1965, 1972, 1991. Chomsky, Labov, Sinclair.

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This talk is the last session of my course *Core Readings in 20th Century Linguistics* and my last class before retirement from the University.

I will discuss three topics:

Paradigms ... Progress ... Curricula ...

1. On paradigms

As a student and teacher of linguistics from 1966 to the present, I have been trained in / have passed through / have taught and written about three very different paradigms in linguistics, which have been formed by three major scholars: Noam Chomsky, William Labov and John Sinclair. Their work is not always compatible, so it cannot all be true, and shows that language must be studied from different points of view.

2. On progress

Some things which I was taught as a student have turned out to be untrue. Others have turned out to be poorly formulated. It is often thought that knowledge progresses because we discover more and more true facts and theories about the world. On the contrary: we learn from our errors. We learn from the past, but keep discovering new and different ways of visualizing language.

3. On curricula

Much educational reform (including the "new" BA-MA degrees) pays little attention to the past 1,000 years of curricular theory. I will give an example from the Middle Ages, and make a proposal for one way of organizing a coherent curriculum in language, linguistics and literature.

All this has implications for what is (fashionably) called "transferable skills".

1. On paradigms.

Noam Chomsky (1928 -)
 1965 Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.

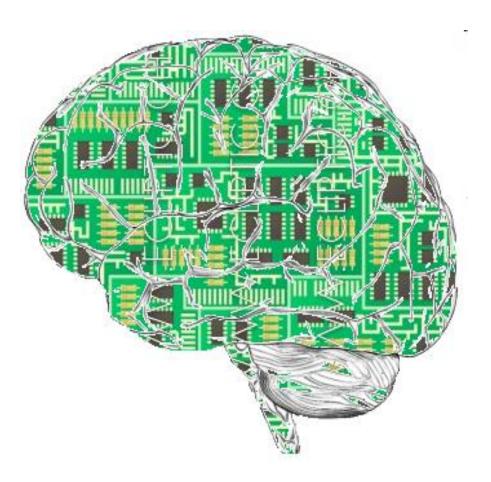
• William Labov (1927 -)

1972 Sociolinguistic Patterns.

• John Sinclair (1933 - 2007)

1991 Corpus Concordance Collocation.

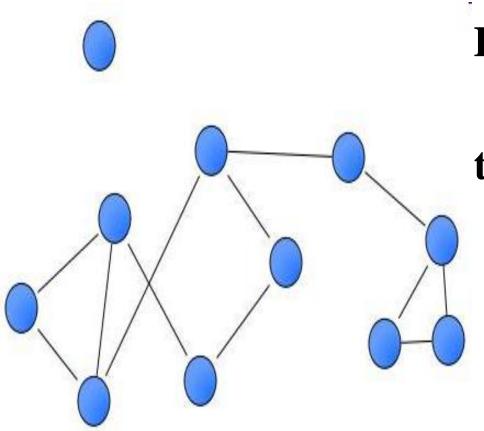
Chomsky et al. TG et al.



Post-1965 or so ...

the cognitive turn

Labov et al. Sociolinguistics.



Post-1970 or so ...

the social turn

Sinclair et al. Corpus linguistics.



Post-1985 or so ...

the computational turn

Chomsky 1965
 grammar, the mind rationalism

Labov 1972
 variation, social groups empiricism

Sinclair 1991
 lexico-grammar, texts
 empiricism

- Chomsky 1965
 Cartesian Linguistics (1966)
- Labov 1972
 "sociolinguistics: an oddly redundant term"
- Sinclair 1991

 Trust the Text (2004)

- Chomsky 1965
 structure of the human mind
- Labov 1972
 structure of society / social groups
- Sinclair 1991 structure of phrasal units of meaning

Chomsky 1965

introspection

universals

Labov 1972

fieldwork recordings linguistic variables

• Sinclair 1991

digital corpora

phrasal units

New data lead to new paradigms:

- historical-comparative data
- native languages of North America
- native-speaker introspection
- audio-recorded interviews / conversations
- socially stratified surveys
- computer-readable corpora

The ironies of academic progress.

- Skinner's behaviourism (1940s-50s) purged psychology of its central problem (i.e. thought!).
- Chomsky (1959) destroyed the credibility of behaviourism.
- Chomsky's formalism (1950s-60s) purged linguistics of its central problem (i.e. meaning!).

2. On progress.

On progress.

If you are going to be a teacher of English for the next 30 years ...

... around half of what I've been teaching you will turn out to be false (at least poorly formulated)

... but the evaluation criteria (empirical, testable, replicable, public, etc) will still be relevant.

There are 50 words for "snow" in Eskimo.

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Schultz-Lorentzen's dictionary of Inuktitut gives two words for snow: qanik, aput.

In English ... snow, ice, icicle, hail, sleet, slush, ... frost, hoarfrost, rime, ... glacier, iceberg, ... snowball, snowdrift, snowflake, snowman ...

Schultz-Lorentzen, C. (1927) *Dictionary of the West Greenlandic Eskimo Language*. Medelser om Grønland 69, C.A. Reitzels 1945.

See: Pullum, G. (1991) The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax. U Chicago Press. p.167.

As one Eskimo said to another:

"Did you know that American suburban males have over 100 words for *lawn*?"

There are 50 words for "snow" in Eskimo. You can say anything in any language.

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Many languages have no egocentric co-ordinate system, only an absolute frame of reference (similar to cardinal directions). Guugu Yimithirr has no words for "left", "right", "front", "back".

S C Levinson (2003) Space in Language and Cognition. CUP.

There are 50 words for 'snow' in Eskimo. You can say anything in any language. The phoneme is the basic sound unit.

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```
    them/then sin/sing singin'/singing
    in Britain in Germany in Greece bilabial alveolar velar
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There are 50 words for "snow" in Eskimo. You can say anything in any language. The phoneme is the basic sound unit. Lexis, syntax and semantics are separate.

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- 1. Colourless green ideas sleep furiously.
- 2. Revolutionary new ideas appear infrequently.
- 3. Miserly dead bicycles ride bananas happily.

There are 50 words for "snow" in Eskimo. You can say anything in any language. The phoneme is the basic sound unit. Lexis, syntax and semantics are separate. Dictionaries are of no theoretical interest.

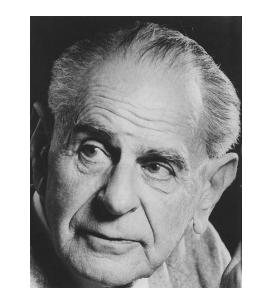
"The lexicon is ... a list of basic irregularities." (Bloomfield 1933)

There are 50 words for "snow" in Eskimo. You can say anything in any language. The phoneme is the basic sound unit. Lexis, syntax and semantics are separate. Dictionaries are of no theoretical interest. Etc...

"Science destroys its past".

The falsification paradigm:

- 1. Theory
- 2. Counter-examples
- 3. Better theory



K R Popper (1963) Conjectures and Refutations. The Growth of Scientific Knowledge. RKP.

Linguistic formulation ...

Written language is essential in order to make statements which are

explicit, clear, and public ...

and which therefore make critical discussion possible.

We learn from our errors:

"... all models are wrong, but some are useful."

George E P Box (British statistician).

GEPBox & N R Draper (1987) Empirical Model-Building and Response Surfaces. NY: Wiley.

We learn from our errors:

The most important factor in intellectual progress is often

- discovering a new problem
- stating it precisely.

New problems:

Chomsky: Linguistic competence is much deeper and more abstract than previously thought.

Labov: You cannot understand linguistic structures if you ignore social structures.

Sinclair: Individual words are not the main units of meaning.

Areas of study which didn't exist when I was a student:

sociolinguistics

discourse analysis

pragmatics

forensic linguistics

corpus linguistics

endangered languages

first(?) student textbooks

(1974: Trudgill)

(1977: Coulthard)

(1983: Levinson, Leech)

(1994: Gibbons)

(1998: Kennedy, Biber et al)

(2000: Crystal)

More on progress.

First applications, then theory: the case of dictionaries.

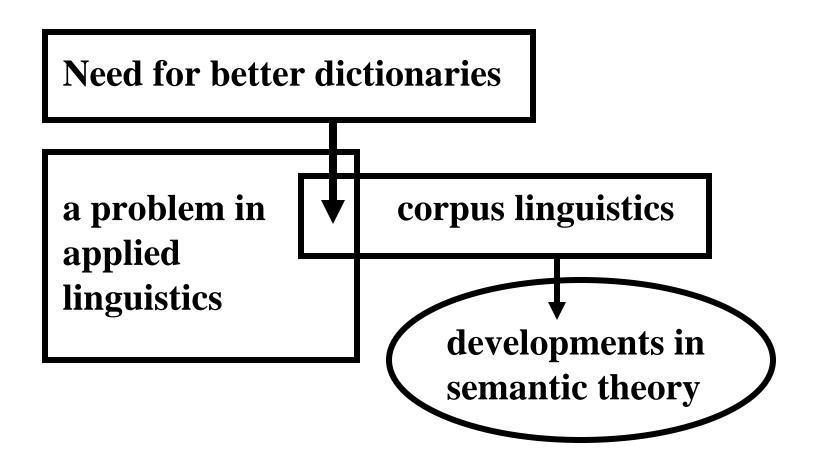
Applied linguistics and corpus linguistics.

"You have to have linguistics before you can apply it." (Pit Corder 1973.) ... ??

Wrong way round:

It is real world problems
which lead to practical applications
which lead to theoretical developments
(often with help from new technology).

Applied linguistics and corpus linguistics.



On progress. Dictionaries.

Samuel Johnson 1750s

James Murray 1880s on -

• John Sinclair 1980s on -

Samuel Johnson, 1755.

Data: collection of citations

but highly prescriptive view of data.



James Murray, pre-1910.

Data: collection of citations

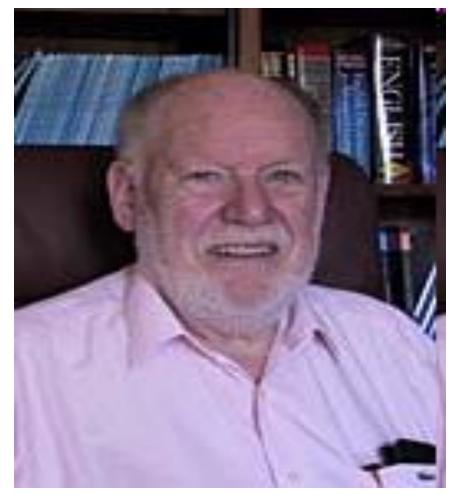
but still very literary sources of data.



John Sinclair, ca 2005.

Data: computerreadable corpora

> but still problems with balanced text collections.



On visualization.

John Sinclair (1991)

"Language looks rather different when you look at a lot of it at once."

Visualization of parallel cases.

variation in sequence, span and word-form

satis <<5>> conclu*

```
hardly a <u>satisfactory conclu</u>sion

very <u>satisfied</u> to have <u>conclu</u>ded as it did

intense <u>satisfaction</u> at this <u>conclu</u>sion
```

an artistically satisfying climax and conclusion

I reach that <u>conclu</u>sion with no <u>satisfaction</u>

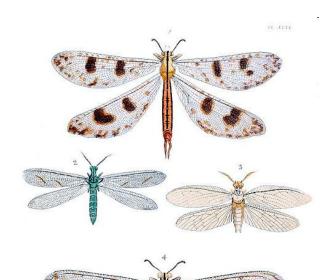
a <u>conclu</u>sion very much to their <u>satisfaction</u>

these conclusions are less than satisfactory

concluded that the offer was unsatisfactory

Data from BNCweb, Hoffmann et al.

Visualization of parallel cases.



variation in sequence, span and word-form

satis <<5>> conclu*

hardly a satisfactory conclusion

very satisfied to have concluded as it did

intense satisfaction at this conclusion

an artistically satisfying climax and conclusion

I reach that conclusion with no satisfaction

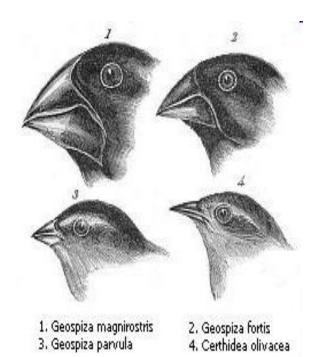
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Visualization of parallel cases.



Finches from Galapagos Archipelago

variation in sequence, span and word-form

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On variation.

"The whole of linguistics is an attempt to control variation."

Pieter A M Seuren (ca 1969, over coffee).

Text analysis ... technology ... theory ...

Eusebius' Canon Tables ca 300 AD



Busa's Concordance 1949-.



Cruden's Concordance 1737

Luhn's KWIC index 1940s-50s

All these approaches to semantic analysis ...

were analysing texts for practical reasons

religious textual exegesis, dictionary making, information retrieval

and were using the latest ideas about

textual comparison, visualization / pattern recognition, technology.

By the 1990s, this combination had led to major progress in semantic theory.

3. On curricula

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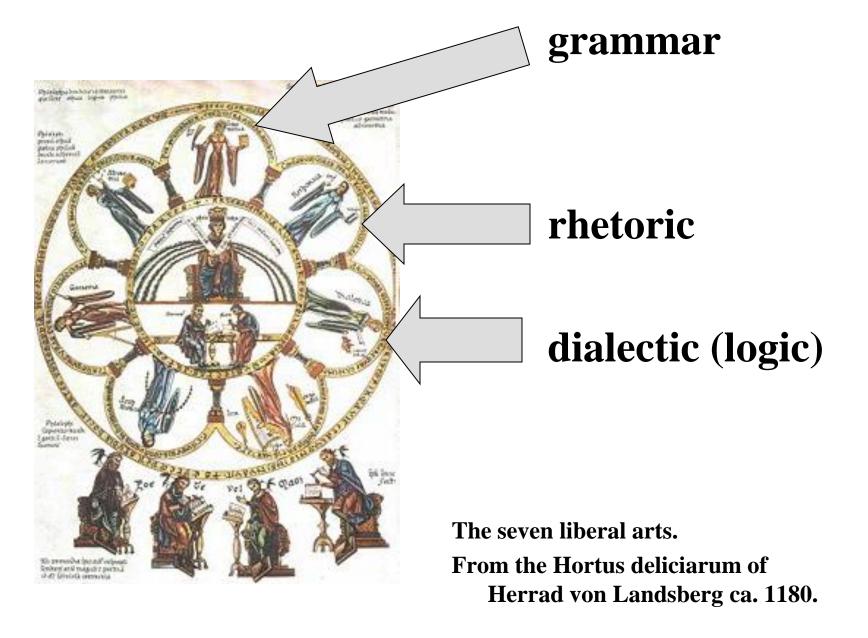
... and on the lack of curricular planning.

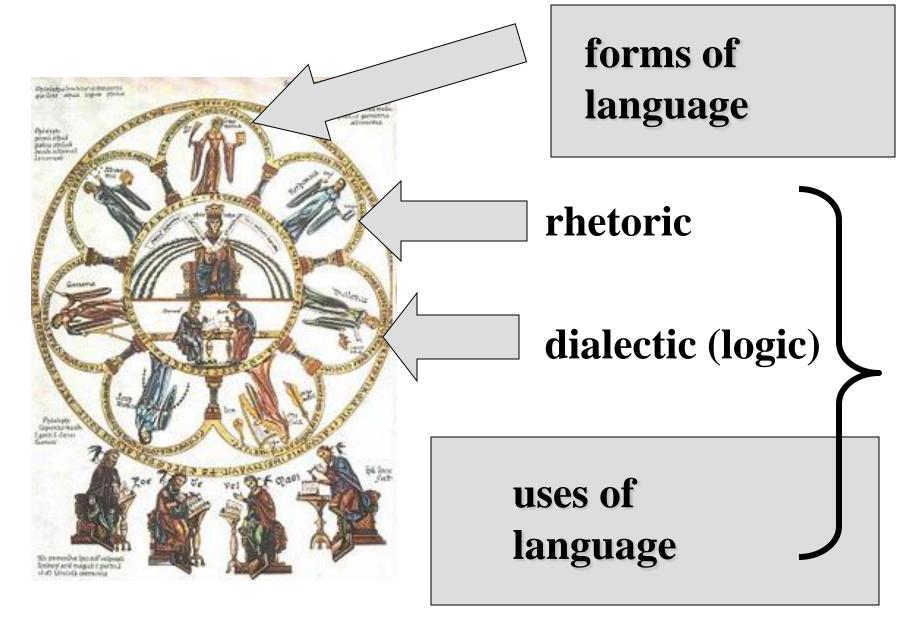
The medieval curriculum.

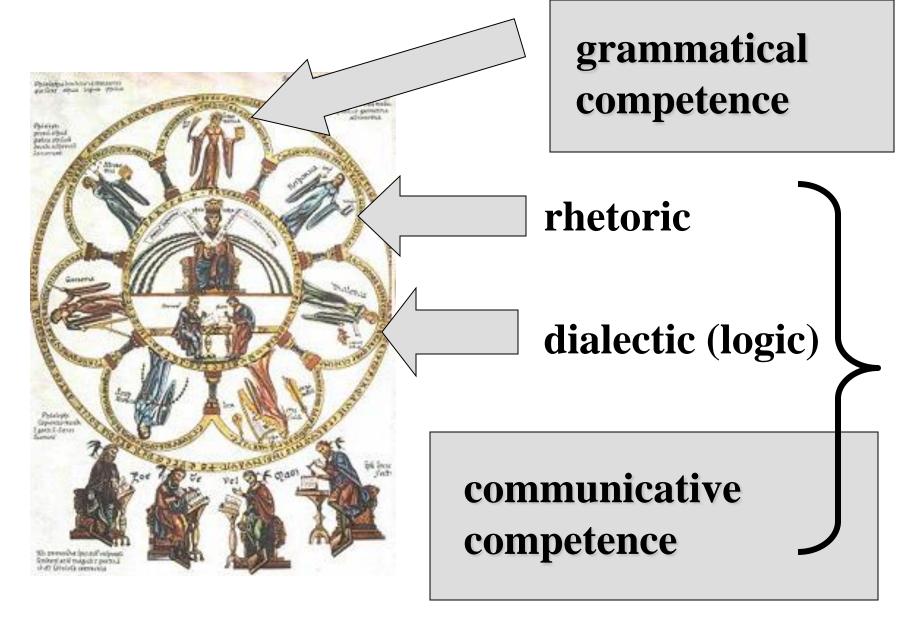
The Trivium: the word.

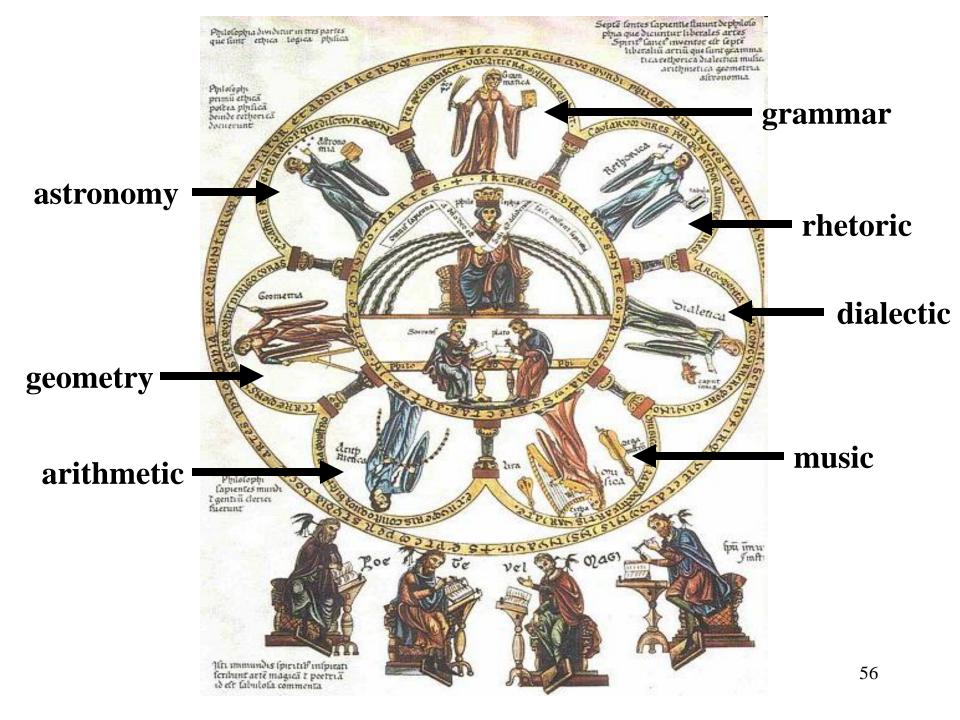
The Quadrivium: the world.

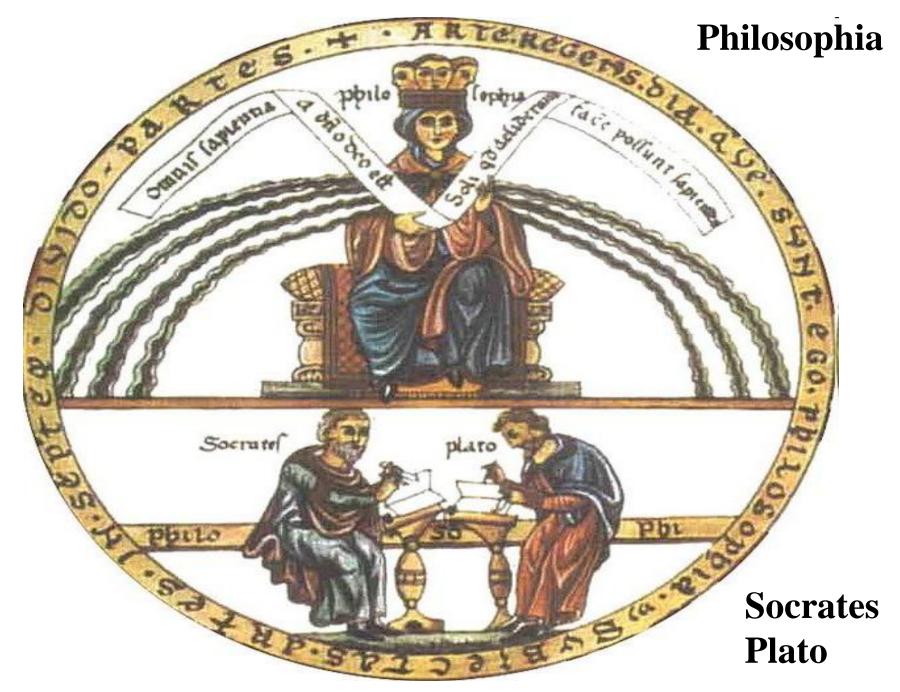
Basil B Bernstein (1996) Thoughts on the trivium and quadrivium. *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*. Taylor & Francis.











The Trivium and the Quadrivium. The content and sequence of education.

First the WORD, the inner:
 Grammar, logic and rhetoric.
 Principles of language and mind.

The Trivium and the Quadrivium. The content and sequence of education.

1. First the WORD, the inner:

Grammar, logic and rhetoric.

Principles of language and mind.

2. Then the WORLD, the outer:

Music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy.

Applications in the material world.

The Trivium and the Quadrivium. The content and sequence of education.

1. First linguistics.

2. Then everything else ...



Curricula: ideal types

classical humanist	knowledge- centred	elitist?
progressivist	student- centred	romantic?
technocratic	skills- centred	measurable?
reconstructionist	society- centred	democratic?

The "curricular standards" model

- interventionist
- centralized
- visible pedagogy
- explicit goals
- strong classification (subject boundaries)
- strong framing (sequence, pace)
- shift of authority away from universities
- knowledge no longer an end in itself

Another model ...
none of these ideas are new ...

Decide what general areas students should learn to analyse ...

- society
- aesthetics
- technology
- rationality
- plus whatever else you think is relevant

Denis Lawton (1983) Curriculum Studies and Educational Planning. Hodder & Stoughton.

Matrix planning ...

	linguistic study e.g	literary study e.g	language study e.g
society			
aesthetics	Fill in	your own g	gaps.
technology	But make a coherent whole.		
rationality			
etc			64

Matrix planning ... just examples ...

	linguistic study	literary study	language study
society	sociology of language in UK		
aesthetics	quantitative stylistics of literary texts		
technology	corpus linguistics digital humanities		
rationality	in/deduction basic statistics		
etc			

Matrix planning ... just examples ...

	linguistic study	literary study	language study
society	sociology of language in UK		accents, dialects text-types
aesthetics	quantitative stylistics of literary texts		poems, songs, etc fiction/non-fiction
technology	corpus linguistics digital humanities		computer mediated communication
rationality	in/deduction basic statistics		essay planning argument structure
etc			

Matrix planning ... just examples ...

	linguistic study	literary study	language study
society	sociology of language in UK	Gothic novel Lost generation	accents, dialects text-types
aesthetics	quantitative stylistics of literary texts	everything??	poems, songs, etc fiction/non-fiction
technology	corpus linguistics digital humanities	printed texts film adaptations hypertext	computer mediated communication
rationality	in/deduction basic statistics	objective text vs subjective reader reception	essay planning argument structure
etc			

On empiricism:

New forms of empiricism arise:

testable statements Chomsky

ethnographic fieldwork Labov

corpus analysis Sinclair

and so on ...

Technology changes what it is possible to observe ...

The "digital humanities".

The most famous Scottish empiricist.



David Hume (1711–76)

1748:
An Enquiry Concerning
Human Understanding.

Hume (1748).

When we read a book, we should ask:

"Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?"
No ...

Hume (1748).

When we read a book, we should ask:

"Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?"

No ...

"Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence?"

No ...

Hume (1748).

When we read a book, we should ask:

"Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?"
No...

"Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence?"

No ...

"Commit it then to the flames, for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion." So, on transferable skills ...

... principles of

empiricism and rationalism

(e.g. from Hume and Popper).

That should be sufficient ...

Thank you for your attention!





drinks and nibbles

anglistik essecke

