

# UNIT 2 LOOKING AT DATA-1

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## Structure

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this unit we shall trace the development of **structuralism** in Europe and in America. In Europe it was largely based on the principles laid down by **Ferdinand de Saussure**, and in America it was associated with the approach known as **Bloomfieldian/Post-Bloomfieldian**. Structuralism, as a school of thought, led to the emergence of structural linguistics which provided one of the perspectives for looking at data. We shall also see how as a reaction to structuralism, **formal linguistics** and ultimately **Generative Grammar** emerged which brought about a shift in methodology and orientation in linguistic theory for looking at data.

On completing this unit, you should be able to do the following:

- (i) trace the development of structuralism in Europe and America,
- (ii) differentiate between the two versions of structuralism, and
- (iii) differentiate between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, langue and parole, diachronic and synchronic studies.

In the next unit you will read about the emergence of Generative enterprise and how it makes a point of departure for the Post Bloomfieldian studies.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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The term 'structuralism' stands for a school of thought that developed in the 1960s in France in the wake of **Claude Levi-Strauss's** *Anthropologie structurale* (1958) and his attempt to discover the **objective meaning** of human culture. Levi-Strauss sought to isolate kinship systems as objective systems of meaning that existed, that could be analyzed, independently of their particular application or of their meaning for particular individuals, and that are amenable to study by the methods of the positive sciences. **Structuralism appears to make possible the establishment of autonomous and objective human sciences, because it provides those sciences**

with their own independent and objective fields of study. Therefore as a school of thought structuralism cannot be reduced to a single movement or trend, rather it has had a strong impact on many disciplines during the entire twentieth century –be it linguistics, literature, music, myth, art or even systems of kinship. In fact, structuralism can best be described, to adapt a term proposed by Basil Bernstein, as a "thematic region", that brings together " disciplines and the technologies they make possible, much as cognitive science, management, engineering and medicine do " (Thibault 1998: 598). The 20th century scholarship was based on the principle that our knowledge of the world will not be complete unless we arrive at the *structure* of the system, i.e the **relationship between the members of the system**. Hence the search for the structure became a characteristic of the 20th century scholarship and propelled an era of structuralism in scientific research. Structuralism believes that the individual phenomena of human experience exist but are intelligible through their interconnections and not in isolation. The interconnections can be "accounted for rationally- rather than just described and classified or intuitively grasped in their unique peculiarity"-by looking at them "in their relational character", perceiving "their connections as constituting a structure", and finding "behind endless variations some abstract patterns subject to simple general rules" (Lepschy 1992: 163).

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## 2.2 STRUCTURALISM IN LINGUISTICS

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Although Levi-Strauss' work has stimulated the development of structuralism as an intellectual movement, this stimulus has owed much of its force to the fact that Levi-Strauss' work reproduces an approach that had been developed quite independently within linguistics. In fact, it was only with his encounter with linguistics that he became fully aware of the theoretical, methodological and philosophical implications of his approach. His encounter with linguistics further gave him the confidence to generalize his findings and to offer structuralism as a method for all the human sciences.

Strictly speaking structuralism in linguistics means a new approach to the facts already known . The facts of treating languages as *structures*—i.e. as total systems or connected wholes—in terms of their internal patterns of connection, rather than as sets of isolated items and in terms of their historical sequence of development are merely reconsidered with regard to their *function* in the system. It is the study of how the structures of these entities affect the way they function. Inasmuch as language, as a communicative system, has a function, the structuralist model of language insists on the social (i.e communicative) function of language. **Structuralism in linguistics also implies an insistence on making a clear distinction between historical phenomena and the characteristics of a linguistic system at a given point in time.** This insistence on the two-fold distinction was largely a reaction to the 19th century scholarship which stressed on studying language through classical languages and subsequently made *historicism* their fundamental mark of thinking. It may be noted here, that in spite of insisting on studying language at a given moment, the structuralist approach is still capable of shedding some historical light on the subject. Historical differences between the structures of the same or two different languages can still be shown by the structuralist model of language.

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## 2.3 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS: THE SAUSSUREAN PRINCIPLES

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The foundational principles of structural-functional linguistics were based on the lecture notes of the great Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure(1857-1913), published posthumously as *Cours de Linguistique Generale* (CLG). These principles entered

into the structuralist model of linguistics and provided a turning point in the history of linguistics. The following are the general methodological principles of Saussure:

### 2.3.1 Langue and Parole (language structure vs speaking in a language)

While making distinctions between the linguistic system and its actual manifestations, we arrive at the crucial opposition between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is the system or structure of a language whereas *parole* is the activity of speaking in a language or actual speech. According to Saussure, within the whole field of linguistic activity (*langage*), we should distinguish between the language system (*langue*) and speaking or writing the language (*parole*). The three way distinction may be understood as following:

*langage*—as the general capacity that distinguishes man from the animals.

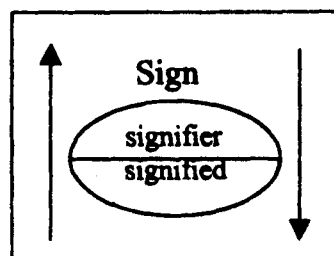
*langue*—as language structure which consists of vocabulary, principles of construction, idioms, rules of pronunciation, etc.

*parole*—as language, both speech or writing used in context.

For Saussure, *langue* is something that is at once *social* and *constraining*: “It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty” (CLG, 25, 9). While the former means that it is the possession of the community of speakers, the latter suggests that it is something fixed. *Parole*, on the other hand, is the realm of freedom: “It is an individual act ... wilful and intellectual” (CLG, 14). Langue-Parole distinction has formed a basis for all later structuralist model of linguistics.

### 2.3.2 The Arbitrariness of the Sign

The linguistic sign is an arbitrary linkage between a *signifier* and a *signified*. The former is a sound-image while the latter is a concept. Saussure believed that there is no natural connection between sound and meaning. There is no natural or intrinsic connection between sound-images and concepts. It is purely arbitrary or conventional and there is nothing particularly *cat-like* about the word ‘*cat*’ or *sense of continuity* about the verb-ending ‘*-ing*’.



Here is a linguistic example:

Sign: The written word ‘tree’

Signifier: The letters ‘t-r-e-e’

Signified : The category ‘tree’

This concept will come up again in later units, and has already been mentioned in unit 1.

### 2.3.3 The Diachronic and the Synchronic Study of Language (History vs Structure)

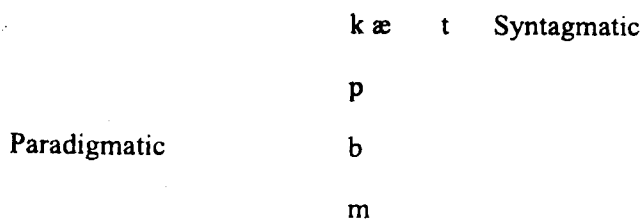
Discussion of the factors which explain the changes or mutability of language led to awareness of the importance of time. Although Saussure grew up in the tradition of 19th century historical and comparative linguistics, he could not reconcile himself with the historicism of the neogrammarians. He argued that an adequate treatment of the effect of time calls for a radical distinction between the two branches of linguistics, **synchronic and diachronic linguistics**. Synchronic linguistics studies *langue*, which is a system that is psychologically real, whereas diachronic linguistics is concerned with relations of succession between *individual items*, which speakers are unaware of and which are not quite systematic. The synchronic study of language is, thus, **the study of linguistic system in a particular state, at a point of time**, whereas the **diachronic study of language is the study of its evolution in time**.

### 2.3.4 The Oppositional Structure of Language

Language is a set of oppositions without positive terms. According to this Saussurean principle, the arbitrariness of the sign is limited by the systematic nature of sign systems. The signs that make up a language stand in opposition to each other.

The linearity of signs coupled with the notion of oppositions formed the basis of Saussurean distinction between two main types of structural relations between signs: **the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic**. Syntagmatic relationship is linear, while the paradigmatic relationship is associative. In the syntagmatic relationship, units as sounds, phrases, clauses, sentences and discourse are chained together in a fixed sequence and combination and they get their force by standing in opposition to what precedes or follows them. This relationship holds at various levels of language. The following example shows it at the sound level. Let us take a simple word like *cat*. This word consists of three units - the phonemes /k/, /æ/ and /t/. **The relationship that exists between these three units is syntagmatic.**

Paradigmatic relationship, on the other hand, refers to the relationship that holds between units that are **there** and the units that are **not there** but potentially could have been. Let us take the same example again. The first unit of the word *cat* is /k/. There are many other sounds which could have come at this place, for instance /p/ or /b/ or /m/, giving words like *pat*, *bat* and *mat*. The relationship that holds between the unit in question that is /k/ and other probable candidates for example /p/ or /b/ or /m/ are paradigmatic. The syntagmatic relationship is the relationship in **presentia**, while paradigmatic relation is the relationship **in absentia**. The two relationships can be diagrammatically shown as follows:



These relationships can also be seen at the syntactic level. Let us take as example *John likes bananas*. The sentence consists of three words *John*, *likes* and *bananas*. The linear relationship between these three units is syntagmatic. But there is another relationship between *John* and other possible units which can occur at the place of *John* but are not there, for instance, *Mary*, *Tim*, *The boy*. This relationship in absentia is called paradigmatic. Let us see the following diagram:

	Syntagmatic
John	likes bananas
Paradigmatic	Mary
	Tim
	The boy

The Saussurean principles set out in *Cours* were developed by a number of important schools of thought and subsequently paved the way for an emergence of structural linguistics.

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## 2.4 STRUCTURAL LINGUISTICS: THE SAUSSUREAN HERITAGE

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As mentioned earlier, structural linguistics owes its foundational debt to the great Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). His insightful observations on language as a *system* and his treatment of language primarily as a social phenomenon became the guiding principle for structural linguistics. The central principle of the *Cours* is that a well-defined subpart of language called *langue*, can be abstracted from the totality of speech. It represents the abstract system of structural relationships inherent in language - relationships that are held in common by all members of a speech community. Since *langue*, according to Saussure, forms a coherent structural system, any such approach to language which is devoted to explicating the internal workings of this abstract system is referred to as *structural linguistics*. The structural approach to the analysis of language is not only concerned with explicating the internal workings of *langue*, but it also involves the segmentation of utterances into elements in terms of two basic and complementary relations: *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic* ('associative' according to Saussure). The former looks into those elements which combine to form a larger unit, while the latter takes those elements which can be substituted for another in a given context.

In a structuralist description of language both an inventory of the linguistic elements of the language under analysis and statement of the positions in which the elements occur are taken into consideration -- the former refers to *discovery procedure* and the latter refers to *distribution*. The case for such a taxonomic or classificatory approach to *langue* was made explicit in the *Cours*: "It would be interesting from a practical viewpoint to begin with units, to determine what they are and to account for their diversity by classifying them ..... Next we would have to classify the subparts, then the larger units, etc." (Saussure 1959: 111).

The 1950s in the United States witnessed a spate of activities in structural linguistics with a distinct Saussurean heritage. Later, structural linguistics in America took on its distinctive cast and entered the period of its great success.

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## 2.5 AMERICAN STRUCTURALISM

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American structuralism has been associated with the approach variously called "post-Bloomfieldian", "neo Bloomfieldian" or simply "Bloomfieldian". The adherents of this approach have commonly called it "descriptive linguistics."

### 2.5.1 Difference between American and European Structuralism

Structuralism in the United States grew independently to that of its European counterpart. Their interests were different and they even differed in their

understanding of the term 'structure'. The European linguists understood it as "the arrangement of a whole in parts and the demonstrable coherence of these reciprocally conditioned parts in the whole" (Benveniste 1971 :8). For most of the American linguists, structure is "the distribution of the elements as it is observed, and the capacity of these element for association or substitution" (1971:8). According to Benveniste, a 'Bloomfieldian' will segmentalize the whole into its constitutive elements and will define "each of these elements by its position in the whole and by the variations and substitutions possible in this same position" (1971 :8).

If European scholars were interested in ancient languages and the development of modern European languages from them, the American structural linguists were primarily interested in describing and classifying the American Indian languages. The representatives of American structuralism tended to write the grammar of 'exotic' languages of Amerindian tribes such as Menomoni, Hopi, Takelma. American linguistics, since the beginning of this century, has been oriented toward the current of structural linguistics by the work of scholars such as Boas (1858 - 1942), especially by the works of Sapir (1884 - 1939) and Bloomfield (1887 - 1948) – the two pioneers of structural linguistics in America.

### 2.5.2 Sapir

Following the methods developed by Boas, Sapir gave up his work in classical philology and started analysing languages of Amerindian tribes. His analysis of Takelma, an American-Indian language spoken in the Northwest, in fact, predated the Saussurean principles of structuralism. Through his Takelma grammar of 1911 (published as Sapir 1922), he had worked out the basic principles of structuralism even before Saussure's *Cours* had been published. Language, according to Sapir, was a communicative and social activity. His interests in language were far - ranging. In addition to grammatical analysis, he took into account the humanistic and cultural aspects of language. He also published papers on the functioning of language in creative literature, mythology and religion. Although he was a structuralist in his orientation, he held a moderate position. He was not fully averse to historicism. For him, language was a *product* of history, "the product of long-continued social usage" (Sapir 1921:2).

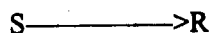
In the structural conception of language formulated by Sapir, the most striking fact was the aspect of **universality**. He conceived of language as a structure which is universal: "Language, as a structure, is on its inner face the mould of thought" and "[There] is no more striking general fact about language than its universality..... The lowliest of the South African Bushmen speaks in the forms of a rich symbolic system that is in essence perfectly comparable to the speech of the cultivated Frenchman" (1921:22).

Sapir refused to look at language through mechanistic methods. He held that "linguistic consciousness" of speakers must be taken into account. His approach was more *mentalistic* as opposed to the *mechanistic* or *behaviouristic* approach of Bloomfield. His mentalism, which makes claims about a relationship between language and the mind, led to the belief that linguistic structure plays a role in shaping our perception of reality. His student Benjamin Whorf further developed this idea and came forward with the hypothesis widely known as *Sapir - Whorf Hypothesis*. You will read about this later in the block.

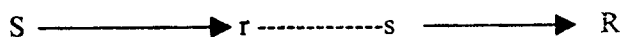
### 2.5.3 Bloomfield

The *Mechanism* of Bloomfield was closely related to behaviourism in psychology. According to *behaviourism*, human conduct is totally predictable i.e it can be explained on the basis of situations in which it occurs, independently of all internal factors. Even speech must be explained by the external conditions surrounding its production.

In accepting the basic ideas of behaviourism, Bloomfield, in his book *Language* (1933), formulated his mechanistic and materialistic conception of language which is based upon *stimulus-response* schema:



He explained the stimulus-response schematic usage of language by means of his famous story of Jack and Jill, walking down the lane. Jill sees an apple. She is hungry and wants it. But she wants Jack to get her the apple. She makes a noise with her larynx, tongue and lips. Jack hears her request, climbs a tree to get the apple, which Jill then devours. Here real or practical events preceding the act of speech is the stimulus (S) (in this case, Jill's feeling of hunger). If Jill had got the apple herself then stimulus would have directly caused the response (R) (her getting of the apple) symbolized by  $S \longrightarrow R$ . Instead there is a substitute response (r) in the form of a vocal movement (i.e she asks Jack to do it). The substitute response of Jill leads to a substitute stimulus or s linguistic stimulus (s) for Jack: he hears her request, and this causes the real or a practical response (R).



Since Bloomfield's main concern was to develop linguistics into a science, the principles through which this could be done were the exclusion of psychology from linguistics and the use of scientific descriptive statements. He refused to accept any psychological interpretation of the linguistic fact and demanded a strictly mechanistic approach. This is evident from his treatment of residual forms (or so-called exceptions in 'sound change'). He insisted upon the regularity of sound change and emphasized the scientific necessity of assuming that 'conditioned sound changes are purely phonetic' and 'independent of non-phonetic factors, such as meaning, frequency. . .' This became a starting point from which emphases upon a so-called *mechanism* arose. According to Bloomfield, linguists should deal with observable events only which are located in the coordinates of time and space. His insistence on dealing with only those events that were accessible to an observer in both time and place marked a definite shift from mentalism to *physicalism*. He believed that the linguist should define descriptive terms rigidly in physical terms that could be derived from a set of collection of everyday items dealing with physical happenings.

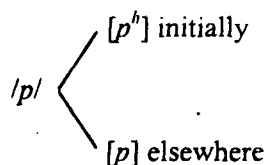
While he had earlier been a mentalist too, by 1933 Bloomfield became an apostle of *anti-mentalism* in linguistics. By placing a very heavy emphasis on **objective observation** he had become **an empiricist** and had adopted a view of linguistic science that allowed only statements based on generalizations drawn from observable facts by a set of mechanical procedures. As he put it: "The only useful generalizations about language are inductive generalizations. Features which we think ought to be universal may be absent from the very next language that becomes accessible" (1933:20).

His empiricist orientation had also affected his approach to the study of meaning. He had rebelled against the linguistic theories of meaning or the *signified* (to use Kristeva's term). While he admitted that a central function of language was to convey meaning, he remarked that meaning was either a completely unobservable mentalistic construct or else, consisted in so many and detailed events surrounding the speech act, that an adequate observation of it was nearly as hopeless as that of a mental reality. He affirmed that linguistic science would never be able to tackle it without taking into account the "state of the speaker's body" and the "predisposition of the nervous sound system, which results from all of his experience, linguistic and other, up to this very moment—not to speak of hereditary and pre-natal factors" (1933-141). Since this goal was unattainable, recourse to meaning was to be avoided wherever possible. Hence, meaning had to be kept aside in the task of establishing an adequate linguistic method.

Inspired by the ideas of anti-mentalism of Bloomfield, American linguistics was thus committed for a long time to the principle that language must be analyzed **without regard to meaning**. Efforts were made to evolve a methodology based on an exhaustive description of the behaviour of linguistic units without reference to meaning. This is where American linguistics resorted to co-occurrence, the possible **distribution** of sound segments (phonemes) and combinations of them (morphemes) in a language. Thus, a new method of analysis was evolved which was based on noting and describing all positions which units of a given language system could occupy—i.e. on determining the distribution of linguistic units.

On the basis of distribution of the units of linguistic structure, three types of distributional relations have been identified:

- (a) **Complementary distribution** – where one unit occurs, the other does not occur i.e. two or more units never occur in the same environment. For example, in English the phoneme /p/ has two variants [p], the unaspirated, and [p<sup>h</sup>] the aspirated. [p<sup>h</sup>] occurs initially, whereas [p] occurs elsewhere. For instance [p<sup>h</sup>in], [p<sup>h</sup>æt] and [p<sup>h</sup>et]. In these words /p/ comes initially and is aspirated. In words like *stop*, *spy*, *tip*, /p/ does not come initially and is therefore unaspirated.



Here [p<sup>h</sup>] and [p] are allophones of the phonemes /p/.

This condition helps in recognizing and grouping not only the allophones of a single phoneme but also allomorphs of the same morpheme. Just as a phoneme can have several allophones, morphemes can also have a number of allomorphs. This can be illustrated by taking the following examples.

Let us take the plural marker morpheme -s. It has three forms -s, -z and -iz depending upon the environment of its occurrence. The morpheme -s is realized as [s] if it is preceded by a voiceless sound, as in *caps*, *rats*, *books*; as [z] if it is preceded by a voiced sound as in *cubz*, *lidz*, *dogz*; as [iz] if it is preceded by sibilant sounds as in *prizes*, *voices*.

- (b) **Contrastive distribution** - where a change in one sound produces a change in meaning. This is established with the help of *minimal pairs*. For example, *pat* [p<sup>h</sup>æt] contrasts with *bat* [bæt]. Hence /p/ and /b/ are phonemes. Even *sub-minimal pairs* can be used to establish contrasts. For example, *packt* [p<sup>h</sup>ækt] contrasts with *bat* [bæt]. Hence /p/ and /b/ are phonemes.
- (c) **Free variation** – where units occur in the same environment along with no change in meanings. In this case they are variants of the same linguistic unit. For example the word *either* is pronounced [iðə] or [aiðə]. The change in the first sound does not lead to change in meaning.

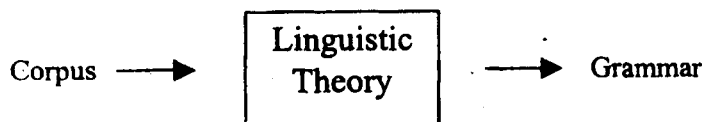
These distributional criteria have been developed into an exact axiomatic system and have been responsible for giving American structuralism the name **distributionalism**.

Distribution of linguistic units was tested by the method of **substitution**: replacing one unit under investigation by another known unit in the same environment, and if the substitution can be performed without an essential change in the linguistic context, then both units belong to the same class. For example, in the sentence *John likes bananas*, *John* can be substituted by *Bill*, *The boy*, *My sister*, etc. They therefore, belong to the same category as *John*, i.e. NP (Noun Phrase). Remember



that it cannot be substituted by *write* (Verb), *smart* (Adjective), *in* (Preposition). Since anti-mentalism characterized the theories of structural linguists in America, American structuralism devoted itself exclusively to a description of the concrete structures of actual sentences with as precise phonetic transcription as possible. There was very little questioning about matters of theory, and the entire emphasis was on methodology of descriptions, on questions such as how forms could be segmented, on how one could know where to segment, i.e. on *discovery procedure*.

Discovery procedure would mechanically produce a grammatical description based on a 'corpus'. This 'corpus' is the linguist's objective material in which s/he finds out the distribution of the structural elements in order to arrive at the linguistic system, the grammar underlying the corpus. Certain operations on a corpus of data were carried out without any reference to the external signification of linguistic forms. Linguistic theory thus became a strict analytical programme, which, applied to any corpus, will yield an appropriate grammar. The role of a linguistic theory of this type can be outlined in the following way:



Thus, for the American linguists, linguistic analysis was considered a logical calculus leading to the discovery of the basic units of language and their formal arrangement.

#### 2.5.4 Bloomfieldian Methodology

Though the concept of levels was inherent in the traditional linguistics, it was given a new theoretical status and importance under the structural approach. By introducing such a distinction of structure levels, the distributionalists were able to arrive at a higher degree of precision in the grammatical descriptions of language. For example, English adjective category can be more precisely defined as : a word which can stand between the definite article *the* and a noun and which never takes *-s* in the plural.

Since the goal of the American linguistics was to 'discover' a grammar by performing a set of operations on a corpus of data, this was to be achieved by following certain order of the levels of grammatical description which is as follows:

- i) Phonemics
- ii) Morphemics
- iii) Syntax
- iv) Discourse

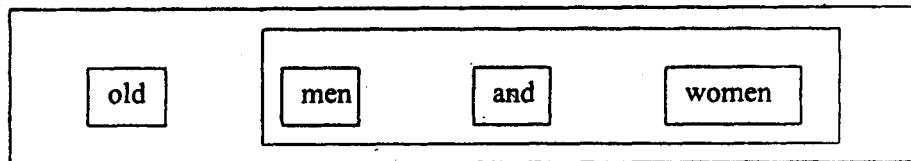
The corpus consists of speech so the first operation is **phonemic**. Bloomfieldians worked out the principle of analysis in the field of phonemics which was based on the of criterion of distribution and exemplified by substitution test.

Since language consists of a string of phonemes which are grouped into minimal recurrent sequences or morphs, hence there is a **morphemic operation**. The procedure for classifying morphs into morphemes was similar to that for classifying phones into phonemes. You will understand these concepts better in later units.

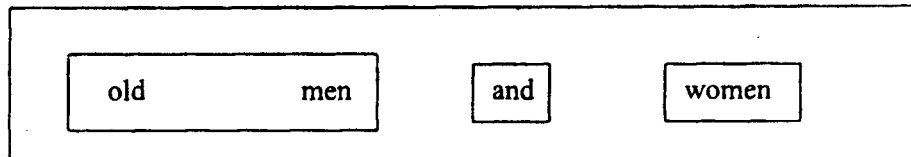
Bloomfieldians most important contribution to the theory of syntax has been the analysis of **immediate constituents (ICs)**. In order to discover the structure of linguistic units, one divides the utterance into two parts, which are in turn divided into two parts, etc. until one arrives at the minimal elements that can no longer be divided using the same criteria. In this way one arrives at the immediate constituents but one does not label them. Thus the phrase *old men and women* can be divided as :

Old men and women

1C analysis 1 (meaning: old men and old women)



1C analysis II (meaning: women and old men)



This analysis merely provides a purely formal description without taking the classical grammatical categories (Noun, Verb, etc.) or even the philosophical categories that establish the classical analysis of the sentence (subject, predicate, etc.). The formal analysis proposed by American structuralism not only helped to reveal the principles by which the structure of a message may be linguistically organized but also offered the possibility of studying languages that do not need logical categories to construct a signifying system. For example, the Chinese language does not need to clarify tense in the verb form or determination by an article, etc.

Since American linguists have had to describe numerous unknown languages, adoption of neutral description for linguistic analysis became necessary. Use of neutral methods relieved them from forming presuppositions on the basis of Indo-European languages and subsequently freed them from Eurocentricism.

Structuralism, of which American structuralism is the extreme formalizing tendency thus, introduced the epistemological break not in *explanation* but by offering—in accordance with logical positivism—a flat *description* of language.

Bloomfieldians' insistence on description had, in fact, largely emanated from their faithful adherence to empirical conception according to which science has only to describe phenomena. The researchers' task would then simply be *classification* or *taxonomy*—a grammar is simply a classification of the segments (phonemes, morphemes, words, word groups) that appear in the utterances of the corpus. The *analytical* approach to structure has rendered language static — an object without history or the speaking subject.

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## 2.6 LET US SUM UP

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In this unit, we have traced the development of structuralism in Europe and America. We have differentiated between the two versions of structuralism. We have also touched upon important concepts such as paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, langue and parole and diachronic and synchronic studies.

In the next unit, we will acquaint you with the Generative point of view in looking at data.

## 2.7 KEY WORDS

<b>Structuralism:</b>	An approach to the study of language which considers a language to be primarily a system of relations - i.e., the place of every element in language (speech sound, word, etc.) is defined by the way it relates to other elements in the language.
<b>Generative Grammar:</b>	A particular grammar of a particular language which, in a purely mechanical way, is capable of enumerating all and only the grammatical sentences of that language.
<b>Paradigmatic relation:</b>	Any relation between two or more linguistic items or forms which are competing possibilities, in that exactly one of them may be selected to fill some particular position in a structure.
<b>Syntagmatic relation:</b>	A relation between two or more linguistic elements which are simultaneously present in a single structure.
<b>Langue:</b>	In Saussure's classification, language regarded as a system shared by a community of speakers.
<b>Parole:</b>	The particular utterances produced by particular speakers on particular occasions.
<b>Diachronic:</b>	Pertaining to language change over time. Example, from old English to Middle English to Modern English.
<b>Synchronic:</b>	Pertaining to a language at a particular point of a time. Example, studying English now would be a synchronic study of Modern English.
<b>Typology:</b>	The classification of language according to their structural features.
<b>Signifier:</b>	The form of a linguistic sign
<b>Signified:</b>	The meaning of a linguistic sign
<b>Discovery procedure:</b>	An explicit mechanical procedure for constructing a grammar from a corpus of data in some language.
<b>Distribution:</b>	The list of positions in which particular linguistic items can occur.
<b>Mentalism:</b>	The belief that such unobservable phenomena such as mind, thoughts, intentions and mental processes generally are objectively real, and hence they can

reasonably be involved in scientific investigation and be made the object of study.

**Behaviourism:**

An approach in psychology which holds that psychologists should study only observable and measurable phenomena, and should not appeal to unobservable things like 'mind' and 'intention'.

**Sapir-Whorf hypothesis:**

The hypothesis that the structure of our language significantly affects the way we perceive the world.

**Complementary distribution:**

The relation between two linguistic forms which can never occur in the same environment.

**Phoneme:**

Any basic sound unit found in a particular language, such as /r/, /l/, /e/ in English.

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## **2.8 QUESTIONS**

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1. Trace the development of structuralism in linguistics.
2. Discuss the difference between the following:
  - i. Diachronic and synchronic linguistics
  - ii. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships
  - iii. Langue and parole
3. What are the main points of difference between American and European structuralism?
4. Discuss the salient features of American structuralism. Who were its main proponents?