach to the classification of parts of speech seemed to be a good ground for scientific research in the field of language nomination and functionalism, especially in terms of modern scientific research in the fields of psycholinguistics and ethnoinguistics. However, the traditional approach to understanding the category “process” as a concept covering only one-word nominations is concerned to have more grounds for bilateral cross-language comparison. Such identifying the verbal category “process” in the context of the proposed comparative study allows to take into consideration a number of methodological components of the chosen approach to the cross-language analysis, including: 1) putting the single-level

linguistic units into the field of study, (2) the principle of systematic contrastive researches, 3) using of previous results of intralanguage study of the processing as a system-building phenomenon, 4) bilateral approach to comparison of subject matter, 5) focusing on the complex verb cross-language study directed to lexical-semantic paradigms, and formal syntax syntagmatics. The wide structure of the category “process” makes possible to distinguish some kind of *mini-tertium comparationis* relevant to the identifying similarities and differences in paradigmatic and syntagmatic Ukrainian and English verbal system presentation. Lexical-semantic paradigms of the Ukrainian and English verbal system is represented by the most significant for semantic component of the category “process” fragments being defined as subcategories: “processing action”, “processing state”, and “processing relation”. These subcategories have ranking structure. They are formed by a number of microcategories like “action-sound”, “action-movement”, “action-professional activity”, “state- psychological state”, “state-physiological state” etc. These microcategories are considered to build the correlated lexical-semantic fields. The central and peripheral parts of these fields, being filled with the Ukrainian and English verbs, reflect something common and specific in the processing reality perception. The gaps in the cross-language fields are caused by two factors: extralinguistic and, not least, interlanguage structural laws. To determine syntagmatic correlative and lacunary relations of Ukrainian and English verbal systems, it is possible to investigate the following aspects: (1) syntagmatic stratification of the verbs as notional lexemes, (2) formalization of syntagmatics, and (3) clause-generating potential of the Ukrainian and English verbs related to the identified microcategories.

Conclusion To sum up, multilanguage studies rely on the using contrastive method aimed at identifying language differences regardless of their genitive and typological groups. The scholars distinguish unilateral and bilateral approaches to the contrastive analysis. The bilateral approach is supposed to be more efficient. The crucial stage of bilateral contrastive analysis is considered as the choice of a *tertium comparationis* - non-linguistic concept having been formulated deductively by metalanguage. To compare Ukrainian and English verb systems, the category “process” is suggested to be a *tertium comparationis* in cross-language research. This category is believed to be theoretically well-grounded in terms of linguistic ontology, not only resulted from naive constructs. The category “process” is qualified as generalized abstract model having integrative nature and two-side representation - lexical semantics of verbs, and set of grammatical (morphological, derivational, syntactic) categories. Semantic and grammatical aspects of the category “process” in each of the compared languages are revealed by the unique, peculiar to each of the language combinations that act as an indissoluble unity, and together form the lingual nature of the mentioned category. The category “process” serves some kind of “umbrella” abstraction towards understanding the categorial systems of the verb as a universal language unit. The category “process”, having been appointed *tertium comparationis* in crosslanguage comparative analysis of Ukrainian and English verbal systems, is considered to have the following basic distinctive features: (1) proper intralanguage theoretical explication, (2) non-linguistic, abstract, generalized nature of the concept that is different from the subject matter, (3) the capacity to bind the lexical- semantic

and syntactic- formal aspects of the study, (4) ensuring the comparability of the studied Ukrainian and English verbal systems.

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SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. Comment on the distinction between theoretical and applied CS in reference to starting point of contrastive research.
2. Define the notion of comparability criterion.
3. How are *tertia comparationis* applied within three main approaches in contrastive studies?
4. Explain the notion of „comparative concepts” as viewed by Martin Haspelmath.
5. What three methods of forming the basis of comparison are recognized in modern contrastive studies?
6. Read PART 14 of Additional resources and discuss tertium comparationis of bilateral contrastive study of Ukrainian and English verb systems.
7. Is “translation” a universal category? Answer this question proceeding from the etymological analysis of words meaning “translation” as presented in the paper by Andrew Chesterman „Interpreting the Meaning of Translation” (PART 13 of Additional resources)

SEMINAR LIBRARY

- *Chesterman A.* Contrastive functional analysis / Andrew Chesterman. – Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin’s Publishing Company, 1998. – 230 p.
- *Haspelmath M.* Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies / Martin Haspelmath // *Language*. – Volume 86, issue 3. – 2010. – P. 663 – 687.
- *James C.* Contrastive analysis / Carl James. – London: Longman, 1980. – 208 p.

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- *Krzeszowski T. P.* *Contrasting Languages. The Scope of Contrastive Linguistics* / Tomasz P. Krzeszowski. – Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. – 290 p.



Lecture 7. Contrastive studies on the lexical level

The question we set out to answer in the seventh lecture is the nature of contrastive lexicological studies as a linguistic enterprise

- 1. Algorithm of the contrastive study of lexicon.**
- 2. Cognitive approach in contrastive semantics**
- 3. Contrastive analysis of noun compounds in English and Ukrainian**
- 4. Additional resources**

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- 5. Seminar questions**
- 6. Seminar library**

1. Algorithm of the contrastive study of lexicon.

The lexical level like any other level of language stratification, is represented by some characteristic constants and their peculiar features. The principal constants of this language level are the following:

- words, their semantic classes and word-forming means as well as their structural models and stylistic peculiarities of use;
- the second object of contrasting alongside of separate words and their classes present the lexico-semantic groups (LSGs) of words which are pertained to the contrasted languages;

- the third group of lexical units contrasted at this level are stable and idiomatic expressions which are also of universal nature, though they always have some national peculiarities in every single language.

According to Sternin [Стернин] CA of lexical units can be described as an algorithm which presents a logical sequence of researcher's activities where each activity reflects a separate stage or step of research. Technique of the contrastive analysis of lexis can be described as follows:

STAGE I. Singling out a lexical group in the source language.

For the CA of lexis it is convenient to select a whole lexical group (best of all a synonymic row or a lexico-semantic group (LSG) as it endows the research with the systemic character and provides a comprehensive set of units for componential analysis which is the primary method of the semantic description in contrastive lexicological studies).

Step 1. Compiling a basic list of lexical group.

Words belonging to one lexical group are selected from explanatory dictionary.

Step 2. Expansion of the basic list.

All lexemes selected are looked up in synonymic dictionaries and as the result new lexemes are detected and added to the list.

Step 3. Expansion of the basic list through text analysis.

Texts of different genres are being analyzed (electronic corpora are most helpful) and new units are detected and added. Text analysis also provides the data concerning the frequency of occurrence of the units under study at the present stage of language development.

Step 4. Structuring of the lexical group.

The list is subdivided into sense groups and subgroups. Key and

peripheral members of the group are determined.

STAGE II. Determination of interlingual correlations of separate units.

Step 1. Detecting of dictionary translation correspondences.

Each word in the SL is checked in translation dictionaries and all translation correlates fixed in dictionaries are registered.

Step 2. Detecting of interlingual lexical correlations.

All the lexemes obtained at the previous step are checked in synonymic dictionaries and detected units are added to the list of correlates of the unit under research. As those new units are not registered in translation dictionaries, the new list including both: units selected at the previous step and new words obtained from dictionaries of synonyms will no longer present the list of translation correlations but – of interlingual lexical correlations (of which translation correlations are only a part).

STAGE III. Semic description of meanings in contrasted lexemes.

Step 1. Semic description of units in both languages within subgroups singled out.

Semic description is conducted using a set of methods. Among them: semic analysis of dictionary definitions, componential analysis, associative experiment, Bendix interpretational test²⁸, contextual

²⁸ *E. Bendix developed „interpretational test with incomplete phrase” [Bendix 1966] which can be used to research word meanings that for some reasons cannot be studied applying componential analysis. His method is based on the following procedure: informants are given a phrase within the limits of which a researched word is opposed to another. Informants interpret the opposition by completing the phrase. Thus, the researcher obtains data for semantic analysis. Generalizing similar answers he gets differential components of words opposed in the phrase*

analysis and others.

Step 2. Determining the frequency of occurrence of the researched units.

This is done by means of calculations or interviewing informants using the scale: frequently used, used, rarely used, not used.

Step 3. Verification of the semic description.

Interviewing informants in order to confirm the list of semes singled out for separate words (the procedure of verification of the componential structure of words) in the SL and language of comparison.

STAGE IV. Semantic description of contrasted pairs.

Step 1. Formation of the contrasted pairs.

Contrasted pair is viewed as two units of compared languages

*By sequential presentation to informants of all units under study in the test phrase, the researcher obtains data about the structure of the word meaning. For example, to detect differences of English adjectives *undaunted*, *gallant*, *courageous* from the dominant of the row *brave*, informants were given a test phrase «He is not brave, he is ... because ...» Generalizing similar answers the researcher got the following data: *Brave* is willing to do things which are dangerous, and does not show fear in difficult or dangerous situations.*

1) *He is not brave, he is undaunted because despite the threats that surround him/ of which he is aware, he goes ahead and does something (thus, unlike brave, the adjective undaunted possesses a differential seme «acts despite surrounding dangers»).*

2) *He is not brave, he is gallant because he is noble, chivalrous. Gallant is used to describe knights/heroes in stories. (unlike brave, the adjective gallant possesses differential semes «of noble origin», «noble in character» and «about knights and heroes in literature»).*

3) *He is not brave, he is courageous because, although brave=courageous, courageous is more literary. (thus unlike stylistically neutral brave, the adjective courageous is believed by the informants to be bookish)*

The interpretational test may show that some lexemes listed in synonymic dictionaries are not used in live language or their meaning has changed so much that they cannot be considered synonyms any longer.

presenting an interlingual lexical correlation. At this step pairs for contrastive semantic analysis are determined.

Step 2. Semic opposition of the units of contrastive pairs.

For each contrasted pair separate semes determined in the process of componential analysis are being compared and the unification of the semic description is being done. Semes which are alike in two languages are considered to be equal and one explanation is being chosen or constructed that gives the most general description of the definite component. The absence of a seme in the sememe of one of the languages is checked and in case it is proved, semic lacuna is registered. If the absence of the seme can be explained by odd reasons, for example drawbacks of componential analysis, then the seme is included into the semic structure of the word. Thus, at this stage the semic description of the researched units can be supplemented or the wording of the seme can change.

As the result of this step the researcher obtains parallel semic descriptions of the contrasted pair in which the archisemes and differential semes are opposed and lacuna semes are discovered.

STAGE V. Discovering national-specific components of meaning.

This stage presupposed detecting and describing of non-corresponding (national-specific) semes in contrasted pairs. At this stage “false” translation equivalents can be discovered and different forms of national specificity of meaning are described. The latter can be as follows:

- national-specific meaning (full non-equivalence);
- non-correspondence of key semes;
- non-correspondence of peripheral semes;
- non-equivalence of semes;
- differences in the status of semes (permanent or probable);

– lacuna.

STAGE VI. Differential semantization of the contrastive pairs members.

The meaning of each word is described as the enumeration of non-corresponding semes in reference to the other member of the contrasted pair.

STAGE VII. Differential explanation of the contrastive pairs members meaning.

This is the last stage of the contrastive description of lexical units and it presents their differential interpretation. The latter contains all translation correspondences with the list of semantic components which differentiate the unit of SL from all translation correspondences.

Differential interpretation is the main material for compiling contrastive dictionaries of different types.

Thus, having gone through all the stages of analysis, the researcher gets the following results:

1. The description of the content and structure of lexical groups under study.
2. Setting of interlingual correlations.
3. Semic description of sememes under study in two languages.
4. Formation of semic definitions of units in two languages.
5. Detection of national-specific semes in two languages.
6. Differentiation of correspondences in two languages in reference to national-specific semantic components.
7. Contrastive dictionary entries.

The technique suggested by Sternin or at least some stages of it are rather traditional and applicable mostly for lexicographic purposes. With the advent of new anthropocentric paradigm of

linguistic research the new cognitive approach has been developing rapidly and has contributed to the advance of contrastive studies on different levels.

2. Cognitive approach in contrastive semantics

The area of study known as cognitive semantics is concerned with investigating the relationship between experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language. Scholars working in cognitive semantics investigate knowledge representation (conceptual structure), and meaning construction (conceptualization). Cognitive semanticists have employed language as the lens through which these cognitive phenomena can be investigated. Consequently, research in cognitive semantics tends to be interested in modelling the human mind as much as it is concerned with investigating linguistic semantics.

A cognitive approach in linguistics is concerned with modelling the language system (the mental ‘grammar’), rather than the nature of mind per se. However, it does so by taking as its starting point the conclusions of work in cognitive semantics. Meaning is central to cognitive approaches to linguistic enterprise. Most work in cognitive linguistics finds it necessary to investigate both lexical semantics and grammatical organization jointly.

A review of leading publications suggests that cognitive scientists are aware of the range of linguistic diversity. Moreover, the crucial fact for understanding the place of language in human cognition is its diversity. For example, languages may have less than a dozen distinctive sounds, or they may have 12 dozen, and sign languages do not use sounds at all. Languages may or may not have

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derivational morphology (to make words from other words, e.g., *run – runner*), or inflectional morphology for an obligatory set of syntactically consequential choices (e.g., plural *the girls are* vs. singular *the girl is*). They may or may not have constituent structure (building blocks of words that form phrases), may or may not have fixed orders of elements, and their semantic systems may carve the world at quite different joints.

The diversity of language points to the general importance of different cultural and technological adaptation in our species: language is a bio-cultural hybrid, a product of intensive gene: culture coevolution over perhaps the last 200,000 to 400,000 years²⁹

Ethnologue, the most dependable worldwide source (<http://www.ethnologue.com/>), reckons that 82% of the world's 6,912 languages are spoken by populations under 100,000, 39% by populations under 10,000. These small speaker numbers indicate that much of this diversity is endangered. Ethnologue lists 8% as nearly extinct, and a language dies every two weeks. This loss of diversity, as with biological species, drastically narrows our scientific understanding of what makes a possible human language.

Cognitivists assume that that languages directly encode the categories we think in, and moreover that these constitute an innate,



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universal “language of thought” or “mentalese.” As S. A. Pinker³⁰ [Pinker 1994, p. 82] put it, „Knowing a language, then, is knowing how to translate mentalese into strings of words and vice versa. People without a language would still have mentalese, and babies and many nonhuman animals presumably have it in a simpler form. „Learning a language, then, is simply a matter of finding out what the local clothing is for universal concepts we already have. The problem with this view is that languages differ enormously in the concepts that they provide ready-coded in grammar and lexicon. Languages may lack words or constructions corresponding to the logical connectives “if” or “or”, or “blue” or “green”. There are languages without tense, without aspect, without numerals, or without third-person pronouns (or even without pronouns at all, in the case of most sign languages). Some languages have thousands of verbs; others only have thirty. Lack of vocabulary may sometimes merely make expression more cumbersome, but sometimes it effectively limits expressibility, as in the case of languages without numerals [Gordon 2004].

Many languages make semantic distinctions we certainly would never think of making. For example, referents can be coded as visible or not, can have classificatory verbs, forcing a speaker to decide between a dozen categories of objects (e.g., liquids, rope-like



³⁰ Steven Arthur Pinker (born September 18, 1954) is a Canadian-born American experimental psychologist, cognitive scientist, linguist, and popular science author. He is Johnstone Family Professor in the Department of Psychology at Harvard University, and is known for his advocacy of evolutionary psychology and the computational theory of mind.

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objects, containers, flexible sheets). Australian languages force their speakers to pay attention to intricate kinship relations between participants in the discourse – in many to use a pronoun *you* must first work out whether the referents are in even- or odd-numbered generations with respect to one another, or related by direct links through the male line. On top of this, many have special kin terms that triangulate the relation between speaker, hearer, and referent, with meanings like „the one who is my mother and your daughter, you being my maternal grandmother”.

Spatial concepts are an interesting domain to compare languages. We find fundamental differences in the semantic parameters languages use to code space. For example, there are numerous languages without notions of „left of,” „right of,” „back of,” „front of ” – words meaning „right hand” or „left hand” are normally present, but don’t generalize to spatial description. How then does one express, for example, that the book you are looking for is on the table left of the window? In most of these languages by saying that it lies on the table north of the window – that is, by using geographic rather than egocentric coordinates.

Linguists often distinguish between closed-class or function words (like *the*, *of*, *in*, which play a grammatical role) and open-class items or general vocabulary which can be easily augmented by new coinages or borrowing. Some researchers claim that closed-class items reveal a recurrent set of semantic distinctions, whereas the open-class items may be more culture-specific (Talmy 2000). Others claim effectively just the reverse, that relational vocabulary (as in prepositions) is much more abstract, and thus prone to cultural patterning, whereas the open-class items (like nouns) are grounded in concrete reality, and thus less cross-linguistically variable (Gentner

& Boroditsky 2001). In fact, neither of these views seems correct, for both ends of the spectrum are cross-linguistically variable.

In the light of examples like these, the view that „linguistic categories and structures are more or less straightforward mappings from a pre-existing conceptual space programmed into our biological nature” (Li & Gleitman 2002, p. 266) looks quite implausible. Instead, languages reflect cultural preoccupations and ecological interests that are a direct and important part of the adaptive character of language and culture.

The Saussurian insight that languages are systems of wholly conventional signs leads to the conclusion that languages are not natural but conventional systems, socio-culturally differentiated. Languages are culture-specific, and cultures – almost by definition – differ one from another. And, as we all know, learning another language is not just a matter of acquiring new words, or even new syntactic rules. It is a matter of absorbing the culture insofar as this is reflected in its idiom. N. Roberts [Burton-Roberts 2005] describes how he first went to Italy, with almost no Italian. He asked his landlady on the first day if he could „have a bath”. Now, the translation of *have* in Italian is supposed to be *avere*. So that’s the word he used. She replied „No, you can’t have the bath”. Sensing he had been misunderstood, he tried again: could I perhaps „take a bath”? The translation of *take* in Italian is supposed to be *prendere*. „No”, she insisted in exasperation, „you cannot take the bath”. In Italian, if you’re not going to use *bagnarsi* (way beyond his command of the language at the time), the correct idiom is *fare bagno*. It is rather difficult to „translate” this. In saying *fare bagno*, do Italians say *make/do bath* or do they, like the English, thereby say *take/have a bath*? This is a trivial example, but it involves immersing oneself in a form of culture. Within

that culture, that idiom was the most literal way of expressing the concept. More generally, what counts as literal is a cultural matter.

Technique of the contrastive study of concepts should provide the explication of cognitive procedures applied by the subject when interpreting culturally meaningful reference of lingual signs which is obtained from all means of denotative-connotative presentation of cultural senses [Телия 1996, с. 14]. First of all, we should emphasise that cognitive CA is productive only for unique concepts and universal concepts which have partial interlingual equivalence [Воркачов 2003, с. 13]³¹

Proceeding from semantic-functional peculiarities of concepts verbalization one can form models for contrastive studies. It is CA that gives a possibility to view one of the compared languages as a separate picture of the world (a system of specific reflection of the world) and compare it with other pictures and their particular features. Differences are revealed on the background of universal similar features and this leads to better understanding of lingual canons. CA enables to discover **diasemism** (semantic divergences), **dialexism** (lexical divergences) and **structural-functional divergences** (structural isomorphism and allomorphy).

For example, when intending to conduct CA of ethical concepts one has to apply a complex of analytical devices, operations and procedures which are used to analyze the interconnection of language and culture. The complex approach brings forth the necessity of



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referring to the analysis of the semantic structure and pragmatics of the separate words-variants which objectify concepts in verbal forms and can be viewed as cultural phenomena with specific histories. This approach permits: 1) to deduce the peculiarities of thinking and world perception of the ethnic community; 2) to trace the formation of its culture; 3) to structure the concepts and provide linguocultural description of their components. For CA of full value a researcher has, first of all, to determine the feature (features) of correlating objects – the basis or common denominator of comparison – tertium comparationis. These features are arranged quantitatively and hierarchically and the relations of logical regularities and transitivity are built on them. S.Vorkachov believes that the set of those features gets the characteristics of the semantic theory. When explicitly presented and formalized it can be considered a semantic model or prototype [Воркачов]. The creation of this model is the first step in the analysis of empirical material analysis. Succeeding steps are dedicated to detecting universal and idioethnic characteristics of lingual representations and functions of the concepts under study on the background of historical, cultural and social developments of different ethnoses. For example, when we choose to make a contrastive study of ethnic concepts we should conduct it systemically, considering the moral-ethic canons and tenets of different ethnic communities, history of their formation, religious beliefs, worldview features of social life, traditions etc. Hierarchically arranged set of ideologemes makes up the central zone and periphery of the mentality of ethnoses: „culture type is determined by the way of arrangement of the units of mentality (ideologemes) on the axiological scale [Голубовська 2009, с. 55].

Thus CA of concepts includes the following stages:

- 1) determination of the key word representing this concept in two languages, i.e. its basic lingual representations;

- 2) the analysis of definitions of words verbalizing the concept;
- 3) the analysis of lexical combinability of the key word in order to determine the main features of the concept;
- 4) the analysis of the development of its semantic structure (polysemy, new connotations);
- 5) construction of the lexical-phraseological field of the key-word;
- 6) construction of the lexical-grammatical and derivational field of the concept;
- 7) interpretation of the results obtained at the previous stages and modeling of the structure of concept in languages under study;
- 8) describing similarities and differences in the models.

Cognitive linguistics offered new tools for conducting CA. As *tertium comparationis* in the comparison of languages there have been employed such universal concepts as LIFE and DEATH, HAPPINESS, LOVE, DESIRE, HOPE, SUCCESS, FREEDOM, COLOUR, TIME, BEAUTY, JOY, WAR, CLOTHES, MARRIAGE, MORAL, FAMILY, WOMAN, SPIRIT, TRUTH and their representation in different languages which allows to single out not only the language means used in the process of concept verbalization, but to compare the system of associations typical of a definite cultural community.

3. Contrastive analysis of noun compounds in English and Ukrainian

One of challenging spheres of CA in the field of lexicology is comparative analysis of derivational patterns. Such researches can be illustrated by the analysis of compounding in English and Ukrainian. Compounding is one of the productive means of word-formation

both in both languages. It is characterized by the ease with which compound words are formed when need arises without becoming permanent units of the vocabulary. Compounding should be studied both diachronically and synchronically. Our task is to make a synchronic review and this implies the solving of the following questions:

1. The principal features of compounds which distinguish them from other linguistic units.
2. The semantic structure of compound words.
3. The principles of classification.

A **compound** is a lexical unit consisting of more than one stem and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word. I. V. Arnold states that these stems occur in English as free forms [Arnold 1986, p. 60]. In Ukrainian compounding is subdivided into: 1) stem-combining with the help of interfixes *o, e* (*доброзичливий, працездатний*) or without them (*триповерховий, всюдихід*); 2) word-combining or juxtaposition (Lat. *juxta* - near, *positio* - place) - combining several words or word-forms in one complex word (*хата-лабораторія, салон-перукарня*).

In principle any number of bases may be involved, but in English except for a relatively minor class of items (normally abbreviated) compounds usually comprise two stems only, however internally complex each may be. Compounding can take place within any of the word classes, but with very few exceptions, the resulting compound word in English is a noun, a verb or an adjective. In Ukrainian this list includes nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

The structural cohesion and integrity of a compound may depend upon unity of stress, solid or hyphenated spelling, semantic

unity, unity of morphological and syntactic functioning or, more often, upon the combined effect of several of these factors.

The integrity of a compound is manifested in its indivisibility, i.e. the impossibility of inserting another word or word-group between its elements. e.g., *a sunbeam* - we can insert *bright* or *unexpected* between the article and the noun: *a bright sunbeam*, *a bright and unexpected sunbeam*, but no such insertion is possible between *sun* and *beam*.

In describing the structure of a compound we should examine the relations of the members to each other. Compounding associates stems drawn from the whole lexicon in a wide range of semantic relations. Although both bases in a compound are in principle equally open, they are normally in a relation whereby the first is modifying the second. In short, compounding can in general be viewed as prefixation with open-class items. [A Comprehensive grammar, p. 1568] But this does not mean that a compound can be formed by placing any lexical item in front of another. The relations between items brought together in compounding must be such that it is reasonable and useful to classify the second element in terms of the first. Such compounds are called **endocentric**. In **exocentric** compounds there is no semantic centre as in *scarecrow* (*figure of a man in old clothes set up to scare birds away from crops*). Only the combination of both elements names the referent.

The semantic integrity of a compound is on the other hand very often idiomatic in its character, so that the meaning of the whole is not a mere sum of its elements and the compound is often very different in meaning from a corresponding syntactic group. e.g. *a blackboard* - *a black board*. In some cases the original motivation of

the idiomatic compound cannot be easily re-created. e.g. *blackmail* - getting money or some other profit from a person by threats.

The analysis of the semantic relationship existing between the constituents of a compound presents many difficulties. Some linguists are treating semantic connections within compounds in terms of syntactic relations. For example, such mode of presentation which (where possible) links compounds to sentential or clausal paraphrases is adopted by A Comprehensive Grammar, H. Marchand. As an example of this approach we may take the two compounds: *daydreaming* and *sightseeing* which can be analysed in terms of their sentential analogues:

X dreams during the day, i.e. verb + adverbial

X sees sights, i.e. verb + object

I. V. Arnold calls such approach a “mistake” because syntactic ties are ties between words, whereas in dealing with compounds one studies relations within a word. [Arnold 1986, p. 61 – 62]. Although not all compounds are directly “derived” from the clause-structure functions of the items concerned we still consider such treatment of word-formation appropriate enough in the context of general description and concentrating attention on the language’s productive capacity.

Major categories of compounds in English are notably Noun Compounds and Adjective Compounds. We can distinguish subsets on the basis of a grammatical analysis of the elements, together with the indication of the relationship between them in terms of syntactic paraphrase.

NOUN COMPOUNDS

I. Subject + action : вода спадає – водоспад. This type is represented by the following ways of combining of structural components:

- **noun (subject) + deverbal noun** e.g.

English: *sunrise, rainfall, headache, bee-sting, frostbite, daybreak, heartbeat, rainfall*

Ukrainian: *небосхил, серцебиття, зорепад, сонцестояння, снігопад*

This type is rather productive in both contrasted languages.

- **deverbal noun + noun (subject)**

In English we refer to this type those compounds where the first component is a verbal noun in *-ing*, e.g. *flying machine, firing squad, investigating committee* and it is very productive. In Ukrainian examples are few: *надоліст (арх.), трясогузка*.

- **verb + noun (subject)**

This type can be found only in English: *watchdog, playboy*.

II. Object + action: вказує дорогу – дороговказ

- **noun (object) + deverbal noun**

This is a moderately productive type in English but very common in Ukrainian, e.g. English: *birth-control, handshake*. Ukrainian: *душогуб, сінокіс, гречкосій, родовід*. In English we can single out a subtype **noun (object) + verbal noun in *-ing***: *book-keeping, town-planning*. In Ukrainian compounds of that subtype correspond to compounds in **-ння**: *сироваріння, містобудування*.

- **noun (object) + agent noun**

In English this is a very productive type and designates concrete (usually human) agents: *stockholder, hairsplitter*. Note, however, *dishwasher, lawn-mover*. All compounds of this type in English are

nouns with **-er** suffix. As in Ukrainian there is a wide range of suffixes forming agent nouns, so examples of compounds reflect this diversity: *м'ясорубка, законодавець, користолобець, квартирнаймач, містобудівник*

- **verb + noun (object)**

English: *call-girl, push-button, drawbridge*. In Ukrainian the first component of these compounds is a verb in imperative: *голиборода, крутивус, пройдисвіт, дурисвіт*. This type is often encountered in plant-names as *дерипліт, ломикамінь, ломиніс* and for poetic characterization of people as *Вернигора, Перетанцюйбіс, Непийвода*. This structural type of compounds belongs to the ancient layer of Ukrainian vocabulary, for example, the God of Sun in ancient Ukrainian religion was named *Дажбог* : imperative form of the verb *dadjú* – дай and noun *bogú* – щастя, добробут.

III. **Action + adverbial: ходить пішки – пішохід**

In English this type of noun compounds has the following subtypes:

- **verbal noun in -ing + noun** (adverbial component which can be transformed into prepositional phrase), e.g. *writing-desk* (write at a desk), *hiding place* (hide in a place), *walking stick* (walk with a stick).

- **noun (adverbial component) + agent noun**, e.g. *city-dweller* (dwell in the city), *babysitter* (sit with the baby),

- **noun (adverbial component) + verbal noun in -ing**, *sunbathing* (bathe in the sun), *handwriting* (write by hand),

- **noun (adverbial component) + noun (converted from verb)**, *homework* (work at home), *gunfight* (fight with a gun).

In English the 2)nd and the 4)th subtypes can actually be combined and this combined type can be encountered in Ukrainian: *міцеперебування, працездатність, світогляд*. Besides, in

Ukrainian there exists another productive type of compounds formation: **adverb (adverbial component) + deverbal noun**, e.g. *скоронис, марнослів'я, пішохід*.

Summing up, it should be highlighted that ideally, CA of the vocabulary would have to take into consideration all elementary meaning units of the SL and their potential equivalents in the TL and so, in the end, provide the material for new dictionaries. In view of the enormous complexity of such a task it seems, however, much more rational to start with an investigation of those units lying in the highest frequency ranges, that is the 3,000 or 5,000 most frequent words and their TL equivalents, these being at the same time those units most urgently needed by the FL learner for productive purposes.

Thus, contrastive analysis of vocabulary units in different languages irrespective of their origin and type is topical as it allows singling out allomorphisms and isomorphisms in the systems of lexical units in order to specify associations which underlie processes of nomination in different languages.



PART 15. LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR COGNITIVE SCIENCE

(Excerpts from the article by N. Evans and Stephen C. Levinson „The myth of language universals: Language diversity and its importance for cognitive science”.

*Mode of access: <http://www.mpi.nl/Members/StephenLevinson>
Published in *BEHAVIORAL AND BRAIN SCIENCES* (2009) 32, 429–492)*

The current representation of languages in the world

Somewhere between 5,000 and 8,000 distinct languages are spoken today. How come we cannot be more precise? In part because there are definitional problems: When does a dialect difference become a language difference (the “languages” Czech and Slovak are far closer in structure and mutual intelligibility than so-called dialects of Chinese like Mandarin and Cantonese)? But mostly it is because academic linguists, especially those concerned with primary language description, form a tiny community, far outnumbered by the languages they should be studying, each of which takes the best part of a lifetime to master. Less than 10% of these languages have decent descriptions (full grammars and dictionaries). Consequently, nearly all generalizations about what is possible in human languages are based on a maximal 500 languages sample (in practice, usually much smaller – Greenberg’s famous universals of language were based on 30), and almost every new language description still guarantees substantial surprises.

Ethnologue, the most dependable worldwide source (<http://www.ethnologue.com/>), reckons that 82% of the world’s 6,912 languages are spoken by populations under 100,000, 39% by populations under 10,000. These small speaker numbers indicate that much of this diversity is endangered. Ethnologue lists 8% as nearly extinct, and a language dies every two weeks. This loss of diversity, as with biological species, drastically narrows our scientific understanding of what makes a possible human language. Equally important as the brute numbers are the facts of relatedness. The number of language families is crucial to the search for universals, because typologists want to test hypotheses against a sample of independent languages. The more closely two languages are related,

the less independent they are as samplings of the design space. The question of how many distinct phylogenetic groupings are found across the world's languages is highly controversial, although Nichols' (1992) estimate of 300 "stocks" is reasonable, and each stock itself can have levels of divergence that make deep-time relationship hard to detect. In addition, there are more than 100 isolates, languages with no proven affiliation whatsoever. A major problem for the field is that we currently have no way of demonstrating higher-level phylogenetic groupings that would give us a more principled way of selecting a maximally independent sample for a set smaller than these 300 to 400 groups.

....Suppose then that we think of current linguistic diversity as represented by 7,000 languages falling into 300 or 400 groups. Five hundred years ago, before the expansion of Western colonization, there were probably twice as many. Because most surviving languages are spoken by small ethnic groups, language death continues apace. If we project back through time, there have probably been at least half a million human languages (Pagel 2000), so what we now have is a non-random sample of less than 2% of the full range of human linguistic diversity. It would be nice to at least be in the position to exploit that sample, but in fact, as mentioned, we have good information for only 10% of that. The fact is that at this stage of linguistic inquiry, almost every new language that comes under the microscope reveals unanticipated new features....

Linguistic universals

.....There have been two main approaches to linguistic universals. The first, already mentioned, is the Chomskyan approach, where UG (universal grammar) denotes structural principles which are complex and implicit enough to be unlearnable from finite

exposure. Chomsky thus famously once held that language universals could be extracted from the study of a single language: assuming that the genetically determined language faculty is a common human possession, we may conclude that a principle of language is universal if we are led to postulate it as a precondition for the acquisition of a single language. (Chomsky 1980, p. 48).

Chomsky (1965, pp. 27–30) influentially distinguished between substantive and formal universals. Substantive universals are drawn from a fixed class of items (e.g., distinctive phonological features, or word classes like noun, verb, adjective, and adverb). No particular language is required to exhibit any specific member of a class. Consequently, the claim that property X is a substantive universal cannot be falsified by finding a language without it, because the property is not required in all of them. Conversely, suppose we find a new language with property Y, hitherto unexpected: we can simply add it to the inventory of substantive universals. Jackendoff (2002, p. 263) nevertheless holds “the view of Universal Grammar as a “toolkit” . . . : beyond the absolute universal bare minimum of concatenated words . . . languages can pick and choose which tools they use, and how extensively.” But without limits on the toolkit, UG is unfalsifiable. Formal universals specify abstract constraints on the grammar of languages (e.g., that they have specific rule types or cannot have rules that perform specific operations).....

We turn now to the other approach to universals, stemming from the work of Greenberg (1963a), which directly attempts to test linguistic universals against the diversity of the world’s languages. Greenberg’s methods crystallized the field of linguistic typology, and his empirical generalizations are sometimes called Greenbergian

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universals. First, importantly, Greenberg discounted features of language that are universal by definition – that is, we would not call the object in question a language if it lacked these properties (Greenberg et al. 1963, p. 73). Thus, many of what Hockett (1963) called the “design features” of language are excluded – for example, discreteness, arbitrariness, productivity, and the duality of patterning achieved by combining meaningless elements at one level (phonology) to construct meaningful elements (morphemes or words) at another. We can add other functional features that all languages need in order to be adequately expressive instruments (e.g., the ability to indicate negative or prior states of affairs, to question, to distinguish new from old information, etc.).

Second, Greenberg (1960, see also Comrie 1989: 17–23) distinguished the different types of universal statement laid out in the Table 1 (the terminology may differ slightly across sources).

Although all of these types are universals in the sense that they employ universal quantification over languages, their relations to notions of “universal grammar” differ profoundly. Type 1 statements are true of all languages, though not tautological by being definitional of language hood. This is the category which cognitive scientists often imagine is filled by rich empirical findings from a hundred years of scientific linguistics – indeed Greenberg (1986, p. 14) recalls how Osgood challenged him to produce such universals, saying that these would be of fundamental interest to psychologists. This started Greenberg on a search that ended elsewhere, and he rapidly came to realize “the meagreness and relative triteness of statements that were simply true of all languages” (Greenberg 1986, p. 15): Assuming that it was important

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to discover generalizations which were valid for all languages, would not such statements be few in number and on the whole quite banal?

Table 1. *Logical types of universal statement (following Greenberg)*

	Absolute (exceptionless)	Statistical (tendencies)
Unconditional (unrestricted)	Type 1. “Unrestricted absolute universals” <i>All languages have property X</i>	Type 2. “Unrestricted tendencies” <i>Most languages have property X</i>
Conditional (restricted)	Type 3. “Exceptionless implicational universals” <i>If a language has property X, it also has property Y</i>	Type 4. “Statistical implicational universals” <i>If a language has property X, it will tend to have property Y</i>

Examples would be that languages had nouns and verbs (although some linguists denied even that) or that all languages had sound systems and distinguished between phonetic vowels and consonants. (Greenberg 1986, p. 14) To this day, the reader will find no agreed list of Type 1 universals (see Box 1). This more or less empty box is why the emperor of Universal Grammar has no clothes. Textbooks such as those by Comrie (1989), Whaley (1997), and Croft (2003) are almost mum on the subject, and what they do provide is more or

less the same two or three examples. For the longest available list of hypotheses, see the online resources at the Konstanz Universals Archive (<http://ling.uni-konstanz.de:591/Universals>).

The most often cited absolute unrestricted universals are that all languages distinguish nouns and verbs and that all languages have vowels. The problem with the notion “all languages have vowels” is that it does not extend to sign languages as already mentioned. A second problem is that, for spoken languages, if the statement is taken at a phonetic level, it is true, but for trivial reasons: they would otherwise scarcely be audible. A third problem is that, if taken as a phonological claim that all languages have distinctive vowel segments, it is in fact contested: ...languages differ in fundamental ways – in their sound systems (even whether they have one), in their grammar, and in their semantics. Hence, the very type of universal that seems most interesting to psychologists was rapidly rejected as the focus of research by Greenberg.

Linguistic typologists make a virtue out of the necessity to consider other kinds of universals. Conditional or implicational universals of Types 3 and 4 (i.e., of the kind “If a language has property X, it has [or tends to have] property Y”) allow us to make claims about the interrelation of two, logically independent parameters. Statements of this kind, therefore, greatly restrict the space of possible languages: interpreted as logical (material) conditionals, they predict that there are no languages with X that lack Y, where X and Y may not be obviously related at all. Here again, however, exceptionless or absolute versions are usually somewhat trite.

SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree with N. Chomsky that a visiting Martian scientist would surely conclude that aside from their mutually unintelligible vocabularies, Earthlings speak a single language?
2. Study the table below and comment on the algorithm of CA of the vocabulary units.

<p><u>Way:</u> a method of doing something</p>	<p><u>Спосіб:</u> Певна дія, прийом або система прийомів, яка дає можливість зробити, здійснити що-небудь, досягти чогось</p>
<p>way of doing sth <i>There are different ways of doing this.</i> way to do sth <i>What's the best way to get fit?</i> (in) the right/wrong way <i>You're doing this the wrong way.</i> way (a)round sth (=method of dealing with sth) <i>There several ways around this problem.</i> way out (of sth) <i>There seemed to be no way out of the crisis</i></p>	<p><i>Єремія побачив, що треба змінити спосіб діяння, щоб часом його слободи не спустошилися зовсім вкрай, до решти</i> (Н.-Лев., VII, 1996, 27)</p>
<p><i>Non-equivalence</i> There is no in Ukrainian equivalence for the English word 'way' with the meaning 'a method of doing something', but there is Ukrainian equivalence 'спосіб' with the same meaning</p>	
<p><u>Way:</u> The manner in which someone does something or in which something happens</p>	<p><u>Шлях:</u> <i>перен.</i> Напря́м діяльності кого-, чого-небудь. <i>перен.</i> Спрямування ходу, протікання, розвитку чогось.</p>
<p>in a ... way <i>He looked at me in</i></p>	<p><i>Хто стрівався на шляху зо</i></p>

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<p><i>a strange way. / The disease affects different people in different ways. / He had cooked the meat just the way I like it. / this/that way Try doing in this way. / Thing are going to change in a big way (=a lot).</i></p>	<p><i>мною, Того я щирим серденьком вітала: Непевна путь, мій друже, в нас обох,- Ходи! Шлях певний швидше знайдем вдох (Л.Укр., I, 1951, 43); Ти теплу ніжність до людини Узяв, як хліб, у творчу путь. Хто шлях обрав собі єдиний, Тому із нього не звернуть (Рильський, III, 1961, 270); Олесь Гончар належить до того покоління українських письменників, чий літературний шлях почався в останні передвоєнні роки (Про багатство лі-ри, 1959, 160) Розмова повернула на інший шлях (Мирний, I, 1949, 268);</i></p>
<p>Full equivalence</p>	
<p><u>Way:</u> The road, path, etc that you follow in order to go to a place Railway Waterway Seaway</p>	<p><u>Шлях:</u> Смуга землі, призначена для їзди та ходіння; дорога у сполученні із словами залізничний, водний, морський, повітряний, річковий і т. ін. Узагалі місце, простір, яким відбувається пересування, сполучення</p>
<p>+to <i>What's the quickest way to the beach? Could you tell me the way to the station? He offered to show us the way back. I hope someone knows</i></p>	<p><i>У неділеньку та ранесенько, Ще сонечко не зіходило, А я, молоденька, На шлях, на дорогу невеселая виходила (Шевч., II, 1963, 163); Тим шляхом, що, звившись гадюкою, пославсь од</i></p>

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<p>the way. way in/out We couldn't find the way out.</p>	<p><i>великого села Пісок аж до славного колись Ромодана, - йшов молодий чоловік (Мирний, I, 1949, 125); Як сумно я дивись на залізничний шлях, на рейки золоті, що мчали малиново на Україну. (Сос., II, 1958, 476) Ніч тиха була, ми з тобою Плили геть шляхом водяним (Л. Укр., IV, 1954, 87); Летять пташки шляхом надземним. Дощ одшумів (Рильський, I, 1960, 149); В гірській частині країни, яка густо заросла лісом, ріки використовувалися як зручний шлях сполучення (Наука., 3, 1958, 53); * У порівнянні. Дітям і внукам життя ми щасливе В даль прокладаєм, як зоряний шлях (Рильський, III, 1961, 305).</i></p>
<p>Full equivalence</p>	
<p>Way: A particular direction or position</p>	<p>Шлях: Напрямок руху в який-небудь бік, до якогось відомого або наміченого місця. Заздалегіть накреслений чи визначений напрям руху; маршрут, курс;</p>
<p><i>Which way is north?</i> the right/wrong way I think</p>	<p><i>Ні, я не сам. Моя тінь, як невільник, послалась під ноги й</i></p>

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<p><i>we might have gone the wrong way. Face this way, please.</i></p>	<p>показує шлях (Коцюб., II, 1955, 407); <i>Шлях у місто мені вже знайомий був</i> (Мирний, I, 1954, 73); <i>Грає сонце промінцями, Білий сніг стає струмками, I, співаючи, струмки Шлях знаходять до ріки</i> (Стельмах, V, 1963, 308);</p>
<p>Full equivalence</p>	
<p><u>Way:</u> A distance or a length of time, especially a long one</p>	<p><u>Шлях:</u> Відстань, що її хтось проїхав, пройшов або яку ще треба подолати</p>
<p><i>We're still a long way from the airport.</i> a long way off/away/ahead etc <i>A peace settlement seems a long way off.</i> <i>She slept most of the way home.</i></p>	<p><i>Шлях стелився їм далекий</i> (Тулуб, В степу..., 1964, 38); <i>Він був з далекої Хенані, куди від нас неблизький шлях</i> (Сос., II, 1958, 386); <i>Кораблі на морі поспішають перебігти свій шлях, щоб їх не захватив у дорозі шторм</i> (Ю. Янов., II, 1958, 41); <i>З Брянським він пройшов шлях від самої Волги</i> (Гончар, III, 1959, 123); <i>Автомобіль, що рухається, не можна зупинити раптово. Чим більша швидкість автомобіля, тим для цього більше часу потрібно і тим більший шлях гальмування</i> (Автомоб., 1957, 279)</p>
<p>Full equivalence</p>	

3. Study the English limerick by Edward Lear and conduct CA of the concept CRY as verbalized in the original and different translations original (taken from http://shvachko.blogspot.com/2007/12/blog-post_08.html)

There was a Young Lady of Russia,
Who screamed so that no one could hush her;
Her screams were extreme,
No one heard such a scream,
As was screamed by that lady of Russia (Эдвард Лир).

1. Есть старая дама из Кракова:
орет от пожатия всякого,
орет наперед
и все время орет, –
но орет не всегда одинаково (В.Набоков).

2. Вот вам некая Мисс из России.
Визг ее был ужасен по силе
И разил, как кинжал,
Так никто не визжал,
Как визжала та Мисс из России (Е.Клюев).

3. Безутешная мисс из Манилы
Непрестанно рыдала и выла.
Кто услышал впервой
Тот немислимый вой,
Чуть живой убегал из Манилы (М.Фрейдкин).

4. Дико воеет девица из Скопле.

Чтоб унять этот вой, эти вопли,

Что ни делал народ –

Все белугой ревет,

Завывает девица из Скопле! (Борис Архипцев).

5. Жил мальчик вблизи Фермопил,

Который так громко вопил,

Что глохли все тетки,

И дохли селедки,

И сыпалась пыль со стропил (Григорий Кружков).

6. Юная дева одна из России

Вдруг оглушительно заголосила;

В дальних краях, где они прозвучали,

Воплей, подобных таким, не слышали,

Что издавала гражданка России (Юрий Сабанцев).

7. Голосила девица в России

так, что прямо святых выносили:

Слушать не было сил,

Сроду не голосил

Так никто, как девица в России (Борис Архипцев).

SEMINAR LIBRARY

- *Стернин И.А.* Контрастивная лингвистика. Проблемы теории и методики исследования / И.А.Стернин. – М.: АСТ: Восток – Запад, 2007. – 288с.
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Lecture 8. Contrastive studies in the field of pragmatics.

This lecture postulates an adequate unit of comparison for contrastive pragmatics and assesses the impact of this dispute on translation theory.

1. Pragmatics as a subfield of linguistics
 - 1.1. Historical preamble
 - 1.2. Charles William Morris and his study of the relation of signs
 - 1.3. Semantics and Pragmatics.
2. Contrastive pragmatics
3. Additional resources

PART 16. A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF PRAGMATICS

PART 17. ON TRANSLATING 'WHAT IS SAID': TERTIUM

COMPARATIONIS IN CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

PART 18. PROBLEMATIZING THE NOTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL SEMIOSIS

4. Seminar questions
5. Seminar library

1. Pragmatics as a subfield of linguistics.

It has been widely acknowledged and has been substantiated in previous lectures that CA has to comprise theoretical linguistic research on all the levels of linguistic study, as well as

psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies. TCS can be performed on the level of phonology, lexicon, syntax, semantics and other levels, pragmatics being an important item of this list.

1.1. Historical preamble

Although pragmatics is a relatively new branch of linguistics, research on it can be dated back to ancient Greece and Rome where the term *pragmaticus* is found in late Latin and *pragmaticos* in Greek, both meaning ‘of being practical’. The subject of pragmatics is very familiar in linguistics today. Some fifty years ago it was mentioned by linguists rarely if at all. Geoffrey Leech in his „Principles of Pragmatics” compares it with a rag-bag into which data could be conveniently stuffed and equally conveniently forgotten [Leech 1983]³¹. Today many would argue that we cannot understand the nature of language itself unless we understand pragmatics: how language is used in communication.

How has this change come about? In part, the whole of the recent history of linguistics can be described in terms of successive discoveries: what has gone headlong into the rag-bag can be taken out again and patched into a more or less presentable suit of clothes.

To the generation which followed Bloomfield, linguistics meant phonetics, phonemics and morphophonemics. Syntax was considered abstract. This changed after Chomsky, in the later 50s



³¹ *Geoffrey Neil Leech (1936 – 2014). Pragmatics was one of his active research interests. His latest work on the compilation of a speech-act annotated corpus is of special importance.*

discovered the centrality of syntax. Like the structuralists he regarded meaning as too messy for serious contemplation. In the earlier 60s Katz and his collaborators [Katz and Fodor 1963] tried to incorporate meaning into a formal linguistic theory and it was not long before Lakoff, with others argued that syntax could not be separated from the study of language use. So pragmatics was henceforth on the linguistic map.

All the names previously mentioned are American, but many influential scholars have continued to work outside the ‘American mainstream’. There was Firth with his emphasis on the situational study of meaning and Halliday with his comprehensive social theory of language. And we should not forget philosophers of language who greatly influenced modern pragmatics: Austin³², Searle³³ and Grice³⁴.

³² *The British philosopher **John Langshaw Austin (1911 – 1960)** was intrigued by the way that we can use words to do different things. Whether one asserts or merely suggests, promises or merely indicates an intention, persuades or merely argues, depends not only on the literal meaning of one's words, but what one intends to do with them, and the institutional and social setting in which the linguistic activity occurs. One thing a speaker might intend to do, and be taken to do, in saying “I'll be there to pick you up at six,” is to promise to pick her listener up at that time. The ability to promise and to intend to promise arguably depends on the existence of a social practice or set of conventions about what a promise is and what constitutes promising. Austin especially emphasized the importance of social fact and conventions in doing things with words, in particular with respect to the class of speech acts known as illocutionary acts [http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatics/#Intro].*

³³ *Austin's student, **John R. Searle (1969)** developed speech act theory as a theory of the constitutive rules for performing illocutionary acts, i.e., the rules that tell what performing (successfully) an illocutionary act (with certain illocutionary force and certain propositional content) consists in. The rules are classified as (i) propositional content rules, which put conditions on the propositional content of some illocutionary acts; (ii) preparatory rules, which tell what the speaker will imply in the performance of the illocutionary acts; (iii) sincerity rules, that tell*

New approaches have led to a remarkable shift of direction within linguistics: away from „competence” and towards „performance”. The new claim is that grammar (the abstract formal system of language) and pragmatics (the principles of language use) are complementary domains within linguistics. We cannot understand the nature of language without studying both these domains and the interaction between them. There are a few postulates of this *formal – functional* paradigm.³⁵

1.2. Charles William Morris and his study of the relation of signs

In his semiotic trichotomy, Charles William Morris had made a distinction between three branches, as he states: *syntactics* – being the study of the formal relation of signs to one another; *semantics* – the study of the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable (their designata); and *pragmatics* – the study of the

what psychological state the speaker expresses to be in; and (iv) essential rules, which tell us what the action consists inessentially.

³⁴ **Herbert Paul Grice (1913 – 1988)** emphasized the distinction between what words mean, what the speaker literally says when using them, and what the speaker means or intends to communicate by using those words, which often goes considerably beyond what is said. I ask you to lunch and you reply, “I have a one o'clock class I'm not prepared for.” You have conveyed to me that you will not be coming to lunch, although you haven't literally said so. You intend for me to figure out that by indicating a reason for not coming to lunch (the need to prepare your class) you intend to convey that you are not coming to lunch for that reason. The study of such conversational implicatures is the core of Grice's influential theory.



relation of signs to interpreters. Charles William Morris's *Writings on the General Theory of Signs* is an investigation of the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic relations of linguistic and non-linguistic signs, and is an examination of the roles which various kinds of signs may play in influencing human behavior. Morris introduces a terminology with which to describe sign phenomena, and presents a theory of signs which defines signs as stimuli to patterns of behaviour. Morris explains:

- how 'semiotic' (the science of signs) may develop within the context of a science of behaviour, and describes the role which semiotic may play in unifying biological, psychological, social, and humanistic sciences [Morris 1971];
- the role which a science of signs may play in analyzing language as a social system of signs, and explains that language may be governed by syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic rules:
 - 1) *syntactic rules* may determine which combinations of signs may function as grammatical statements;
 - 2) *semantic rules* may determine the conditions under which signs may be applicable to objects or to situations;
 - 3) *pragmatic rules* may determine the conditions under which sign-vehicles may function as signs;
- the role which semiotics may play in the development of a theory of language, and explains that language may be defined not only by the rules which govern the combinations of its signs, but by the rules which govern the signification of its signs, and by the rules which govern the origin, uses, and effects of its signs.

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Morris divides semiotics into three interrelated sciences or disciplines:

- 1) *syntactics* (the study of the methods by which signs may be combined to form compound signs),
- 2) *semantics* (the study of the signification of signs),
- 3) *pragmatics* (the study of the origins, uses, and effects of signs).

He states that *Semiotic* is the study of *semiosis*, which has syntactical, semantical, and pragmatological levels or dimensions. While the syntactical dimension of semiosis is governed by the relations which signs have with each other, the semantical dimension is governed by the relations which signs have to the objects or events which they signify, and *the pragmatological dimension is governed by the relations which signs have to their producers and interpreters.*

Morris defines *a sign as any preparatory-stimulus which produces a disposition in the interpreter of the sign to respond to something which is not at the moment a stimulus.*

Morris explains that there may be various ways of classifying signs according to their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic uses. For example, signs may be divided into three kinds, according to the range of objects which they may denote:

- 1) *indexical signs* each denote only a single actually existing object,
- 2) *characterizing signs* each denote a plurality of actually existing objects,
- 3) *universal signs* each denote all actually existing objects.

Signs may also be divided into two kinds, according to whether or not they themselves demonstrate the properties of their denotata:

- 1) *iconic signs* demonstrate the properties of their denotata,

2) *non-iconic signs* do not demonstrate the properties of their denotata.

Morris also explains that signs may be divided into two kinds, according to whether or not they may be interpreted to signify other signs:

1) *signals* are not interpreted to signify other signs,

2) *symbols* are interpreted to signify other signs. Morris argues that all signs are either signals or symbols. Signals are not used as substitutes for synonymous signs, but symbols may be used as substitutes for synonymous signs.

Morris argues that a language is a system of simple and compound signs which have interpersonal and plurisituational signification (i.e conditions of denotation which are the same for a number of interpreters and which remain relatively constant from situation to situation).

1.3. Semantics and Pragmatics.

The study of meaning and its manifestation in language is normally referred to as semantics from the Greek noun *sema* – *sign, signal*; and the verb *semains* – *signal, mean, signify*. Semantics (Greek, *semantikos* – *significant*), is the study of the meaning of linguistic signs, i.e., words, expressions, and sentences. Broadly speaking, semantics is that aspect of linguistics which deals with the relations between linguistic levels (words, expressions, phrases) and the objects or concepts or ideas to which they refer – and with the history and changes in the meaning of words. Diachronic (historical) semantics studies semantic change, whereas synchronic semantics accounts for semantic relationship, simple or multiple.

Semantics can be studied from philosophical (pure) and linguistic (descriptive and theoretical) approaches, plus an approach known as general semantics. Philosophers look at the behaviour that goes with the process of meaning. Linguists study the elements or features of meaning as they are related in a linguistic system. One of the three major components considered in the „*Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*” in the first complete model by Noam Chomsky was „Semantics”. Semantics is the study and representation of the meaning of language expressions, and the relationships of meaning among them. General notion of semantics is that it studies the meaning that can be expressed. The keynote of a modern linguistic approach to semantics is that meaning can be best studied as a linguistic phenomenon with „knowledge of language” and the „knowledge of real world”.

A semantic theory is a general theory of language meaning, and should account for the correlation between the sense of language expression and its denotation. Denotation is the relation between language expression and what they denote in words. A semantic theory of a natural language is part of a linguistic description of that language [Katz and Fodor, 1963]. They further state: – Linguistic Description minus Grammar = Semantics ($LD - G = S$). That is, if the property belonging to grammar is subtracted from the problems in the description of a language, problems that belong to semantics can be determined. The speaker’s ability to interpret sentences provides empirical data for the construction of a semantic theory. Semantic theory describes and explains the interpretation and ability of speakers by accounting their performance in determining the number and content of the readings of a sentence, by detecting semantic anomalies by deciding on paraphrase relations between

sentences and by marking every semantic relation. A semantic theory interprets the syntactic structure revealed by the grammatical description of a language.

In the recent years, there is a shift of emphasis: from a grammatical or formal approach to a growing interest in language use. As a subfield of linguistics developed in the late 1970s, pragmatics studies how people comprehend and produce a communicative act or speech act in a concrete speech situation. According to [Levinson 1983], *pragmatics refers to the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would be appropriate.*

Pragmatics covers a number of topics including the speech-act theory or the study of how we do things with sentences. The word *pragma* is of Greek origin, meaning *deed, activity*, e.g., *prassein* or *prattein* means to pass through, experience, or practice.

Pragmatic theory which first originated as a philosophical theory can be seen, at least, in two fields:

(1) a branch of semiotics – the study of signs – where it is concerned with the relationship between signs or linguistic expressions and those who use them;

(2) a branch of linguistics which deals with the contexts in which people use language and behaviour of speakers and listeners.

Pragmatics distinguishes two intents or meanings in each utterance or communicative act of verbal communication: the informative intent or the sentence meaning and the communicative intent or speaker's meaning.

The ability to comprehend and produce a communicative act is referred to as *pragmatic competence* which often includes one's knowledge about the social distance, social status between the

speakers involved, the cultural knowledge such as politeness, and the linguistic knowledge explicit and implicit.

Pragmatics is the study of the context-dependent aspects of meaning and thus seeks to characterize the features of the speech context which help determine which proposition is expressed by a given sentence. The meaning of a sentence can be regarded as a function from a context (including time, place, and possible world) into a proposition, where a proposition is a function from a possible world into a truth value.

Pragmatic aspects of meaning involve *the interaction between an expression's context of utterance and the interpretation of elements within that expression*. The pragmatic sub-domain of deixis or indexicality seeks to characterize the properties of shifters, indexicals, or expressions like *I, you, here, there, now, then, tense/aspect markers*, etc. whose meanings are constant but whose referents vary with the speaker, hearer, time and place of utterance.

Pragmatics involves three aspects of language use:

- 1) the study of discourse and conversational skills;
- 2) the study of the relationship between pragmatics and other levels of language;
- 3) the study of the situational determinants of the use of language.

Leech [Leech 1983] defines pragmatics as *the study of meaning in relation to speech situations* and holds the view that it deals with utterance meaning rather than sentence meaning. In other words, the meaning of utterance is related to the speaker or user of the language.

In his classical work, *How to Do Things with Words*, [Austin 1962] has thrown light on new dimensions of language analysis. For him, speech is an action that has become the foundation for the

development of communicative functions which is extended by [Searle 1969].

For applied linguists, especially those concerned with communicative language learning and teaching, cross-cultural research in pragmatics is essential in coping with applied aspect of the issue of the extent to which it is possible to specify the particular pragmatic rules of use for a given language which second language learners will have to acquire in order to attain successful communication in the target language.

The issue of universality is the basic challenge for the research in pragmatics when linguists make an attempt to investigate the cross-linguistic variations of deixis between different languages with a view to finding out the cross-cultural similarities and differences.

D. Crystal (1987) refers to pragmatics as those *factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction* and the effects of our choice on others.

N. Fotion (1995), in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, defines pragmatics as the study of language which *focuses attention on the users and the context of language use rather than on reference, truth, or grammar*. [Yule 1996]

Y. Yule tries to correlate the knowledge shared by the sender and the receiver and relates it to the study of speaker meaning as he defined pragmatics as *the study of meaning as communicated by speakers (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)*.

Davies (1995) says that the distinction between semantics and pragmatics is, roughly, the distinction between the significance conventionally or literally attached to words, and thence to whole sentences, and the further significance that can be worked out, by more general principles, using contextual information.

Y. Leech [Leech 1983] asserts that pragmatics and semantics are complementary for each other. For him, it is difficult to separate the two fields since they are interrelated and interwoven. He distinguishes three possible ways of structuring this relationship: Semanticism (pragmatics inside semantics), pragmaticism (semantics inside pragmatics), and complementarism (they both complement each other, but are otherwise independent areas of research). Semantics deals with the conventional meaning of expressions. The conventional meaning of expressions is their contribution to the meaning of the sentences in which they occur, and the meaning of sentences is their speech act potential.

Pragmatics studies speech acts, and semantics maps sentences onto the type of speech act they are designed to perform. It follows that there are two basic disciplines in the study of language: syntax and pragmatics. Semantics connects them by assigning speech act potentials to well-formed sentences, hence it presupposes both syntax and pragmatics.

Bach (1999) tries to make a distinction between two interpretations of linguistic utterances, i.e. semantic interpretation and pragmatic interpretation. *Semantic interpretation* is the process whereby an interpreter exploits his or her knowledge of a language to assign to an arbitrary sentence of language its truth-conditions. *Pragmatic interpretation* is a totally different process. It is not concerned with language by itself, but with human action. When someone acts, there is a reason why he does what he does.

For Bach (2004), *semantic information* is information encoded in what is uttered — these are stable linguistic features of the sentence — together with any extralinguistic information that provides (semantic) values to context-sensitive expressions in what is

uttered. *Pragmatic information* is (extralinguistic) information that arises from an actual act of utterance, and is relevant to the hearer's determination of what the speaker is communicating. *When semantic information is encoded in what is uttered, pragmatic information is generated by, or at least made relevant by, the act of uttering it.*

Katz (1977) draws the theoretical line between semantic interpretation and pragmatic interpretation by taking the semantic component to properly represent only those aspects of the meaning of the sentence that an ideal speaker-hearer of the language would know in an anonymous situation, where there is no clue whatever about the motive, circumstances of transmission, or any other factor relevant to understanding the sentence on the basis of its context of utterance.

By this brief review of the work done on semantics and pragmatics we arrive at the conclusion that semantics deals with the literal meaning of words or sentences and pragmatics starts at the point at which semantics ends, i.e. it deals with the utterance with connection to the context in which it is uttered.

2. Contrastive Pragmatics

Contrastive Pragmatics is a fairly recent development, although arguably it has its origins in Lado's (1957) *Linguistics Across Cultures*, which sought to provide a framework for comparing cultural differences in the ways in which languages are used.³⁶



Contrastive Analysis needs to be undertaken with reference to communicative networks, rather than purely linguistic parameters. One way is to take a particular function (e.g. suggesting) and then contrast its linguistic realizations in two or more languages. Another approach is to examine the different functions served by the same linguistic structure in two languages. Yet another, more ambitious, possibility is to compare the discourse structure of representative interactions in the two languages.

These approaches raise some important questions. One of these is, to what extent are the communicative parameters of language universal or language-specific? If they are language-specific, to what extent are the rules of language use transferable from the first to the second language? Some linguists [Widdowson 1975] make strong claims about the universality of specialized communicative functions such as those associated with scientific and technical discourse. If this is the case, there can be no such thing as „Contrastive Pragmatics”, because there are no differences among languages at the level of use.

However, Contrastive Pragmatics is not just about comparing the communicative functions of different languages. It is also about comparing how different languages express the same communicative functions. The universality of communication systems does not preclude the existence of obvious differences in the ways in which languages realize the same functions. It is highly probable that all languages have some way of making polite requests (e.g. ‘*Could you help me, please?*’ in English), but they are likely to differ in the formal ways in which this function is expressed.

Thus, the scope of traditional CL has been extended beyond the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics to include

discourse levels of language use. This type of study within pragmatics identifies cross-cultural and cross-linguistic pragmatic differences and similarities. Despite the pragmatic principles that exist across languages, the ways people abide by in one language to realize communicative functions are often different in another.³⁷

P. Brown and S. Levinson [Brown, Levinson 1987] have a view that speech acts are universal. Numerous attempts have been made to study speech acts across languages. Contrastive pragmatics, however, is not confined to study certain pragmatic principles. Cultural break-downs and pragmatic failure, among other things, are also components of cross-cultural pragmatics.

The latest research in the field of contrastive pragmatics is also of great importance for foreign language teaching. The notion of pragmatic transfer has been introduced. It refers to the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information. Pragmatic knowledge is understood as a particular component of language users' general communicative knowledge, that is knowledge how verbal acts are understood and performed in accordance with a speaker's intention under contextual and discursal constraints. One of the frameworks for studying pragmatic transfer is presented in Fig. 8.1.



37 ADDITIONAL
RESOURCES

**PART 17. ON TRANSLATING 'WHAT IS SAID': TERTIUM
COMPARATIONIS IN CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS**

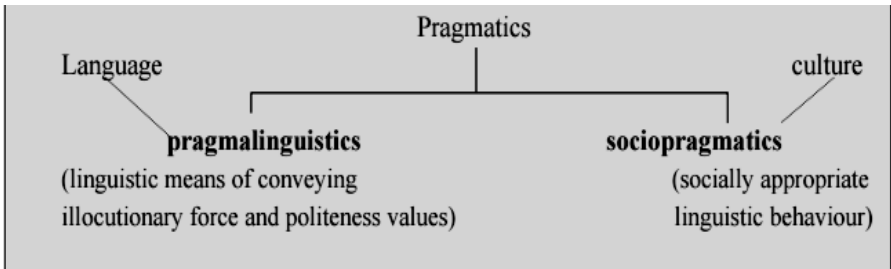


Fig. 8.1. The pragmatic continuum: language – culture.

Pragmalinguistic transfer designates the process whereby the illocutionary force or politeness value assigned to particular language material in L1 influences learners' perception and production in L2. Sociopragmatic transfer includes extralingual factors which refer to participants' role relationships irrespective of a lingual action.

Summing up:

- the study of how *meaning* communicated by the speaker/writer gets interpreted by the listener/reader , taking into consideration how *context* influences what is said and how it is being understood,
- the study of how *inferences* are drawn in communication, when more gets communicated / interpreted than is really said,
- the study of *choices* that speaker makes when deciding what to say and what not to say, depending on the *estimated closeness/distance* between the speaker and the listener ,
- once pragmatic descriptions of language use are available in languages, the contrastive procedures are practically the same as at any other level of contrastive analysis;
- contrasting of real usage issues sheds a new light on all aspects of language use , particularly those which are culture specific, also,

application of results opens a multitude of possibilities, especially with foreign language teaching.



PART 16. A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF PRAGMATICS

(excerpts from the article by Jens Allwood Dept of Linguistics, Göteborg University).

Mode of access <http://sökkii.gu.se/jens/publications/docs001-050/015.pdf>

1. History and Definition of Pragmatics

Even though the term pragmatics is relatively new in a linguistic framework, many aspects of the subject which are now designated by the term are not new to linguistic concerns. In fact much of what was referred to as rhetoric by the Romans and the Greeks seems today to be thought of as pragmatics. The term pragmatics itself was coined in 1938 by Charles Morris (Morris 1938) as a tribute to the philosophy of C.S. Peirce, i.e. pragmatism (or pragmaticism as Peirce called it later to mark his disapproval of what he thought of as W. James's "bastardization" of his philosophy). All three terms are derived etymologically from the Greek root *pragma* meaning action or activity. In accordance with some hints found already in Peirce, Morris introduced the terms syntactics, (henceforth syntax), semantics and pragmatics to denote the three basic components of a semiotic, i.e. the description and theory of a certain system of signs. Syntax was to be the most abstract study of signs disregarding their denotata and use. Semantics was to be more concrete including both syntax and the study of denotation but not use. Pragmatics finally was to be the

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fullbodied study of language use including both syntax and semantics. To be historically more accurate, in Morris (1938) semantics was the study of relations between signs and objects and pragmatics the study of relations between signs and interpreters. In Morris (1946), however, semantics is the study of signification in all modes of signifying and pragmatics the study of the origin, use and effects of signs.

Rudolf Carnap (1942) and (1956) made Morris's trichotomy popular in philosophy and is probably more responsible for its present spread in philosophy and linguistics than is Morris. Carnap added to Morris's trichotomy a distinction between what he called a pure and a descriptive investigation of a semiotic. A pure investigation proceeds by carefully defining a number of concepts thought to be central to a sign system, e.g. such concepts as reference, truth or syntactic wellformedness can be defined. An artificial sign system is then constructed. Examples of this approach can be found in logical calculate or computer languages. The advantage of this approach is that the investigator can keep everything under control and the disadvantage is that only very few properties of sign systems are understood well enough to be included in such a study, which means that only very impoverished sign systems have been studied so far. A descriptive investigation on the other hand was to be the empirical study of the actual sign systems that have evolved historically among humans and other animals. It is this type of study which typically is pursued by the linguist when he takes a plunge into linguistic reality and describes as much as he can of what he finds. A descriptive study is connected with language use rather than with construction of formal languages. Carnap therefore thought of all descriptive studies

whether they were of a syntactic, semantic or a pragmatic nature, as pragmatics. For Carnap, thus, there was pure syntax and semantics on the one hand and pragmatics on the other hand including all descriptive studies. In spite of later contributions to the subject his waste-basket-like quality has remained one of the problems with pragmatics. In Bar-Hillel (1954) and Martin (1959) it was suggested that the distinction between pure and descriptive should also apply to pragmatics and so pure or as it is now more often called, formal, pragmatics was founded. Carnap and E. Morris later both concurred with this proposal (Schilpp 1963 and Morris 1964). Finally it should again be stressed that a lot of pragmatically relevant work has been done by persons who have not explicitly thought of themselves as doing pragmatics. Let me just mention some examples: In linguistics proper Gardiner, Firth, Pike and Halliday come to mind. In anthropology Malinowski is a key name. In philosophy Wittgenstein II, Austin, Searle and Grice have had even more influence perhaps than that work which is directly related to Peirce. In sociology Cooley, Mead and Schütz are important and are still exercising power through the school of social thought known as Ethnomethodology. In psychology Wundt and Bühler are classical names. A relatively new field of relevance is artificial intelligence where some currently discussed ideas have been put forward by Woods, Winograd, Schank and Norman.

2. The Subject Matter of Pragmatics.

In view of Carnap's early use of the term pragmatics to cover all empirical investigation of sign systems, we can now ask: Is pragmatics just a new name for linguistics or for a theory of communication? The answer to this question is I think essentially

stipulative. Our pretheoretic intuitions about the matter are very weak and derive, if they exist at all, from the reading of the above mentioned literature. A more fruitful question to my mind would therefore be to ask whether there is any perspective on or area of interest in linguistic communication which can not be included within more traditional subdisciplines such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, lexicology, syntax and semantics. I think there is, and will below try to discuss some of the phenomena which in my opinion are included in this area. Before I do this I would like to make a point which although trivial sometimes seems to lead to confusion, namely that although all aspects of linguistic communication are interconnected and to some extent determine each other, the aspects can still be analytically distinguished from each other. So if you believe, as I do, that the syntax of a language both determines and is determined by other aspects of that language such as semantics and phonology, this does not necessarily mean that the study of syntax can not be analytically abstracted from the study of semantics and phonology, even if the aspects in question must be interconnected in any theory of actual language use. In particular it does not mean that one aspect's being interconnected with other aspects should lead one to think of a label for that aspect as a new and empty label designating the area as a whole. What then are the phenomena and new perspectives on linguistic communication that pragmatics has to offer to linguists? What follows below will be an account of some of the things which one fairly generally accords a central position in pragmatics, but will of course also reflect some of my personal prejudices in the area.

Central to the pragmatic perspective is I think the conception of linguistic communication as a species of action and interaction

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between a sender and a receiver. The sender performs communicative acts of various types. Some of them are verbal and some of them are non-verbal. The receiver reacts to these communicative acts by understanding or failing to understand, by being influenced or not being influenced emotionally or cognitively, by taking stands and forming attitudes towards what he hears and by reacting behaviorally

The analysis of communication as involving action gets pragmatics into difficult conceptual puzzles with regard to such notions as: behavior – action – intention and reason – motive – purpose. For example, what distinguishes communicative behavior, actions, intentions, reasons, motives and purposes from the occurrence of these phenomena, in general? As you might have noticed Austin's concept of illocutionary force (Austin 1962) has not been included in this list of puzzling concepts. The reason for this is that the concept, in my opinion, can be analyzed in terms of the already mentioned concepts. What goes on in communicative interaction, i.e. the actions and reactions of sender and receiver are very much the result of rational, ethical and many other types of norms. Some of these norms are social conventions. Some are perhaps universal tendencies of human beings based on the interaction between physical environment and biological make-up. However, whatever the causal explanation of norms may be, there are a number of other puzzles that adhere to such notions as norm, convention and rule. E.g. what is it for an individual to follow a norm, convention or rule? Is it a conscious activity? Can one follow rules subconsciously? Does following a norm mean that you "know" the norm? Can you "know" a norm and not follow it? Is it correct that such notions as success, felicity, acceptability, truth and

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grammaticality are all connected with the obedient following of conventions? If they are, one might ask how they differ from one another? E.g. is truth a kind of felicity? What is the best way to discover norms, conventions and rules? Hypotheses about norms investigated by statistical sampling are problematic since norms are not necessarily correlated with the regular occurrence of a certain type of behavior. We all know of norms we should follow but for various reasons don't follow. On the other hand regularity of behavior does not necessarily mean that there is a norm governing the behavior, e.g. breathing or patellar reflexes do not seem to be norm-governed. An alternative to statistical surveys is explicit reflection about intuitions. This can be done either directly in the manner of Grice (1975) and Searle (1969), i.e. by stating some of the norms of communication, or more indirectly in the manner of the ethnomethodologists and, I think, Austin (1962) via intuitions of infelicity, misfires, abuses, unacceptability and ungrammaticality. The underlying assumption for the indirect method is that if you recognize something as wrong you also know what would be right. For example, in order to throw light on the normal speaking distance between Swedes, place yourself two centimeters from a Swedish interlocutor, take his hands and see how he reacts. If you survive, then repeat the experiment with an Arabic interlocutor.

If we turn from the norms themselves to their causal background a number of problems appear. Since many of the norms and conventions are determined by the distribution of power and freedom of action among the individuals in a social group it becomes important to have available precise characterizations of such things as power-structure, class-structure and role-structure. An interesting effort in this direction has been made by Pörn (1977)

who provides a model-theoretical reconstruction of the notion of social power. The problem of how norms and conventions are related to communicative activities opens up the larger question of how macro-social structures are related to micro-social events. As far as I can see no existing social theory has solved this problem in a satisfactory manner. However, I think a pragmatic theory of communication could be one of the key steps on the way to a solution of this problem and, at least for me, this possibility certainly provides one of the most important incentives for being interested in this field.

Norms are not determined by money and power alone. They are also determined by such things as rationality, ethics and esthetics. Some of the norms are conventional and culture-specific. Others are universal and perhaps biologically motivated. Again a lot of conceptual work has to be done if we are going to be able to say something reasonably clear about these phenomena. The concepts just mentioned seem to me, incontrovertibly, to play an important role in communicative interaction, but have no generally accepted and uncontroversial definitions or explications. Conceptual work in this area is therefore important and should not be neglected in favor of seemingly more urgent empirical investigations whose interpretation will, in any case, presuppose such conceptual analysis.

Returning to the micro-social level there is the problem of how to relate pragmatic phenomena to other aspects of linguistic communication. For example, how is the speaker's intended meaning, the conventional meaning of an utterance or the meaning conveyed to a listener related to the communicative intentions of the speaker, e.g. can the intended meaning be said to be identical to the

communicative intention? How are such traditional aspects of meaning such as cognitive content and emotive charge related to the systems of beliefs, attitudes and emotions of both sender and receiver? We need many more investigations of how various attitudes and emotions are signalled linguistically. But also problems of the following kind have to be faced in deciding how pragmatics is to come to terms with semantics: Are truth-conditions a special case of felicity conditions? Can Morris's distinction between semantics and pragmatics really be upheld both in a pure and in a descriptive (in Carnap's sense) study of language use? Carnap himself thought that although the distinction perhaps could be upheld in a pure study it could not be upheld in a descriptive study. Natural language meaning was for Carnap inextricably connected with use. If one against Carnap's advice wanted to maintain the distinction in a descriptive study, could it then be stated as the distinction between conventional and nonconventional meaning? Or should it perhaps be stated as the distinction between those aspects of meaning that are truth-conditional and those that are not? A supplementary question here which is interesting in its own right is the question of to what extent truthconditional aspects of meaning also are conventional. But there are also problems outside the realm of meaning and semantics. What is the role of syntax, morphology, phonology and phonetics in a theory of communication as intentional behavior and active reconstructive understanding? How can we best interconnect phenomena traditionally studied in linguistics with the phenomena now denoted by the label pragmatics? The general programmatic attempt which seems to be the most natural one is to regard the rules of syntax,

morphology and phonology as instrumental strategies which we have learned in order to realize certain communicative goals.

Another problem for a pragmatic theory is the study of linguistic structures over and above the sentence. A basic question here is the following: Is there really any structure above the sentence? If there is, what type of structure is it? Is it of the same type as the structure within a sentence?

A slightly different perspective on suprasentential structures emerges when we move from textlinguistics to the study of types of communicative interaction. With a term borrowed from Wittgenstein (1952 §7) we can call these types „language games” or in order not to exclude non-verbal communication – „communication games”. Two questions of particular interest are perhaps: What are the best units of analysis in studying communicative interaction and what kind of rules are followed in communicative interactions? As for the latter question many different kinds of rules have already been proposed. Some examples are the following: Sequencing rules (Clarke 1977), turn taking rules (Sachs, Schlegoff and Jefferson 1974), rules matching features of context with features of both the manner and the content of the communicative behavior (Labov 1970). This last type of rule perhaps implicitly takes the sender's perspective more than the receiver's. So in order to adjust for this asymmetry, the feature-matching rule must be formulated both as instructions to a sender and as instructions to a receiver spelling out rules of interpretation and reconstruction. A question on a more fundamental level with regard to communicative interaction is the question of whether the conception of rules governing behavior really is the best way of capturing the regularities that can be found in communicative

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interaction. One alternative to the rule-approach is to think of communicative interaction as governed not so much by rules as by certain goal dependent strategies, where the strategies and goals of the participants can differ from each other according to the backgrounds of the participants. Again, however, some conceptual work must be done in order to clarify the notions of rule and strategy before any serious discussion can take place on how to settle the issue.

Finally, I want to mention a problem which ever since the days of Firth has been discussed in linguistics. What would a reasonable notion of context be like? Is the distinction between intra- and extra linguistic context of any theoretical importance? What should be included in the extra-linguistic context? It seems natural to include spatio-temporal location but should social factors also be included and if so which ones? Here there seems to be a trade-off relationship between having a rich notion of participant or communicator and having a rich notion of context. The more we let socially significant properties such as age, sex, level of education, regional background, occupation and income be included in the characterization of context the more idiosyncratic the characterization of the individual communicators will have to be. It seems reasonably clear that a typology of contexts could be constructed on the basis of properties such as those mentioned above. However, we should then ask the following question: Of what use is such a typology? Maybe we need to know more about the ways in which contexts influence communication before it will be worthwhile attempting to construct such a typology. To some extent I think the work which is done in formal pragmatics can here prove to be valuable.



PART 17. ON TRANSLATING 'WHAT IS SAID': TERTIUM COMPARATIONIS IN CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

**(excerpts from the article by K.M. Jaszczolt, University of
Cambridge). Mode of access:**

<http://people.ds.cam.ac.uk/kmj21/ontranslating.pdf>

Superficially, contrastive pragmatics may seem unproblematic: conversational effects should be kept constant and one should look at the contrast between the ways languages achieve these effects. Here the obvious areas of study are illocutionary forces of exclamations, differences in levels and meaning of self-assertion, differences in terms of address, and many other culture-bound phenomena. Now, in order to contrast languages on the pragmatic level, one has to decide what the equivalence of contrasted structures on the pragmatic level means. The following definition was proposed by Oleksy (1984): pragmatic equivalence holds between two expressions in L1 and L2 if they can be used to perform the same speech act in these two languages. All we have to do now is to keep speech acts steady and look at the sets of strategies used in L1 and L2 to perform these acts. The problem arises as to whether to admit indirect speech acts. As has been frequently pointed out in the pragmatic literature, the direct/indirect distinction for speech acts is untenable. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 245) give the following examples:

(3) *The weather will be warmer tomorrow.*

(4) *The speaker is predicting that the weather will be warmer tomorrow.*

Sentence (3) can successfully function as a prediction without the speaker's intending to communicate the information in (4). Indeed, (4) need not be recovered by the hearer at all for (3) to function as a prediction. On the other hand, in (5), the act of bidding has to be communicated, either directly or by inference.

(5) (*I bid*) two no trumps.

Speech acts are either institutional, social, like bidding in bridge or thanking, or performed without being recognized as such, e.g. warning, threatening, or their category can be recognized and universal, as in the case of saying, telling and asking. Also, as is well known from the collapse of the performative hypothesis and the literal force hypothesis (Levinson 1983), there is no reliable correlation between the sentence type and speech act type on the one hand, and the meaning of the performative verb and the type of speech act on the other. Hence, instead of relying on speech acts, it may be more adequate to talk about the recovery of the propositional form of the speaker's utterance which is an interpretation of a mental representation of the speaker's and which is entertained with an appropriate attitude to render assertions, questions, requests, and advice. Also, since there is no clear-cut definition of directness, there is no one-to-one correlation between sentences and acts, even within one language. Crosslinguistically, the situation becomes more complicated due to the fact that an illocution in one culture can be a perlocution in another (cf. Wierzbicka 1991). So, the speech act is not an adequate *tertium comparationis*, we need a different unit of pragmatic equivalence.

Semantic and Pragmatic Equivalence

We can say that expressions are pragmatically equivalent if they communicate the same content. They are not necessarily also

semantically equivalent. In a language in which metaphors are a common means of expression, one may use a metaphor instead of speaking literally. Here I would like to concentrate on cases of literal meaning. Grice proposed a well-known distinction between what is said and what is implicated, distinguishing truth-conditional aspects of meaning as what is said, and conventional and conversational implicatures as what is implicated. In this distinction, semantics and pragmatics overlap: there is no clear-cut boundary.

I suggest trying the following hypotheses:

(A1) Semantic equivalence is the equivalence of *what is said*.

(A2) Pragmatic equivalence is the equivalence of what is implicitly communicated.

These definitions are not very informative as they stand. Since the problem of the fuzzy boundary between semantics and pragmatics is unresolved, we are only pushing the terminological difficulty one step on to the equally problematic notions of 'what is said' and 'what is implicated'. But there is an advantage to be gained. What is said and what is implicated have been subject to extensive studies and heated debates in the last decade. The starting point to the debate is the observation that Grice seriously underestimated the role of pragmatic processes in establishing the representation of the utterance of the sentence which can be subject to the provision of truth conditions, i.e. the propositional form. In addition to reference assignment and disambiguation which he acknowledged, there are many processes of enrichment of the proposition, or patching up of the incomplete propositional form, which have to be performed in order to arrive at the relevant, truth-evaluable representation. For example, the sentential connective 'and' can be enriched to include the indication of temporal sequence or causal consequence and this

enrichment is relevant to the truth conditions of the proposition, which can be tested, for example, by placing the sentences in the scope of logical operators such as negation or implication. Suffice it to say that *what is said* and *what is implicated* seem to constitute a promising departure for the improvements on the definitions of semantic and pragmatic equivalence in translation.

To sum up, there have been various proposals of how to draw the boundary between what is said and what is communicated. The main standpoints can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Some sentences are semantically ambiguous. This traditional view was advocated, among others, by Russell.
- (ii) There is no semantic ambiguity. The differences in meaning between the two (or more) readings can be attributed to implicated information.



PART 18. PROBLEMATIZING THE NOTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL SEMIOSIS

(excerpts from the article by Nadiya Andreichuk published in „Science and Education a New Dimension“. Philology, III (9). – Issue: 44. – Budapest, 2015. – P. 6 – 9.)

***Culture is a space of mind for the production of semiosis
(Yuriy Lotman)***

Philosophers and linguists have always discussed signs in one way or another but until recently there had been no attempt to bring together the whole range of phenomena, linguistic and non-linguistic, which could be considered as signs, and to make the problem of the sign the centre of intellectual enquiry. It was only in the early years of the 20th century that the American philosopher Charles Sanders

Pierce and the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure envisaged a comprehensive science of signs. Their projects lie at the heart of semiotics. The programme outlined by Ferdinand de Saussure was easy to grasp: linguistics would serve as example and its basic concepts would be applied to other domains of social and cultural life. A lingual sign is the basic unit of language, for a language is simply a large number of signs related to one another in various ways. The internal structure of a sign is binary: it consists of a slice or segment of sound, which he calls a signifier (*signifiant*), combines with a slice or segment of thought, a signified (*signifié*).

Ch. Peirce is a different case. He devoted himself to *semeiotic* as he called it, which would be the science of sciences, since „the entire universe is perfused with signs if it is not composed exclusively of signs” [13, p. 394]. Ch. Peirce’s voluminous writings on semiotics are full of taxonomic speculations. There are 10 trichotomies by which signs can be classified (only one of which, distinguishing icon, index and symbol, has been influential), yielding a possible 59 049 classes of sign. Certain dependencies allowed scholars to reduce this number to 66 classes but even this has been too many. One has to agree with J. Culler that the complexity of his scheme and the swarm of neologisms created to characterize different types of sign have discouraged others from entering his system and exploring his insights [3].

Both semiotic projects have produced different ideas concerning semiosis. In structuralist tradition semiosis is the operation which, by setting up a relationship of reciprocal presupposition between the expression form and the content form (in L. Hjelmslev’s terminology) – or the signifier and the signified (F. de Saussure) – produces signs: in this sense any language act implies a semiosis.

The term is synonymous with *semiotic function* [5, p. 285]. Ch. Pierce used the term *semeiosis* to designate any sign action or sign process, and also *semiosis* (pluralized as *semioses*). He claims that its variant *semeiosis* „in Greek of the Roman period, as early as Cicero’s time, if I remember rightly, meant the action of almost any kind of signs” (cited from [10, p.28]). For Ch. Pierce, semiosis is a triadic process in which an *object* generates a *sign* of itself and, in turn, the sign generates an *interpretant* of itself. The interpretant in its turn generates a further interpretant, ad infinitum. Thus, semiosis is a process in which a potentially endless series of interpretants is generated. A sign stands for something (its *object*); it stands for something to somebody (its *interpretant*); and finally it stands for something to somebody in some respect (this respect is called its *ground*). The relationship between the terms, *representamen*, *object*, *interpretant* and *ground* determines the precise nature of the process of semiosis. This relation must be read in two directions, firstly as determination, and secondly as representation: the object „determines” the interpretant, mediated by the sign, and both the sign and the interpretant „represent” the object. As R. Parmentier says, these are „two opposed yet interlocking vectors involved in semiosis” [9, p.4]. If these vectors are brought into proper relations then knowledge of objects through signs is possible.

In this article semiosis is claimed to be **the process by which representations of objects function as signs**. It is the process of cooperation between signs, their objects, and their interpretants. Semiotics studies semiosis and is an inquiry into the conditions that are necessary in order for representations of objects to function as signs. Theories of semiotic mediation, such as those proposed by L. Vygotsky, M. Bakhtin, B. L. Whorf and some others, agree on

viewing signs and lingual signs, in particular, as being: 1) means of rationality in human cognition and 2) instruments of communication in social interaction. The exchange of signs in the context of interaction is socially meaningful only if there are conventional rules equating signs and meanings across contexts. The entire set of sign systems which endow the external world with value makes up culture: cultural signs form an interpretative mechanism through which the world is rendered meaningful.

The semiotic view of culture assumes the multiplicity and correlation of sign systems which are investigated on various levels. Most fundamental to cultural semiotics were the theories of the Prague Linguistic Circle and the related early Russian structuralists, as they evolved under the leadership of R. Jakobson and J. Mukarovsky, departing from, and extending, Saussurian insights. These theories contributed to the extremely fruitful application of semiotics to aesthetic and other cultural systems. A pioneering work in this direction was P. Bogatyrev's study of folk costumes of Moravian Slovakia [2]³⁸.

By the 1940s R. Jakobson brought the semiotics of Ch. Peirce to bear upon the developing semiotic point of view, thereby fundamentally broadening approaches to typologies, as well as to the dynamics of sign systems, particularly in the area of pragmatics.

³⁸ The work was published in Bratislava in 1937 and was issued in the English translation in 1971 in the series *Approaches to Semiotics*. P. Bogatyrev was one of the most active members of Prague Linguistic Circle and co-founder of the Moscow Linguistic Circle in 1915. He was greatly influenced by the Prague School and was in his turn to influence later scholars outside the field of structural linguistics, such as Claude Levi-Strauss who tried to apply some tenets of structural linguistics to solve problems of social and cultural anthropology.

Moreover, the wartime contact between R. Jakobson and C. Levi-Strauss stimulated both these seminal thinkers, as is evidenced by their fundamental postwar studies in various aspects of cultural semiotics.

Extremely significant work in the field under study has been carried out in Eastern Europe. The Tartu-Moscow group has devoted much attention to the semiotics of cultural systems and their mutual translatability. A compact summary of the basic principles of semiotics advanced by the Tartu-Moscow group became available in the West due to the publication of the „Structure of Texts and the Semiotics of Culture” [11], particularly since it opens with an English translation of the „Thesis on the Semiotic Study of Culture”. The latter is considered to be a conceptual framework for the systemic and semiotic analysis of culture as a metasystem. It was written in 1973 by Yuriy Lotman together with his colleagues Boris Uspensky, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov, Vladimir Toropov and Alexander Piatigorsky.

Two definitions are being most important for understanding the notion of cross-cultural semiosis: *cultural semiotics* and *culture text*. Tartu-Moscow group presented the definition of cultural semiotics, calling it a science studying the functional relatedness of sign systems circulating in culture that departs from the presupposition that it is possible to operationally (proceeding from the theoretical conception) describe pure sign systems functioning only in contact with each other and in mutual influences [14]. Since Y. Lotman held that all cultural semiotic systems were to be seen as secondary modeling systems, shaped „along the lines” of language, the linguistic concept of text began to be applied by analogy to all cultural behavior. Thus in defining culture as a certain secondary

language Tartu-Moscow school introduced the concept of culture text, a text in this secondary language.

The culture text which is the structure through which a culture acquires information about itself and the surrounding context is a set of functional principles: (1) the text is a functioning semiotic unity; (2) the text is the carrier of any and all integrated messages (including human language, visual and representational art forms, rituals etc.); and (3) not all usages of human language are automatically defined as texts. „Theses” also defines distinct levels of text that are incorporated into any culture. All semiotic systems function in context as relative, not absolute, autonomous structures. As a result, what is perceived as a text in one culture may not be a text in a different cultural space (for more detailed analysis see [1; 18]).

The concept of culture text is the core of the semiotic studies on culture. But even more important is the cultural mechanism of transforming information into text: sense generation process. Any generation of sense is the activity of culture, thus **cultural semiosis is suggested to be defined as the communication-oriented process of generating culture texts**. Y. Lotman views communication as the circulation of texts in culture and suggests a typology of different, although complementary processes: 1) communication of the addresser and the addressee, 2) communication between the audience and cultural tradition, 3) communication of the reader with him/herself, 4) communication of the reader with the text, 5) communication between the text and cultural tradition [7, p. 276 – 277].

Culture as an intelligent relationship among systems requires a deep understanding of the interaction among codes and languages in

the process of generating information and this opens another challenging vector of researching the process of semiosis. Cultural semiosis is the essence of culture. Semiotic space emerges inside the experiences of transforming information into sign systems. Thus information processes are the core of the semiotics of culture and **the cultural mechanism of transforming information into text is but another definition of semiosis.**

Before trying to apply this understanding of cultural semiosis for cross-cultural communication research it should be mentioned that according to Ch. Peirce semiosis starts from a given *outer sign*. The question of who produced it and why, falls outside the scope of his concept of semiosis. This bias is confirmed by his choice of terminology, i.e., especially of interpretant, that is *the inner sign* as an explanation, as a translation, of the outer sign. From the wider perspective of communication, or sign exchange, an outer sign can only be considered given to a particular sign observer after it has been produced by a particular sign engineer. V. Voloshinov³⁹ can be

³⁹ Valentin Voloshinov was one of those in post-revolutionary Russia who did succeed in developing a specifically Marxist conception of consciousness, and it was significant that he did so starting from an interest in the philosophy of language. Recently, the validity of Voloshinov's authorship of the book „Marxism and the Philosophy of Language” has come into question. This book was first published in Leningrad in 1929 under the title „Marksizm i filosofiiazyka: Osnovnye problemy sotsiologitseskogo metoda v nauke o iazyke (Marxism and the Philosophy of Language: Basic Problems of the Sociological Method in the Science of Language)”. It has been suggested that it was in fact Mikhail Bakhtin who was the real author. It is probable we may never know the truth but it is worth pointing out that although this claim is now accepted uncritically by many commentators, it rests on certain unsubstantiated facts and contradictory assumptions.

seen to apply this communication perspective right from the start of his theoretical development. This scholar emphasizes the representational nature of signs. He states that a sign does not simply exist as a part of a reality – it reflects and refracts another reality [15, p. 9] and he also expresses the communication perspective of sign: Signs can arise only on *interindividual territory*. Ten years later Ch. Pierce's pupil Ch. Morris introduces the interpreter as the component of semiosis and argues that the latter includes: 1) the sign vehicle (i.e. the object or event which functions as a sign), 2) the designatum (i.e. the kind of object or class of objects which the sign designates), 3) the interpretant (i.e. the disposition of an interpreter to initiate a response-sequence as a result of perceiving the sign), and 4) the interpreter (i.e. the person for whom the sign-vehicle functions as a sign) [8]. His fundamental ideas concern the role that a science of signs may play in analyzing language as a social system of signs. He divides semiotics into three interrelated sciences: 1) syntactics (the study of the methods by which signs may be combined to form compound signs), 2) semantics (the study of the signification of signs), and 3) pragmatics (the study of the origins, uses, and effects of signs). Thus semiosis has syntactical, semantical, and pragmatical levels or dimensions. The last dimension is governed by the relations which signs have to their producers and interpreters.

Ch. Morris' definition of pragmatics as the study of the relation of signs to their interpreters has been accepted and developed by different scholars. G. Yule defines four areas that pragmatics as the type of study is concerned with: 1) the study of meaning as communicated by the speaker (or writer) and interpreted

by a listener (or reader); 2) the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said; 3) how a great deal of what is said is recognized as part of what is communicated; 4) what determines the choice between the said and unsaid [19, p. 3]. He emphasizes that pragmatics is appealing because it is about how people make sense of each other linguistically, but it can be a frustrating area of study because it requires us to make sense of people and what they have in mind [19, p.4]. From the first pages of his „Pragmatics” G.Yule attracts attention to cross-cultural differences that account for the differences in the contextual meaning communicated by a speaker or writer and in the interpretation of a listener or reader. Communicants belonging to one lingual and social group follow general patterns of behavior (including lingual) expected within the group. G.Yule describes his experience of answering questions about his health when he first lived in Saudi Arabia [19, p.5]. He tended to answer them with his familiar routine responses of „*Okay*” or „*Fine*” but soon discovered that pragmatically appropriate in that context would be to use a phrase that had the literal meaning „*Praise to God*”. Thus the phrase he used conveyed the meaning that he was a social outsider: more was being communicated than was being said. Thus cultural semiosis which was suggested to be defined as the communication-oriented process of generating culture text is based on **cultural schemata in the context on differences of our basic experiences**. The study of differences in expectations based on such schemata is part of a broad area of investigation generally known as **cross-cultural pragmatics**. This field of studies sprang up in the 1980s. Its emergence is associated with the names of such world-famous scholars as A. Wierzbicka, C. Goddard, D. Tannen and others. The

fundamental tenet of cross-cultural pragmatics, as understood by A. Wierzbicka, is based on the conviction that profound and systematic differences in ways of speaking in different societies and different communities reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values. Different ways of speaking can be explained and made sense of in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities. To study different cultures in their culture-specific features we need a universal perspective: and we need a culture-independent analytical framework. We can find such a framework in **universal human concepts**, that is in concepts which are inherent in any human culture [16, p.9]. The scholar believes that what we need for real „human understanding” is to find terms which would be both „theirs” and „ours”. And she suggests that we can find such universal concepts in the universal alphabet of human thoughts suggested by G. W. Leibnitz (1646 – 1716) [16, p.10]. His philosophic-linguistic project is based on four principal tasks: 1) construction of the system of primes arranged as an alphabet of knowledge or general encyclopedia; 2) drawing up of an ideal grammar based on the template of simplified Latin; 3) introducing rules of pronunciation; 4) arrangement of lexicon containing real signs using which the speaker automatically acquires the ability to construct a true sentence. The system of signs suggested by Leibniz is based on the principle that language has to be improved through the introduction of the general terms denoting general ideas. People use words as signs of ideas and this is not because there are intrinsic connections between some articulate sounds and certain ideas (in this case, people would have only one language), but because of the arbitrary agreement, by virtue of which certain words are selected to mark certain ideas [6].

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Leinbnitz's idea of the alphabet of knowledge correlates with the semantic metalanguage suggested by C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka for cross-linguistic semantics. They believe that such a metalanguage ought to be based as transparently as possible on ordinary natural languages, and furthermore, it ought to consist as far as possible of elements whose meanings are present in all natural languages, i.e. of universally lexicalized meanings [4, p.7]. Universal concepts are viewed as indefinable, i.e. semantically simple words and morphemes of natural languages such as *I, you, someone, something, this, think, say, want, do* which can be found in all the languages of the world. But it is in a clash with another language that the distinctness of a language (as a separate identity) reveals itself [17, p. 19].

The study of semiosis as the generation of culture texts can provide the penetration into the system of inherited conceptions expressed in sign forms by means of which people communicate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. To look at semiosis as the construction of signs by the speakers from different cultures and the relations which signs have to their producers and interpreters is the principal task of cross-cultural pragmatics. D. Tannen emphasizes that in analyzing the pragmatics of cross cultural communication, we are analyzing language itself and that there are eight levels of differences in signaling how speakers mean what they say, namely: when to talk, what to say, pacing and pausing, listenership, intonation, formulaicity, indirectness, cohesion and coherence [12]. These levels can be explained through cultural schemata or models of culture. Thus, cross-cultural semiosis reflects the relations between language and context that are encoded in the texts of different cultures. It is the object of research in the field of

cross-cultural pragmatics which belongs to the second dimension of pragmatic research.⁴⁰

Summing up it should be emphasized that defining culture as the generation of senses one can claim that cultural semiosis as the generation of culture-texts is the heart of communication and provides for defining a group of people as a lingual and cultural community possessing its cultural schemata. Community places itself in relation to tradition and from perspective of cross-cultural communication cross-cultural semiosis becomes the key object of inquiry.

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SEMINAR QUESTIONS

1. Study the definitions of pragmatics reproduced below and comment on the contrast of pragmatics with semantics in these definitions.

Morris 1938. Semantics deals with the relation of signs to ... objects which they may or do denote. Pragmatics concerns the relation of

signs to their interpreters. By ‘pragmatics’ is designated the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters. (...) Since most, if not all, signs have as their interpreters living organisms, it is a sufficiently accurate characterization of pragmatics to say that it deals with the biotic aspects of semiosis, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs.

Carnap 1942. If in an investigation explicit reference is made to the speaker, or, to put it in more general terms, to the user of a language, then we assign it to the field of pragmatics. (...) If we abstract from the user of the language and analyze only the expressions and their designata, we are in the field of semantics. And if, finally, we abstract from the designata also and analyze only the relations between expressions, we are in (logical) syntax.

Bar-Hillel 1954. I believe, therefore, that the investigation of indexical languages and the erection of indexical language-systems are urgent tasks for contemporary logicians. May I add, for the sake of classificatory clarity, that the former task belongs to *descriptive pragmatics* and the latter to *pure pragmatics* (in one of the many senses of the expression)?

Stalnaker 1970. Syntax studies sentences, semantics studies propositions. Pragmatics is the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed. There are two major types of problems to be solved within pragmatics: first, to define interesting types of speech acts and speech products; second, to characterize the features of the speech context which help determine which proposition is expressed by a given sentence. ... It is a semantic problem to specify the rules for matching up sentences of a natural language with the propositions that they express. In most cases,

however, the rules will not match sentences directly with propositions, but will match sentences with propositions relative to features of the context in which the sentence is used. Those contextual features are part of the subject matter of pragmatics.

Katz 1977. I draw the theoretical line between semantic interpretation and pragmatic interpretation by taking the semantic component to properly represent only those aspects of the meaning of the sentence that an ideal speaker-hearer of the language would know in an anonymous letter situation,... [where there is] no clue whatever about the motive, circumstances of transmission, or any other factor relevant to understanding the sentence on the basis of its context of utterance.

Kempson 1988. Semantics provides a complete account of sentence meaning for the language, [by] recursively specifying the truth conditions of the sentence of the language. ... Pragmatics provides an account of how sentences are used in utterances to convey information in context.

Kaplan 1989. The fact that a word or phrase has a certain meaning clearly belongs to semantics. On the other hand, a claim about the basis for ascribing a certain meaning to a word or phrase does not belong to semantics... Perhaps, because it relates to how the language is used, it should be categorized as part of ...*pragmatics*..., or perhaps, because it is a fact about semantics, as part of ...*Metasemantics*.

Davis 1991. Pragmatics will have as its domain speakers' communicative intentions, the uses of language that require such intentions, and the strategies that hearers employ to determine what these intentions and acts are, so that they can understand what the speaker intends to communicate.

The Oxford Companion to Philosophy. Pragmatics is the study of language which focuses attention on the users and the context of language use rather than on reference, truth, or grammar.

The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy. Pragmatics studies the use of language in context, and the context-dependence of various aspects of linguistic interpretation. ... [Its branches include the theory of how] one and the same sentence can express different meanings or propositions from context to context, owing to ambiguity or indexicality or both, ... speech act theory, and the theory of conversational implicature.

The Blackwell Companion to Philosophy. The distinction between semantics and pragmatics is, roughly, the distinction between the significance conventionally or literally attached to words, and thence to whole sentences, and the further significance that can be worked out, by more general principles, using contextual information.

Carston 1999. The decoding process is performed by an autonomous linguistic system, the parser or language perception module. Having identified a particular acoustic stimulus as linguistic, the system executes a series of deterministic grammatical computations or mappings, resulting in an output representation, which is the semantic representation, or logical form, of the sentence or phrase employed in the utterance. (...) The second type of cognitive process, the pragmatic inferential process (constrained and guided by the communicative principle of relevance) integrates the linguistic contribution with other readily accessible information in order to reach a confirmed interpretive hypothesis concerning the speaker's informative intention.

Bach 2004. Semantic information is information encoded in what is uttered — these are stable linguistic features of the sentence —

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together with any extralinguistic information that provides (semantic) values to context-sensitive expressions in what is uttered. Pragmatic information is (extralinguistic) information that arises from an actual act of utterance, and is relevant to the hearer's determination of what the speaker is communicating. Whereas semantic information is encoded in what is uttered, pragmatic information is generated by, or at least made relevant by, the act of uttering it.

2. Summarize the principal ideas of Ch.Morris concerning the relations of signs.
3. Specify the tasks of pragmatics in the field of theoretical and applied contrastive studies.
4. Make use of Additional resources Part 17 to explain how tertium comparationis is applied in contrastive semantics and pragmatics.
5. Read Additional resources Part 18 and answer the questions:
 - What is cross-cultural semiosis?
 - How does cross-cultural semiosis reflect the relations between language and context that are encoded in the texts of different cultures

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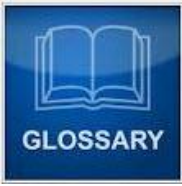
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Aerial comparative linguistics classifies languages into language areas, sets of languages that influence each other during periods of intensive language contact. It involves geographic criteria, and covers those languages that are close by and have developed similar characteristics in terms of structure. Under the influence of intensive mutual influences, these kinds of languages are creating language unions such as the Balkan Language Union, encompassing Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Albanian, for example.

Applied contrastive linguistics (ACL) is a separate branch of applied linguistics which is often referred to as Contrastive Analysis. It depends on the findings of the TCL in providing a framework for the comparison of languages. Applied contrastivists select the important information for the purpose of teaching languages and translation. ACL attempts to identify the potential problematic areas in the target language and it is not restricted to differences but also points out similarities to save learners' efforts of identifying them.

Bilingualism is the ability to speak two languages with native-like competence. In every individual case one language will be dominant. A person who speaks more than two languages is called *multilingual* (although the term *bilingualism* can be used for both situations) (see *Plurilingualism*).

Comparative Linguistics studies languages to establish connections between them. Connections may be genetic, meaning the languages have a common ancestral language and belong to the same language family, or may result from cultural contact between unrelated languages. Shared cognates may result from either source. To discern connections, comparative linguists compare languages' phonological and morphological systems, syntax, and vocabularies, increasingly relying on computers to detect symmetries. One tool of comparative linguists is evolutionary phonology, which posits that language changes in predictable ways, allowing parent or „proto-languages” to be reconstructed through reverse engineering. A famous early success of comparative linguistics was proving that Indian Sanskrit is part of the same Indo-European language family as most contemporary European languages, showing a common origin.

Comparative concepts are concepts created by comparative linguists for the purpose of formulating readily testable cross-linguistic generalizations. They are used to describe specific aspects of linguistic systems, e.g. *subject*, *case*, (*past/present/future*) *tense*, etc. For instance, a *subject* in German does not have precisely the (system-internal) properties of a *subject* in English. Still, *subject* can be used as a comparative concept, in the sense of „grammaticalized neutralization over specific types of semantic roles” [Haspelmath 2008]

Comparison is the identification of similarities and differences between two or more categories along a specific (set of) dimension(s). The categories compared must be of the same type, i.e. there has to be a set of properties that they have in common, or a

superordinate category containing them. One major challenge for comparative linguistics thus is to determine the nature of that superordinate category for any pair of categories under comparison.

Contrastive analysis is traditionally defined as a method which helps the analyst to ascertain in which aspects the two languages are alike and in which they differ. It includes two main processes – description and comparison, set up in four basic steps: a) assembling the data, b) formulating the description, c) supplementing the data as required, d) formulating the contrasts.

The term is also used to denote a general approach to the investigation of language (*contrastive linguistics*), particularly as carried on in certain areas of applied linguistics, such as foreign-language teaching and translation. In a contrastive analysis of two languages, the points of structural difference are identified, and these are then studied as areas of potential difficulty (interference or ‘negative transfer’) in foreign-language learning. The claim that these differences are the source of difficulty in foreign-language learning, and thus govern the progress of the learner, is known as the contrastive analysis hypothesis.

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis is advocated by Lado (1945) and Weinreich (1953) who support the view that those items that are similar to the learner’s native language will be easy for him, and those items that are different will be difficult. In other words, the greater the difference between the two systems of the mother tongue and foreign languages, the greater is the learning problem and the potential area of interference.

Contrastive Linguistics is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive synchronic comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language from the perspective of another and concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between them.

Contrastive Lexicology is the comparative study of the lexical systems of two or more languages. Its essential task is to examine how human experience is reflected in the lexical units of languages compared. The linguist will do this by examining whether and to what extent the words of one language can be said to be „translational equivalents” or „interlingual synonyms”. For an item of one language to be fully equivalent to an item of another language (to be an interlingual synonym), both must have identical communicative value in comparable linguistic contexts and in comparable situations, i.e. they must convey the same conceptual content, have the same connotations, belong to the same language variety and enter into comparable connotations. The term „translational equivalence” is, however, often used in a weaker sense, i.e. the relation that holds between lexical units which are regularly used as translations of each other and are presented as such in bilingual dictionaries. Contrastive lexicological analysis can be also conducted of the formal level (word-building) and the level of functioning (stylistic differentiation of the vocabulary).

Contrastive Pragmatics is the type of study within pragmatics which deals with cross-cultural and cross-linguistic pragmatic differences and similarities. Despite the pragmatic principles that exist across languages, the ways people abide by in one language to

realize communicative functions are often different in another. Contrastive pragmatics, however, is not confined to study certain pragmatic principles. Cultural break-downs and pragmatic failure, among other things, are also components of cross-cultural pragmatics.

Contrastive study of concepts is the technique that should provide the explication of cognitive procedures applied by the subject when interpreting culturally meaningful reference of lingual signs which is obtained from all means of denotative-connotative presentation of cultural senses.

Culture is the term most commonly used to designate the sum total of knowledge, attitudes and values which inform a society or characterize an individual. In this sense, culture is the product of human achievements and is directly related to the human power of transformation. The arts belong to culture, as do thought products in general or, for that matter, culture is anything produced by human beings.

Equivalence in contrastive linguistics is understood as the content adequacy of the two lingual units of different levels with possible deviations in terms of structure. Types: 1) referential equivalence (when compared languages have signs for representation of the same referent); 2) conceptual equivalence (as soon as the cases of notion/concept coincidence are few, this type of equivalence is quite limited); contextual equivalence; situational equivalence.

Error analysis is the study of kind and quantity of error that occurs,

particularly in the fields of applied linguistics. These errors can be divided into three sub-categories: overgeneralization, incomplete rule application, and the hypothesizing of false concepts, reflected a learner's competence at a certain stage and thereby differed from learner to learner.

Feature is defined as any property of the object that can be deduced from the general knowledge of the world. Two entities are similar if they share at least one feature and two entities are the same if neither has features that the other lacks.

Genetic Comparative Linguistics is aimed at the discovering of common proto-languages and classifying existing languages into language families. The latter is defined as the set of languages for which it can be proved that they developed from a single ancestor, called the proto-language of that family. Language family is the basic unit of genetic classification. The notion of proof of genetic relatedness is crucial here, because all human languages might or might not be ultimately derived from a single proto-language.

Glottochronology is the part of lexicostatistics dealing with the chronological relationship between languages. The idea has been developed by Morris Swadesh under two assumptions: first that there exists a relatively stable „basic vocabulary” (therefore called „Swadesh lists”) in all languages of the world, and secondly that any replacements happen in a way analogical to that in radioactive decay in constant percentages per time elapsed.

Grammar contrastive analysis. In a grammatical contrastive analysis, the contrastive analyst compares and contrasts between the grammatical systems of two languages. The comparison may take different forms, for example, in English word order is used to differentiate between an affirmative sentence and an interrogative one: *You are a teacher/are you a teacher?* In Spanish, however, the same distinction is indicated via the use of intonation; while in Arabic, the same distinction is expressed through the addition of functional words at the beginning of sentences. Another kind of grammatical contrastive analysis may investigate how a given linguistic category functions in two different languages, such as the case of adjectives in English and French. In English, adjectives tend to be pronominal, however, in French; they tend to be post nominal, for example: *The narrow door – La porte étroite.*

Historical Comparative Linguistics is a branch of historical linguistics that is concerned with comparing languages in order to establish their historical relatedness. The reconstructions involve all aspects of the language system: phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. Language change affects all levels of language structure, and it eventually leads to language split, or creation of languages- descendants from common proto-languages. Historical-comparative linguistics uses the comparative-historical method, which consists of four basic research techniques: external reconstruction, internal reconstruction, analysis of borrowed words, and analysis of toponymic data.

Interference refers to any influence from the L1 which would have an effect on the acquisition of L2. U.Weinreich (1953) defines it as

those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact. Interference is used in sociolinguistics and foreign-language learning to refer to the errors a speaker introduces into one language as a result of contact with another language; also called *negative transfer*. The most common source of error is in the process of learning a foreign language, where the native tongue interferes; but interference may occur in other contact situations (as in **bilingualism**).

Interpretation is a part of the analysis and production phase in the intelligence process in which the significance of information is judged in relation to the current body of knowledge. It involves the operations of recognition and identification. 'Re'-cognition or 're'-discovery (in this sense contrary to acquiring knowledge) is an act of comparing a proposition with what is already known. Recognition as comparison, furthermore, necessarily comprises identifying, in any particular utterance, all or parts of a truth one already possesses. Interpreting any statement means weighing what one already knows to be true against what is being proposed and deciding in the light of this on its meaning and accuracy.

Language area is the set of languages for which it can be shown that they developed a number of features as a consequence of mutual contacts.

Language family is the set of languages for which it can be proved that they developed from a single ancestor called the proto-language of that family.

Theory of Language contact is the systemic comparison of language contact situations which aims to identify constraints on the quality and quantity of mutual influence between languages. This theory is typically interested in providing explanations and motivations why some paths of contact-induced change are common while others are absent or rare, and which assumptions concerning the speakers – the eventual locus of language contact – are necessary in order to explain the phenomena observed. Since the publication of Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953) the study of language contact has been extensive. Empirical data have been collected from many languages and language-contact situations around the world but no one has as yet formulated a theory that can be said to account for all – or most of – the empirical data.

Language type – the set of languages that share some typologically relevant set of features.

Language universal is a postulated linguistic feature or property which is shared by all languages, or by all language and which is independent from historical transmission or language contact. Types: 1) absolute universals: shared by all natural languages 2) implicational universals: feature A and feature B exist in a language: 2.1) unilateral universals: if feature A exists, feature B exists but not vice versa; 2.2) bilateral/equivalent universals; 3) statistic/frequence universals: a feature exists with a probability higher than chance.

Lexical Contrastive Analysis is carried out between the vocabulary system(s) of two or more languages. It is concerned with the way

lexical items in one language are expressed in another language. This can be done through identifying both the semantic fields and the semantic properties in order to specify the divisions and subdivisions of the lexicon. Lexical CA may result in complete, partial, or nil equivalence between languages.

Linguistic characterology is the study of the variations in nature, character, and frequency in different languages' uses of means of expression. The term was suggested by W. Mathesius in 1926 and according to him a characterologist deals only with the important and fundamental features of languages at a given point of time, analyses them on the basis of general linguistics, and tries to ascertain relations between them.

Linguistic relativism stipulates that the structure of the language directly reflects the structure of the universe and of the human mind, being considered the very moulder of the latter. This theory was first formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt.

Model is a formal representation of the structural and functional characteristics of an object of study. Models are used in order to explain a theory, to simulate a process or to illustrate the functioning of an object of study.

Metalanguage is a language that is unique to a particular branch of knowledge. It is composed of the specialized concepts or terminology needed to define the discipline. Medicine, for example, has its own metalanguage, as does the science of law, literature,

linguistics etc. The meanings of terms used in a metalanguage tend to be stable, i.e. independent (as far as possible) of any specific context.

Plurilingualism is closely tied with the aim of developing European citizenship, with an educated European able to get by in several languages. Standing in what we could term „political” contrast to multilingualism, which denotes at least decent fluency in three or more languages, plurilingualism is satisfied by *incomplete* linguistic competence in these. It makes emphasis on helping learners communicate with users of another language, however laboriously and incompletely. As such, it inextricably involves recognition of the role of the mother tongue (or another already mastered language):

Pragmatics concerns the relation of signs to their interpreters. Since most, if not all, signs have as their interpreters living organisms, it is a sufficiently accurate characterization of pragmatics to say that it deals with the biotic aspects of semiosis, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs (Morris 1938). Pragmatic theory was first originated as a philosophical theory (Morris, 1938; Wittgenstein, 1953; Austin, 1962; Strawson, 1964; and Searle, 1969). It can be seen, at least, in two fields: (1) a branch of semiotics – the study of signs and symbols, where it is concerned with the relationship between signs or linguistic expressions and those who use them; (2) a branch of linguistics which deals with the contexts in which people use language and behaviour of speakers and listeners.

Research design is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent (and achievable) empirical

research. The research design articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyse this data, and how all of this is going to answer your research question.

Sapir – Whorf hypothesis is a hypothesis holding that the structure of a language affects the perceptions of reality of its speakers and thus influences their thought patterns and worldviews. The structures are different from one language to another/ The hypothesis is named after the American anthropological linguist Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and his student Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941).

Semiotics is the theory of signification, that is, of the generation or production of meaning. In contrast to semiology, which studies sign systems and their organization (e.g. traffic codes, sign language), semiotics concerns itself with how meaning is produced. In other words, what interests the semiotician is what makes an utterance meaningful, how it signifies and what precedes it on a deeper level to result in the manifestation of meaning. Semiotic theory is based on the belief that meaning is not inherent in objects, that they do not signify by themselves, but that meaning is *constructed* by a competent observer – a subject – capable of giving „form” to objects.

„**Sign theory**” was a method of comparing grammatical phenomena in two languages, initially Latin and English, whereby equivalence was established between different grammatical signals on the grounds that they express identical notions.

Similarity-as-trigger is defined as the notion of a particular relation existing between entities in the world, a relation that impinges upon human perception, from matter to mind.

Similarity-as-attribution – goes in the opposite direction, from mind to matter. It is essentially a subjective, probabilistic, cognitive process that perceives two entities as being similar.

Tertium comparationis is a background of sameness, and the sine qua non for any justifiable, systematic study of contrasts. All comparisons involve the basic assumption that the objects to be compared share something in common, against which differences can be stated. This common platform of reference is called tertium comparationis. Depending on the platform of reference (or tertium comparationis), which we adopt, the same objects turn out to be either similar or different.

Theory is a system of hypotheses for describing and/or explaining a certain area of objects. Each theory must satisfy certain requirements, such as consistency, completeness, adequacy, simplicity. It must be falsifiable in principle.

Theoretical contrastive studies give an exhaustive account of the differences and similarities between two or more languages, provide an adequate model for the comparison, and determine how and which elements are comparable. They are language independent, which means that they do not investigate how a particular category or item present in language A is presented in language B, but they look for the realization of an universal category X in both A and B. The adequacy of the comparison as well as its exhaustiveness will be determined by the adequacy of the theoretical model underlying the analysis.

Transfer is defined as the carry over of prior linguistic knowledge to a L2 context. It refers to the psychological process whereby prior learning is carried over into a new learning situation. The main claim with regard to transfer is that one can explain the reason of committing L2 errors by the previous experiences that the learner gets from his mother tongue and tries to impose into the second language learning. This view, to a great extent, supports the assumption that language is some sort of habit-structure as behaviourists regard it. The transfer is either positive or negative: i) *positive transfer* (facilitation): features of the L1 and the L2 match, and acquisition of the L2 is facilitated; ii) *negative transfer* (interference): acquisition hindered where features of L1 and L2 differ. Positive transfer takes place when L1 habits facilitate L2 learning, while negative transfer occurs when L1 linguistic characteristics interfere with L2 learning. Pragmatic and discourse transfer refers to the learners' carrying over their L1 sociocultural and linguistic norms of politeness and/or appropriateness into their L2 performance of communicative acts.

Typological linguistics is concerned with assessing the structural features according to which languages may differ. A typological classification groups languages into types according to their structural characteristics. The most famous typological classification is probably that of isolating, agglutinating, and inflecting (or fusional) languages, which was frequently invoked in the 19th century in support of an evolutionary theory of language development. Roughly speaking, an isolating language is one in which all the words are morphologically unanalyzable (i.e., in which

each word is composed of a single morph); Chinese and Vietnamese are highly isolating. An agglutinating language (e.g., Turkish) is one in which the word forms can be segmented into morphs, each of which represents a single grammatical category. An inflecting language is one in which there is no one-to-one correspondence between particular word segments and particular grammatical categories. The older Indo-European languages tend to be inflecting in this sense. For example, the Latin suffix *-is* represents the combination of categories „singular” and „genitive” in the word form *hominis* „of the man,” but one part of the suffix cannot be assigned to „singular” and another to „genitive,” and *-is* is only one of many suffixes that in different classes (or declensions) of words represent the combination of „singular” and „genitive”.