

Fourth Edition



# Linguistics for Non-Linguists

A PRIMER WITH EXERCISES

Frank Parker  
Kathryn Riley



FOURTH EDITION

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# LINGUISTICS FOR NON-LINGUISTS

A Primer with Exercises

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In revising *Linguistics for Non-Linguists*, our goal has been to retain those features that have made it useful to readers seeking an introduction to the study of language, while at the same time updating and improving the book. Accordingly, we have kept many key elements of previous editions: a focus on English data; clearly written explanations, supplemented by numerous examples and figures; hundreds of exercises, many of them new, enabling readers to check their understanding of the material; and a “top-down” organization of the theory chapters, beginning with the less technical area of pragmatics and moving to the more technical area of phonology. (At the same time, however, the self-contained nature of the theory chapters allows readers to approach them in a different order if they wish to.)

We strongly believe that students learn best by “doing” linguistics, and, to this end, we have added dozens of new exercises. Wherever possible, we like to introduce “live” data into the exercises, since much of what makes linguistics interesting is its ability to explain everyday phenomena—the dialogue in a movie, a billboard sign, a newspaper headline, a TV advertisement, a note on an office door, and so on. As in the previous edition, most exercises are integrated into the text of each chapter, so that they appear immediately after related material. Answers are provided at the end of the book for those exercises marked with a dagger (†), to help readers check their work. In addition to the exercises within each chapter, supplementary exercises at the end of each chapter are designed to offer further practice, sometimes introducing more complex data or non-English data. Following the supplementary exercises is a new feature, exploratory exercises. In general, these require more research or analysis beyond what can be accomplished within a single classroom period. These exploratory exercises can also form the basis for short papers.

In terms of content, although the chapter topics have not changed, much of the material throughout has been revised and updated. In particular, Chapter 4, Syntax, now includes a short section on X-bar theory; Chapter 8, First-Language Acquisition, includes a more detailed discussion of acquisition stages; Chapter 10, Written Language, includes a fuller treatment of non-alphabetic writing systems; Chapter 11, Language Processing, focuses more on topics from psycholinguistics and discourse analysis; and the discussion of disorders in Chapter 12, Neurology of Language, has been revised to focus on various types of aphasia. We also updated many of the supplementary readings at the end of each chapter, while still attempting to give the reader a selection of both classic and contemporary resources.

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Frank Parker  
Kathryn Riley

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## *Introduction*

The title of this book, *Linguistics for Non-Linguists*, delimits both its scope and audience. Let us say something about each one. The primary audience for which this book is intended are people who are not linguists, but who feel they need some familiarity with the fundamentals of linguistic theory in order to help them practice their profession. This includes specialists in such fields as speech-language pathology, experimental phonetics, communication, education, English as a second language (ESL), composition, reading, anthropology, folklore, foreign languages, and literature.

The common thread among these disciplines is that, in one form or another and at one time or another, they all deal with language. For example, a researcher in business communication might try to characterize how different managerial styles are reflected in the way that managers give directions to their employees, noting that some managers give instructions like *Type this memo* while others say *Could you type this memo?* A kindergarten teacher might observe that students give more correct responses to questions like *Which of these girls is taller?* than to questions like *Which of these girls is shorter?* A composition instructor might encounter a student who writes *I wanted to know what could I do* rather than *I wanted to know what I could do*. An ESL teacher might have a student who writes *I will taking physics next semester*, rather than *I will take* or *I will be taking physics next semester*. A speech-language pathologist might attempt to evaluate a child who says *tay* for *stay*. In each case, these specialists have encountered phenomena that cannot be understood without some familiarity with concepts from linguistic theory.

Realistically speaking, however, there are several practical reasons that may have prevented these specialists from acquiring a background in basic linguistic theory. First, courses in linguistics are virtually nonexistent in high schools, and colleges and universities that have such courses generally do not require them of all students. Second, each university curriculum (especially a professional curriculum) quite naturally tends to focus its students' attention on the central concerns of its discipline. Of course, the more courses required of students within their discipline, the fewer they can take from fields outside of their major. Such factors often prevent students in allied areas from being exposed to linguistics. Third, once people complete their formal education, it is often difficult for them to supplement their knowledge with formal coursework, especially in an unfamiliar area. Finally, linguistics, at least at first glance, appears to be incredibly complicated. Articles and books on the subject are often filled with charts, tables, diagrams, and unfamiliar notation, and many people simply give up in frustration. In short, there are a number of practical reasons for this gap in the

flow of information between linguistics and other fields that deal with language. This book is an attempt to solve this problem, at least in part. It is specifically designed to convey a basic understanding of linguistic theory to specialists in neighboring fields, whether students or practicing professionals.

The book is organized as follows. Chapters 2 through 6 cover the theoretical areas of pragmatics, semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology, respectively. Chapters 7 through 12 cover the applied areas of language variation, first-language acquisition, second-language acquisition, written language, language processing, and the neurology of language. Each chapter contains text with exercises, supplementary readings, and supplementary exercises. The text of each chapter focuses on some of the central ideas in that area of linguistics; we have not tried to cover each subject in breadth or in detail. Also, we have made an effort to make explicit the reasoning that lies behind each area discussed. Each chapter begins with a set of observations that can be made about that subject, and the rest of the chapter constructs a partial theory to account for the original observations. Throughout the text, we have tried to emphasize the fact that linguistic theory is a set of categories and principles devised by linguists in order to explain observations about language. (More on this subject later.)

The supplementary readings at the end of each chapter consist of an annotated list of several articles and books that we have found useful in introducing others to the field. We have made no attempt to cover each field exhaustively or to restrict the readings to the latest findings, since each of the 11 areas covered here has numerous textbooks and primary works devoted to it. However, anyone interested in pursuing one of these areas can at least begin by consulting the supplementary readings.

The exercises throughout the chapter are included as a means for you to check your understanding of the text and gain practice in working with the basic concepts. In most cases, each of these exercises has a specific answer or range of answers within the framework of the chapter (for example, “Would a child exposed to English be more likely to acquire the meaning of *long* or *short* first? What principle accounts for this?”). A dagger (†) in front of an exercise means that its answer is provided at the end of the book, so that you can occasionally check your analysis as you are working through the exercises. In addition to exercises throughout the chapter, at the end of each chapter, following the supplementary readings, you will also find supplementary exercises and at least one exploratory exercise. While some of the supplementary exercises are similar to the in-chapter exercises, others introduce more complicated data or data from languages other than English. The exploratory exercises, in general, ask for analysis that would require work outside of a normal classroom period, such as additional research or analysis beyond that required by the other exercises.

Obviously, an introductory book such as this has several potential limitations. First, there are entire subdomains of linguistics that are not included—for example, animal communication and computational linguistics, to name just two. The experience of having taught linguistics for nearly 30 years convinces us that students and professionals from neighboring fields most often need a solid grounding in the core areas of pragmatics, semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology. Once they have a basic understanding of these areas, they have little trouble mastering the applied areas that overlap with their own field of special-

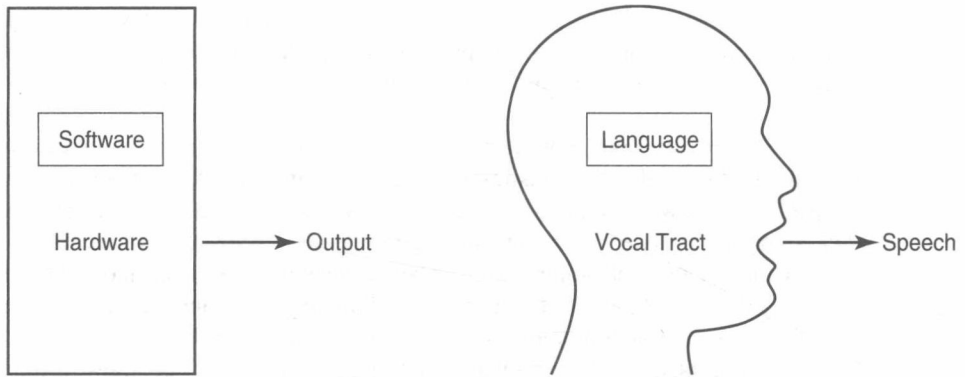
ization. We have included chapters on language variation, first- and second-language acquisition, written language, language processing, and the neurology of language—six applied areas that seem to us to be of the most importance to the greatest number of neighboring fields.

Second, this book is written from the viewpoint of our own understanding and interpretation of the field of linguistics. No one can study an academic field without developing a particular view of that field, and certainly we are no exceptions. For example, our own views of the field are biased toward the perspective of **generative grammar**, a view of language that the linguist Noam Chomsky began developing 50 years ago and that has been especially influential on the study of syntax, phonology, and language acquisition. In short, it is wise to keep these limitations in mind as you read this book.

Having discussed the audience and scope of this book, let's now turn to its primary subject matter—linguistic theory. There are two questions central to an understanding of this field. First, what do linguists study? And second, how do they go about studying it? Let's take these questions one at a time. First, one common understanding of linguistic theory is that it is the study of the psychological system that underlies our ability to produce and interpret utterances in our native language. That is, in order to speak to one another, we need to know things about language that we're not aware of consciously. Linguistic theory is the study of this knowledge. It is not the study of how human beings actually produce speech with their vocal mechanism, nor is it the study of speech itself. Thus, we need to distinguish three different domains: (1) the psychological system of language; (2) the means of implementing this system (the vocal tract); and (3) the product (speech).

An analogy may help clarify the distinction among these three areas. In talking about computers, we can differentiate at least three domains: software, hardware, and output. The software (or program) is essentially the mind of the machine; it is the set of instructions that tells the machine what to do. The hardware is the machine itself; it is the physical mechanism that carries out the instructions contained in the software. The output is the final product that comes out of the hardware; it is the tangible result of the software having told the hardware what to do. Thus, in a very loose sense, the psychological system of language is like the software; it is essentially the mind of the system; it provides the instructions. The vocal mechanism is like the hardware; it is the physical system that implements the language. Speech is like the output; it is the final product of the vocal tract, the tangible result of the language faculty having told the vocal tract what to do. This analogy is illustrated in Figure 1.1. Thus, linguistic theory is the study of the psychological system of language. Consequently, the vocal tract and speech are of interest to linguists to the extent that they shed light on this psychological system: the internalized, unconscious knowledge that enables a speaker to produce and understand utterances in his or her native language.

Now that we have some idea of what theoretical linguists study, let's consider how they study it. At this point, our computer analogy breaks down. If a computer specialist wants to study the software of a particular computer system, he or she can access it and examine it directly (by requesting the hardware to produce the software as output) or question the person who designed it. In other words, an understanding of how the software works is part of the conscious knowledge of the person who designed it, and consequently it is directly accessible to anyone who wants to examine it. Language, on the other hand, is not so



**FIGURE 1.1** Analogy between computer system and linguistic system

easily accessible. First, knowledge of language is unconscious in the sense that speakers of a language cannot articulate the rules of that language. Moreover, although linguists can examine the vocal tract and the sounds it produces, they cannot examine language directly. Rather, they must approach the properties of this psychological system *indirectly*.

There are a number of methods that linguists use to infer properties of the system. Some linguists look at language change: they compare different historical stages in the development of a language and try to infer what properties of the system would account for changes. Other linguists look at language pathology: they compare normal language output to that of patients with aphasia (brain damage that has disrupted normal linguistic functioning) and try to infer what properties of the system would account for such abnormalities. Still others look at language universals—features that all human languages seem to have in common—and try to infer what properties of the system would account for these similarities. The list of approaches goes on and on.

Here, however, we will discuss in some detail another common method that theoretical linguists use to infer properties of language: investigating speakers' judgments about sentences. Under this method, the linguist asks informants (native speakers of the language under investigation) questions such as the following: Is utterance X an acceptable sentence in your language? Does utterance X have the same meaning as utterance Y? In utterance X, can word A refer to word B? And so on and so forth. Consider, for example, the following sentences.

- (1) John thinks that Bill hates him.
- (2) John thinks that Bill hates himself.

The linguist might present (1) and (2) to some informants and ask them to judge the two sentences for acceptability. In response, the informants would undoubtedly say that both (1) and (2) are perfectly acceptable. That is, both are completely unremarkable; people say such things day in and day out, and they go completely unnoticed. (In contrast, sentences such as *Him thinks that Bill hates John* and *John thinks that himself hates Bill* are remark-



able; that is, speakers of English do not typically produce such sentences.) After having determined that both (1) and (2) are acceptable, the linguist might ask the informants the following questions. (The expected answers appear in parentheses.)

- In (1), can *him* refer to *John*? (Yes.) Can *him* refer to *Bill*? (No.)
- In (2), can *himself* refer to *John*? (No.) Can *himself* refer to *Bill*? (Yes.)
- Do sentences (1) and (2) have the same meaning? (No.)

Having gathered these data, the linguist would then try to infer the properties of the internal linguistic system of the informants that would account for these judgments. For example, the linguist might hypothesize that English contains at least two kinds of pronouns: **personal pronouns** (e.g., *him*) and **reflexive pronouns** (e.g., *himself*). Moreover, the linguist might hypothesize that a pronoun may have an **antecedent** (i.e., a preceding word or phrase to which the pronoun refers). Finally, the linguist might infer that the antecedents of these two types of pronouns behave differently; that is, the antecedent for a personal pronoun and the antecedent for a reflexive pronoun cannot occupy the same position within a sentence. In order to determine exactly where these antecedents can appear, the linguist might construct some related sentences (e.g., *John hates him*, *John hates himself*, and so on) and present them to informants for different types of judgments. This process would continue until the linguist had formed a picture of what the psychological system of the informants looks like, at least with respect to where the antecedents for personal and reflexive pronouns can appear.

There are several points to note about this method of inquiry. First, if the linguist is a native speaker of the language being studied, the linguist can, and often does, serve as both informant and analyst. In the previous example, any native speaker of English would be able to determine that (1) and (2) are both acceptable, but that they have entirely different meanings. Moreover, any native speaker of English would be able to trace these differences in meaning to the fact that in (1) *him* can refer to *John* but not to *Bill*, and in (2) *himself* can refer to *Bill* but not to *John*. In a clear-cut example like this, there is no need to present these sentences to thousands, hundreds, dozens, or even two speakers of English. The linguist can be reasonably certain in advance that they would all judge the sentences in the same way. Second, the linguist, in forming a picture of the internal linguistic system of the informant, is in essence constructing a **theory** of that system. That is, concepts such as personal pronoun, reflexive pronoun, and antecedent are not directly observable in the utterances themselves. Rather, the linguist *hypothesizes* such concepts to account for the observable fact that speakers of English can make such clear-cut judgments about sentences like (1) and (2). In short, the linguist uses the directly observable judgments of the informant (i.e., the data) to draw inferences about the unobservable internal system that governs such judgments (i.e., to construct a theory). This procedure can be schematized as follows.

OBSERVABLE DATA →	LINGUIST →	THEORY
Speaker's judgments of acceptability, sameness of meaning, reference, and so forth.	Makes hypotheses about internal structure of speaker's psychological linguistic system.	English has two kinds of pronouns, whose antecedents appear in different positions.