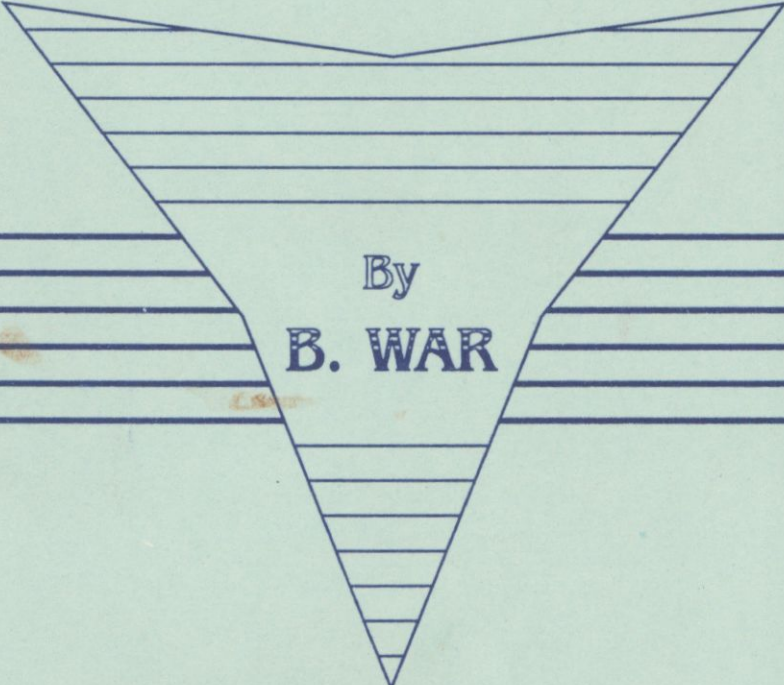


AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
LINGUISTICS



By
B. WAR

Preface

AN INTRODUCTION TO LINGUISTICS

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LINGUISTICS

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Preface

Ever since I started teaching linguistics in Khasi Department of the North-Eastern Hill University, I have noted a deep-felt need for an introductory text book on the subject. My students since 1983 have urged me time and again to write an easy-to-read book on General Linguistics in order to help them prepare for more specialized courses in Linguistics. However, it is only in 1996 that I seriously started collecting materials and writing down important aspects of this study. I have purposely organised the chapters of the book in accordance with the topics designed for M.A. (Course I), Khasi Department, so that students will have a proper foundation in the subject. It is my earnest hope that this book will enable them to realize the varied fields of linguistics and will, therefore, encourage them to investigate the different aspects of the Khasi language. The scope is vast and wide open for scholars who, I hope, will find the subject as fascinating and fulfilling as it has been for me.

Dated Shillong

(B. War)

The 30th January 1997

1. David Crystal. 1969. *What is Linguistics* p. 1-9
2. David Crystal. 1969. *ibid.* p.28

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CHAPTER IV

The Development of Linguistics in Europe and in the USA During the First Half of the 20th Century

The twentieth century shows an acceleration in the development of linguistics as a discipline both in Europe and in the United States of America.

I. Europe

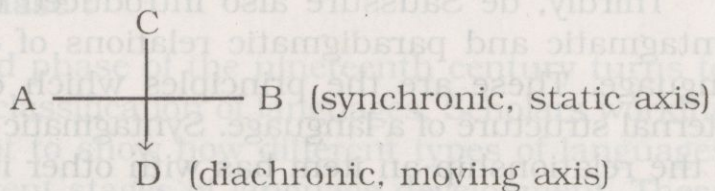
Ferdinand de Saussure (The Geneva School of Linguistics)

The name of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) became synonymous with that of modern linguistics in the twentieth century. The momentous contribution of the noted Swiss linguist became apparent even decades after his death. De Saussure taught linguistics in the University of Geneva from 1906 to 1911. After his death, his students systematically put together all his ideas presented in his lectures and post-humously published his book entitled **Course de Linguistique générale** in 1916. The English translation **Course in General Linguistics** came out in 1959. De Saussure's linguistic perspective can be summed up in the two important questions that he raised, namely, (a) how is an individual language constructed and (b) how must it be described. These questions have been raised by other linguists too but de Saussure was the first to incorporate them into a general theoretical framework.

In order to answer the above questions and to explain other pertinent issues in linguistics, de Saussure developed new ideas and new approaches in its study. These are discussed below.

Diachronic and synchronic linguistics :

First of all, de Saussure formulated the dichotomy between **linguistique diachronique** (diachronic linguistics) and **linguistique synchronique** (synchronic linguistics). In doing so, he clearly demarcated diachronic linguistics which is the study of language across time and synchronic linguistics which is the study of a language at a given point in time. Diachronic linguistics studies how a language evolves or changes over a period of time, as for example, how modern Indo-Aryan languages in the sub-continent of India have evolved from one ancestor language, namely, Sanskrit; or how Old English has evolved into 'Medieval' English and into Modern English. Synchronic linguistics, on the other hand, concentrates on the state of a language at a particular time and does not take into account preceding processes that make it what it is. The relationships between diachronic linguistics and synchronic linguistics can be presented by the vertical axis (CD) and the horizontal axis (AB) respectively in the diagram below:



De Saussure himself concentrated on the synchronic aspect of language. Furthermore, his synchronic analysis of language differs from classical Traditional Grammar in that it is descriptive and not prescriptive. Descriptive analysis means to describe a language in its own terms without being restricted by any preconceived notions on what the rules of a language should be. De Saussure is concerned with the study of the structure of individual languages and his approach is always descriptive. The legacy of structural descriptive linguistics has always been attributed to Ferdinand de Saussure since he was the first linguist to point out that "language is not a haphazard heap of individual items but a highly organised structure in which all the elements are interdependent."³³ It must, however, be made clear here that the term 'structural' as

33. Jean Aitchison. 1972. Op. cit p.21

applicable to de Saussure is a broad cover term and is not meant to refer to a particular method of analysis since all linguistic study after him is structural in the sense that it recognises the fact that language is a pattern of structure.

Langue, Parole and Langage :

Secondly, de Saussure also made a distinction between **langue** (language), **parole** (speech) and **langage** (linguistic disposition). **Langue** meant a language viewed as a whole. It is the social aspect of language since it refers to an abstract system which is shared by speakers of a speech community. **Parole**, on the other hand, is the actual physical utterance. The concept of **langue** has since been replaced by the more comprehensive Chomskyan concept of 'competence'.

Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic relations :

Thirdly, de Saussure also introduced the notions of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of elements in a language. These are the principles which determine the internal structure of a language. Syntagmatic relation refers to the relationship an item has with other items that can occur in combination with it. This is the horizontal or linear relationship of items which can be established at all levels of analysis. The following are examples of syntagmatic relations of items:

Phonological level : p ----> i ----> n
 Syntactic level : the ---> pin ----> is ---> small

Paradigmatic relations on the other hand, refer to items that can replace or substitute each other. This is the vertical relationship of items in a language. Examples are shown in the following sets of paradigms:

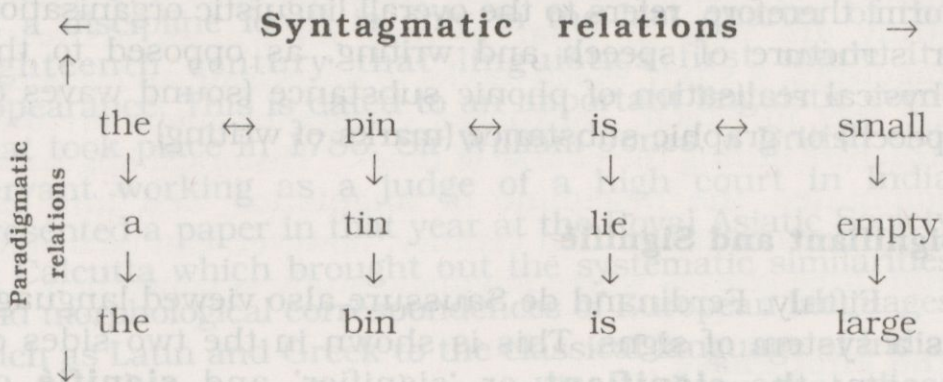
Phonological level

p i n
 ↓
 t
 ↓
 b

Syntactic level

The pin is small
 ↓ ↓
 A bin
 ↓ ↓
 An inn

The following diagram shows the linear horizontal and syntagmatic relationship and the vertical paradigmatic relationship between elements of a language:



As Bierwisch observed, the linguistic system is "thus a system of paradigms within which the sign, from the point of view of meaning as well as of sounds, delimit and specify each other. The syntagmatic relations an item can enter into is determined by the paradigm or class it belongs to".³⁴

This view of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations as part of the internal structure of language has had a wideranging effect on many linguistic scholars in the Post-Saussurean era.

Form and Substance :

Fourthly, de Saussure discussed language as comprising structure as well as physical realisation. Language is viewed as an abstract formal set of relations but it is manifested in use as substance through sounds, marks of writing, etc. Drawing upon the concept of language being composed of abstract structures and not

34. Manfred Bierwisch. 1971. *Modern Linguistics* p.20

of actual utterances, de Saussure argued that there would be variations in their realisations. He provided an example from the game of chess whereby each individual element has a concrete shape. However, the fact remains that what is important is not their shape but their value. A bishop, for example, can be replaced by any other differently-shaped object but it would still be able to perform the function of a bishop if that is the value attached to it. In the same way, language is a system of values and not a random collection of items defined by their substance. Form, therefore, refers to the overall linguistic organisation or structure of speech and writing, as opposed to the physical realisation of phonic substance (sound waves of speech) or graphic substance (marks of writing).

Signifiant and Signifié

Fifthly, Ferdinand de Saussure also viewed language as a system of signs. This is shown in the two sides of a sign: the **signifiant** or 'signifier' and **signifié** or 'concept signified'. Words and expressions are held to be signs, which in turn signify certain notions usually indicated by the Latin word **significatum**. The relationship between **signifiant** and **signifié** is shown to be conventional in conformation to the general theory of a sign - whether it is *physei* (natural) or *thesei* (constructed).³⁵ Since linguistic signs are only a part of the study of signs, de Saussure allots linguistics a special place within the general theory of signs known as **sémiologie** or semiotics. Semiotics is the scientific study of signs particularly those pertaining to patterned human communication. This study incorporates many dimensions of which language is but one, the others being music, dance etc.

Ferdinand de Saussure has laid a very firm foundations for language analysis in the beginning of the twentieth century. His method of breaking down linguistic items at the different levels either in terms of syntagmemes or sets of paradigms has paved the way for segmentation and classification as tools for language analysis. This

35. Manfred Bierwisch. 1971. Op.cit p.19

approach expanded by his successors later came to be known as taxonomic linguistics. Despite the many inadequacies his approach has, the contributions of this great linguistic scholar cannot be ignored as witnessed by the fact that most of his linguistic concepts are still vital points of discussion in linguistic theory.

The influence of Ferdinand de Saussure on linguistic study spreads far and wide. His ideas and concepts influenced many scholars after him and that finally led to the formation of many schools of linguistics in Europe that centred around academic societies, the most notable being the Prague School and the Copenhagen School.

The Prague School of Linguistics

The Prague School of Linguistics is the name given to a group of scholars who were members of the Linguistic Circle of Prague. Though the founder of the Circle is usually accepted to be Villem Mathesius (1882-1946), some other scholars have attributed this distinction to Roman Jakobson. The fact, however, remains that Jakobson who founded the Moscow Linguistic Circle in 1915 moved to Prague in 1925 before moving on to the United States in 1941. Mathesius, Jakobson together with another great scholar, Nikolai Trubetzkoy were the moving spirit behind the linguistic movement in Prague until the German invasion of the then Csechoslovakia. Nevertheless, their work of about two decades made a very significant contribution to linguistic theory, particularly in the field of phonology. De Saussure's influence on Prague linguistics is seen in the way language is analysed as a system of functional related units, and sentence as a complex of functionally contrastive constituents. Besides these and other considerable contributions to linguistics, the Prague School also ushered in a new era in the study of phonology. The concept of a phoneme is elucidated by Jakobson in its structural and functional aspects.³⁶ Phonemes having been described as the minimal discrete units of sound, have differentiating value. This is seen in the way phonemes vary in number from language to language. The phoneme inventory of a

36. Elmar Holenstein. 1976. Op.cit p.171-172

language can be established by the process of 'opposition' of phonemes. For example, /l/ and /r/ are phonemes in English because there is an opposition between them as in the words 'late' and 'rate'. The same sounds, however, do not stand in opposition in a language like Japanese where they are variants of the same phoneme. The concept of opposition as introduced in the Prague School, is not restricted only to phonemes but also to features of phonemes. For example, in English, voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ are in opposition to voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/; the six stops are in opposition to nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and so on. The system of opposition is taken further and class membership is introduced where each phoneme is described in terms of its features. For example, /m/ can be described as a voiced nasal, stop. The bundle of phonetic features of a phoneme is described as its distinctive features. Furthermore, since a phoneme is seen as a bundle of phonetic features, it can be given a precise description in terms of binary features +/-, where for example, a phoneme can be [+voice] or [-voice] as is seen in the following :-

	p	b	t	d	k	g
Bilabial	+	+	-	-	-	-
Alveolar	-	+	+	+	-	-
Voice	-	+	-	+	-	+
Velar	-	-	-	-	+	+

Another very important contribution of the Prague School is in the field of morpho (pho)nology. It investigated into the importance of the morphonological structure of certain construction seen in pairs such as in the words illustrate-illustration, music-musician where the last sound of 'illustrate' ends in /t/ and the last sound in 'music' ends in /k/ but both are pronounced /j/ in 'illustration' and 'musician'. Nikolai Trubetzkoy developed the concept of the morphoneme to account for this kind of alternation. The morphoneme is a segment at a more abstract level of structure but is realised as a discrete phoneme at the phonetic level.

The morphoneme **K** occurs in the phonetic level as /k/ in 'music' and /j/ in 'musician'; and the morphoneme **T** Occurs in the phonetic level as /t/ in 'illustrate' and as /j/ in 'illustration'.

Hjelmslev also brings out the paradigmatic relations in the linguistic system by deriving from the same relations the connection between classes, sub-classes, and elements.

The assumption is that a language which has nouns will have verbs and vice versa, a language which has adjectives will have verbs but not necessarily vice versa etc. All the categories necessary for a taxonomic linguistic theory can thus be derived from three elementary relations obtaining between any element on both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axis.³⁸

The most apparent weakness in Hjelmslev's Glossematics lies in the fact that language is no longer viewed as a living organism but is reduced to an algebraic structure. Though he based his theory on Saussurean principles, yet he lacks the human psychological and sociological overtones which are very much a part of de Saussure's theory of human language.

The Firthian School of Linguistics

This school is also known as the London School of Linguistics and usually refers to the followers of J.R. Firth (1890-1960). One of the most important contributions made by Firth is his polysystemic approach which is primarily implemented in phonology. Unlike phonemic analysis which is monosystemic, Firth propounded his theory of Prosodic Phonology which analyse over more than segmental unit. It is sometimes used loosely as a synonym for supra-segmental phonology but is much more restricted than the latter. Prosodic phonology analyses stretches of utterance for pitch, stress, juncture patterns and even secondary articulations. Therefore, prosodic "analysis is not as such concerned with transcription, but with providing a framework of categories for the analysis of the ways in which different sound features function in the utterances of languages".³⁹

38. Manfred Bierwisch. 1971. Op.cit p.33

39. R. H. Robins. 1980 *General Linguistics : An introductory Survey* (Third Edition) p.126

Firth's other notable contribution to linguistics lies in his theory of meaning. During the early years of his career, Firth worked closely with Malinowsky, a renowned anthropologist. Both of them use the term 'context of situation' in relation to their analyses of meaning in speech. They, however, differ a great deal in their view of 'context'. Malinowsky was primarily interested in ethnographic studies and therefore looked at context in the light of actual physical and cultural features and examined meaning in utterances separately without making any general statements on them. Firth, on the other hand, was primarily interested in framing a theory of language and therefore viewed context of situation as an "abstract set of related categories at the level of semantic analysis, which may be varied in its composition as the semantic explanation of the material requires" ⁴⁰. In other words, Firth believed that meanings can be specified in terms of the situation in which sentences are uttered. Furthermore, Firth also advocated the notion of collocation in language. This refers to the idea that certain lexical items tend to co-occur with certain other items which show their syntagmatic relations. For example, **spick** and **span**, **kith** and **kin** etc. are generally found to be collocates. However, there are certain lexical items such as articles, prepositions etc. which have no such collocational restrictions but which can co-occur with a very wide range of lexical items.

II. The United States of America

The study of linguistics developed at a faster pace in the USA than in Europe in the twentieth century. Linguistics in USA also had very different objectives in the twentieth century which influenced even the methodology of the discipline. Since the study of linguistics of the period is usually called American Structuralism, this section will be discussed under that name.

American Structuralism

Linguistics as a discipline in Europe was more concerned with abstract theories that try to account for

40. R. H. Robins. 1980. Op.cit p.33

many of the issues encountered in the study and analysis of language. However, for very different reasons, this discipline developed very differently in the USA. Firstly, American linguistics during the period began as an offshoot of anthropology, for it was then that leading anthropologists like Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield and a host of others were concerned with analysing and recording fast dying-out American-Indian languages before they became extinct. These anthropologists became linguists during the course of their work in the field. Secondly, American Structuralism was also deeply influenced by nineteenth century and early twentieth century psychology, particularly B.F. Skinner's theory of behaviourism. This is seen in the way American Structuralism rejected mentalistic notions and favour 'scientific statements' and 'objectivity' in their linguistic approach. Unlike the broad Saussurean concept of structuralism, American Structuralism has a much more restricted definition since it refers to the method of discovery procedure that relies on classification and segmentation of data, in order to arrive at any conclusion regarding the grammar of a language.

Franz Boas (1858-1942) was usually considered a pioneer of this school of linguistics. He was noted as a field investigator, a language analysts and a teacher. As an editor, he brought out the **Handbook of American Languages** and he also founded the **International Journal of American Linguistics**. Boas' direct influence on American Structural Linguistics is seen in the work of his students such as Sapir and Kroeber. Even Bloomfield acknowledged the fact that Boas was his master and teacher where the study of language is concerned.

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) was a brilliant fieldworker and was more concerned with applying and developing comparative methods, particularly for the American-Indian languages. His book **Language** (1921) is one of his most accomplished publications. His later research, however, were concerned with the conceptual categories in so-called primitive languages which he claimed are only "loosely equivalent" to other languages as "symbolic devices", and are "incommensurable in the sense in which two systems

are points in a plane" and are "on the whole, incommensurable to each other if they are plotted out with references to differing systems of co-ordinates".⁴¹ Sapir also pointed to the fact that the way a language is organised will determine the speakers' perception of the world around them. This is the general idea presented in the famous Sapir-Whorf hypothesis where Sapir together with Benjamin Whorf argue that language determines world view. This was later called linguistic determinism. Contrary to later American structuralists and even contemporaries like Bloomfield, Sapir did not totally reject mentalistic notions of language.

The most influential figure of American Structuralism, however, was Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949). This great scholar spent some time in Europe studying sound laws with the Munich neo-grammarians. Initially, Bloomfield showed Boas' influence as shown in his "Introduction" of the first issue of the journal **Language** (1925 : 1-2) where he remarked that the "work of directly observing and recording human speech is much like the work of the ethnologists; indeed... where such work has been best done, it has been performed chiefly by the ethnologic-linguistic school". Nevertheless, his later publication **Language** (1933) formulates an anti-mentalistic approach and advocates a "scientific" method of analysis in the behaviourist sense. His main concern was to make linguistics a scientific study and he felt he could achieve this aim by placing a strong emphasis on data-based classification. He initiated anthropological methods of field work, namely, data collection and analysis into linguistics. This empirical approach is an attempt by Bloomfield to lay down a rigorous framework for the description of language. Bloomfield was clearly influenced by Skinner's Behaviourist theory as particularly seen in the application of the stimulus-reaction theory in explaining language use. For Bloomfield the goal of linguistics was to discover a grammar by performing a set of operations on a corpus of data. This corpus (collection of linguistic data) is the material

41. Edward Sapir. 1964. "Conceptual categories in Primitive Languages" in Dell Hymes (ed) *Languages in Culture and Society* p.128

upon which the linguist will carry out his analysis by the process of segmentation and classification, the procedure which will automatically lead to the discovery of grammar. The role of linguistic theory is outlined below :

Corpus → Linguistic Theory → Grammar

Bloomfield was more concerned with the forms of a language and not so much with meaning. There was a feeling then that the study of meaning was not amenable to the rigorous 'scientific' method of analysis propounded by this framework. In fact, Bloomfield felt that meaning is the weak point in language study.

The fact that linguistic statements are made on the basis of the result of data-based analysis of a particular language makes this approach an inductive one. Bloomfield himself stated that the only useful generalizations about language are inductive ones.

Where language study is concerned, Bloomfield pinpointed the importance of linguistic forms which he stated are of three types : (a) linguistic free forms such as **John, ran, play, dance**, etc. (b) linguistic bound forms which could never occur on their own such as prefix **un-**, suffix **-ing**, etc. (c) unique linguistic forms which can occur in a single combination such as **cranberry** as there is no form ***cran**⁴² in English. He also pointed to the fact that the "common part of any (two or more) complex forms is a linguistic form; it is a **constituent** (or component) of these complex forms". He continued to state that from "all this it appears that every complex form is made up, so far as its phonetically definable constituents are concerned, of morphemes. The number of these ultimate constituents may run very high".⁴³ Taking the English example of - **Poor John ran away**, a sentence which contain five morphemes, he emphatically stated that the "immediate constituents" of the above sentence are of two forms -

42. An asterisk * marks an ungrammatical or unacceptable form or sentence in a language.

43. Leonard Bloomfield. 1935. *Languages* (First London Edition) p.161.

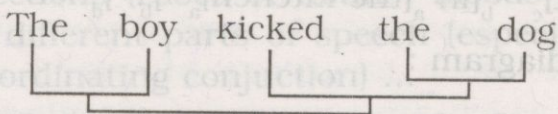
Poor John and **ran away**; that the immediate constituents of the first form are **Poor** and **John** and the immediate constituents of the second form are **ran** and the complex form comprising of two morphemes **a-** and **way**. Bloomfield was of the view that this is the only way to a proper analysis that will lead to the ultimate constituent morphemes.

What we see here is the germination of ideas of what became known as the Immediate Constituent Analysis, a study that was keenly pursued in the Post-Bloomfieldian period.

The Immediate Constituents :

More than a decade after the publication of Bloomfield's *Language*, R. S. Wells made an attempt to improve one of the tools already used by Bloomfield, the Immediate Constituents.⁴⁴ His purpose was to give a unified and systematic theory for determining the constituents of an utterance. The fundamental aim of the Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA) is to describe the constituents within a sentence. This is done by the use of binary divisions at the different levels of the hierarchy of the structure of the utterance.

The binary cuts of a sentence - The boy kicked the dog would be :



However, later linguists like Aitchison, Yule and others, using the ICA framework show segmentation of sentences could be better presented in the form of a box diagram, a bracket diagram or even a tree diagram. Krishnaswamy shows how a sentence could be segmented using a box diagram:⁴⁵

44. R. S. Wells. 1947. "Immediate constituents" in *Language* Vol. 24 p.161. Later reprinted in M. Joos (ed) *Readings in Linguistics* 1957. p.186-207.

45. N. Krishnaswamy. 1971. *An Introduction to Linguistics for Language Teachers* p.88-89.

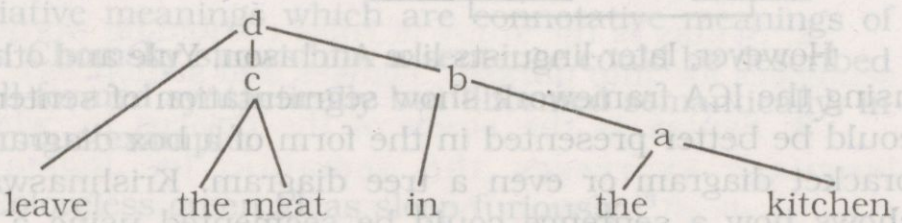
The old man lives in front of the mango tree near the garden										
The old man		lives	in front of		the	mango	tree	near	the	garden
old man		the mango tree near the garden								
The old man		the mango tree near the garden								
		in front of	the mango tree near the garden							
		lives	the mango tree near the garden							
The old man		lives in front of		the mango tree near the garden						
The old man lives in front of the mango tree near the garden										

Krishnaswamy also states that "this sort of analysis tells us how the units are hierarchically layered". Nonetheless, mere division of constituents would not be explanatory unless they are labelled. Matthews, another modern linguist commenting on the **immediate constituents** remarks that "any unit which is enclosed within a syntagm may be described as a constituent of that syntagm. So, **the kitchen** is a constituent of **in the kitchen**; likewise each of the minimal units **in**, **the** and **kitchen**. Of these constituents, those whose relationship directly established the syntagm are its **immediate constituents**".⁴⁶

Matthews' own example of showing the immediate constituents of a sentence are by bracketing the units :

${}_d$ [leave $_c$ [the meat] $_c$] $_b$ [in $_a$ [the kitchen] $_a$] $_b$] $_d$

or by using the tree diagram :



Immediate Constituent Analysis has had a very wide influence in language analysis for many decades after Bloomfield. Despite its widespread use, however, the IC Analysis fails to satisfy many linguists of the latter half of the twentieth century. This is mainly due to its inadequacies

46. P. H. Matthews. 1981. *Syntax* p.73-74.

which became apparent when linguists attempted to use it to analyse different types of sentences. These inadequacies are listed below :

The most obvious weakness of IC Analysis lies in the fact that a sentence does not necessarily consist of immediate constituents. There are instance of discontinuous constituents.

e.g.,

He **turned** the lights **off**

Can he **run** very fast ?

Secondly, ICA cannot analyse embedded sentences.

e.g.,

The fact **that he smokes** bothers her.

Thirdly, ICA does not reveal the relationship between sentence types, e.g.,

Active - Jack kicked the dog

Passive - The dog was kicked by Jack.

Fourthly, straight - forward ICA is unable to distinguish the many interpretations of ambiguous sentences, e.g.,

Lexical ambiguity : **He walked by the bank**

A bank may be a place of financial institution or a riverbank.

Structural ambiguity : **Visiting relatives can be a nuisance** which can be interpreted as follows :

- (a) For one to visit relatives can be a nuisance
- (b) Relatives who are visiting can be a nuisance

American Structuralism was in dominance in the USA till the end of the first half of the twentieth century. Its basic assumptions can be summed up as follows :

1. The aim of structural grammar is to describe the spoken form of the language.
2. Unlike historical linguistics which was interested mainly in the diachronic study of language, the structuralists were interested in the synchronic aspect of language.

3. Structuralists, by describing a language in its own terms, made the study of language descriptive.
4. Structuralists also made a clear distinction between physical utterance and the abstract system of language.
5. The process of analysis of the structuralists is one of classification and segmentation of data in order to arrive at its goal, that is, the grammar of a language.

However, there are apparent weaknesses in Structural Linguistics as a whole. Structuralists were interested in the forms of a language which led to the neglect of the study of meaning. Moreover, as Noam Chomsky was to point out later on, structuralists failed to take into account the creativity of language. It also does not take into account the degree of grammaticality and acceptability of sentences nor does it stop the generation of ungrammatical sentences. It does not offer any explanation for the inter-relatedness of sentences.

There are many other scholars who also made very valuable contribution to linguistics and who also belonged to the school of American Structuralism. Most notable among them are Kenneth Pike with his two books **Phonetics** (1942) and **Phonemics** (1947), Nida with his book entitled **Morphology** (1949) and Noam Chomsky's teacher and guide Zellig S. Harris with his book **Structural Linguistics** (1951).

The aim of structural grammar is to describe the spoken form of the language.

II. Morphology

Unlike historical linguistics which was interested mainly in the diachronic study of language, the structuralists were interested in the synchronic aspect

7. George Yule, 1985, *The Study of Language*

CONCLUSION

This book is an attempt to present an insightful account into what linguistics is and how it has emerged and developed throughout the centuries. As has been stated time and again, linguistics is concerned with the study of language. The fact being so, linguists have always paid attention to discussion on what is language. This has led to many attempts to ascertain the characteristics of natural human language. Charles Hockett, in particular, lists thirteen design features of language, namely, vocal-auditory channel, broadcast transmission and directional reception, rapid fading, interchangeability, total feedback, specialization, semanticity, arbitrariness, discreteness, displacement, productivity, traditional or cultural transmission, duality of patterning. The last four design features are considered to be unique to human language.

In presenting the development of linguistics from the eighteenth century, one can see how the focus of the discipline has shifted from one period to another. Nonetheless, the fact remains that each movement, be it by an individual or by a group, has contributed enormously to the study of linguistics.

Chapter IV of this book deals with the development of linguistics both in Europe and in the USA during the first half of the twentieth century. Even though the sections show the names of the different school of linguistics, yet these have been dealt in a very condensed manner. In particular, the European schools, namely, the Prague School, the Copenhagen School, and the Firthian School have been focussed on the pioneers of the schools, namely Roman Jakobson-Nikolai Trubetzkoy, Hjelmslev and J.R. Firth respectively. No attempt is made to present a discussion on the followers of the schools. For example, Firth's concept of polysystems has given rise to many important linguistic theories. The most well-known among them is the Scale-and-Category Grammar developed by M.A.K. Halliday and his colleagues.

Finally, the second half of the twentieth century has been deliberately left untouched in this volume as this period unfolds a new era in linguistics. The discipline has developed so rapidly in all its branches of study with new theories and new frameworks emerging thick and fast. This has also led to the problem of methodology in relation to the study of language, be it in the area of pure linguistics such as syntax, phonology etc. or in sociolinguistics, language teaching etc. It is, therefore felt necessary that a new and separate volume should be prepared that will deal exclusively with the development of core areas of linguistics in the latter half of the twentieth century.

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