CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF TIME DEIXIS ABOUT PAST TENSE IN ENGLISH AND INDONESIAN LANGUAGES IN *"ORIGIN"* NOVEL BY "DAN BROWN"

REFERENCES DETAIL

Submitted to the School of Foreign Language – JIA as a partial fulfillment of requirements for the undergraduate degree in English Literature Programme

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SECOND EDITION

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When you have translated the text, comment on any difficulties involved, the strategies you used and any change in the level of informality in your target version.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

On collocation

Barnwell, Katherine (1974) *Introduction to Semantics and Translation*, High Wycombe: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Chapter 6, section 6.8: 'Collocation'.

Beekman, John and John Callow (1974) *Translating the Word of God*, Michigan: Zondervan. Chapter 11: 'Collocational Clashes'.

Carter, Ronald and Michael McCarthy (1988) *Vocabulary and Language Teaching*, London: Longman. Chapter 2, section 7: 'Linguistic Goings-on'.

* Hoey, Michael (2005) *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Mackin, R. (1978) 'On Collocations: Words Shall Be Known by the Company They Keep', in P. Strevens (ed.) *In Honour of A. S. Hornby*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 149–165.

Sinclair, John (1991) *Corpus Concordance Collocation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

On idioms and fixed expressions

Carter, Ronald (1987) *Vocabulary: Applied Linguistic Perspectives*, London: Allen & Unwin. Chapter 3, section 3.6: 'Idioms Galore', and section 3.7: 'Fixing Fixed Expressions'.

Fernando, Chitra (1996) *Idioms and Idiomaticity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moon, Rosamund (1998) *Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English*, Oxford: Clarendon.

In Other Words

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Mona Baker is Professor of Translation Studies at the University of Manchester, UK. She is co-founder and editorial director of St. Jerome Publishing which specializes in translation studies. She is also co-Vice President of the International Association of Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS).

English speaker:

> Ministers at last week's Council discussed ways in which the member states might be able to offer practical assistance to the US and, in particular, whether <u>they</u> might accept former detainees.

German interpretation:

> Die Frage ist natürlich, sind **wir** bereit ehemalige Häftlinge zu übernehmen?

> The question is of course, are **we** prepared to take on former detainees?

Cumulatively, these choices tend to strengthen the institutional presence of the European Parliament and to enhance in-group identification with it.

These and similar examples suggest that in addition to developing strategies for dealing with challenges posed by differences in pronominal systems, translators and interpreters must also be alert to the overall impact of their cumulative choices, whether or not these are made in response to local linguistic challenges.

4.2.4 Tense and aspect

Tense and aspect are grammatical categories in a large number of languages. The form of the verb in languages which have these categories usually indicates two main types of information: time relations and aspectual differences. Time relations have to do with locating an event in time. The usual distinction is between past, present and future. Aspectual differences have to do with the temporal distribution of an event, for instance its completion or non-completion, continuation or momentariness.

In some languages, the tense and aspect system, or parts of it, may be highly developed, with several fine distinctions in temporal location or distribution. Bali, for instance, has a rather precise system of time reference. Apart from indicating past, present and future reference, each past or future reference is marked to show whether the event in question is immediately connected to the present, is separated from it by a period of time but taking place on the same day, or is separated from the present by at least one night. Wishram, an American Indian language, makes no fewer than four distinctions in reference to past events alone, each distinction expressing a certain degree of remoteness from the moment of speaking (Sapir and Swadesh 1964). In some languages, it is obligatory to specify more unusual types of temporal and aspectual relations. For instance, in the Villa Alta dialect of Zapotec (Mexico), it is necessary to distinguish between events which take place for the first time with respect to particular participants and those which are repetitions (Nida 1959).

Some languages, such as Chinese, Malay and Yurok, have no formal category of tense or aspect. The form of the verb in these languages does not change to express temporal or aspectual distinctions. If necessary, time reference can be indi-

a given language will determine the ease with which certain notions such as time reference or gender can be made explicit. Centuries ago, the Greeks and Romans assumed that notional categories such as time, number and gender existed in the real world and must therefore be common to all languages. All languages, they thought, must express these 'basic' aspects of experience on a regular basis. With greater exposure to other languages, it later became apparent that these so-called 'basic' categories are not in fact universal, and that languages differ widely in the range of notions they choose to make explicit on a regular basis. In this chapter, we will take a brief look at the variety of grammatical categories which may or may not be expressed in different languages and the way this area of language structure affects decisions in the course of translation. But before we do so, it may be helpful to outline some of the main differences between lexical and grammatical categories.

4.1 GRAMMATICAL VS LEXICAL CATEGORIES

the grammatical pattern of a language (as opposed to its lexical stock) determines those aspects of each experience that must be expressed in the given language.

(Jakobson 1959:235–236)

Grammar is organized along two main dimensions: **morphology** and **syntax**. **Morphology** covers the structure of words, the way in which the form of a word changes to indicate specific contrasts in the grammatical **system**.[1] For instance, most nouns in English have two forms, a singular form and a plural form: *man/men*, *child/children*, *car/cars*. English can therefore be said to have a grammatical category of number. The morphological structure of a language determines the basic information which must be expressed in that language. **Syntax** covers the grammatical structure of groups, clauses and sentences: the linear sequences of classes of words such as noun, verb, adverb and adjective, and functional elements such as subject, predicator and object, which are allowed in a given language.[2] The syntactic structure of a language imposes certain restrictions on the way messages may be organized in that language.

Choices in language can be expressed grammatically or lexically, depending on the type and range of linguistic resources available in a given language. Choices made from closed systems, such as the number system (singular/plural) or the pronoun system in English, are grammatical; those made from open-ended sets of items or expressions are lexical. Grammatical choices are normally expressed morphologically, as in the case of the singular/plural contrast in English. They may also be expressed syntactically, for instance by manipulating the order of elements in a clause to indicate certain relations between them or to signal the function of the clause (cf. the difference between the order of elements in a statement and a

Introduction to Pragmatics

Betty J. Birner

(100) a. *It's warm today; it's been that way for a week now.*
       b. *It's John who is spreading the rumor. He's a terrible gossip.*

In (100a), it doesn't seem that the second *it* picks up the reference of the first *it* in order to co-refer; rather, they both seem to indicate the ambient conditions – but the apparent impossibility of co-referring back to this *it* suggests that this indication falls short of actual reference. Similarly, in (100b), *he* is clearly co-referential with *John*; it's much harder to construe both of these NPs as being coreferential with *it*.

Referring expressions, then, come in a wide variety of subclasses, and the boundaries of the category as a whole are not clear. Most referring expressions are noun phrases of various types (including proper nouns and pronouns), but one could also argue that a word like *there* (as in, *Put the lunchmeat over there*), which functions as a prepositional phrase, nonetheless takes a particular place as a referent. In this chapter, we focus on a small number of types of referring expressions, including deictics, definites, indefinites, anaphoric expressions, and demonstratives. We will finish by discussing the oft-cited difference between two uses of definite expressions that are typically differentiated in terms of one being referential and the other not; it will be argued that in fact both types are referential, and that the intuitions that gave rise to the original claim of non-referentiality can shed light on the organization of referents and their properties in our discourse models.

4.2 Deixis

The term **deixis** denotes the phenomenon of using a linguistic expression to "point" to some contextually available discourse entity or property. Deictic expressions are a subtype of **indexical** expression. (Note that "deictic" is the adjectival form of the noun "deixis"; hence, "deixis" is the phenomenon, and "deictic" is a descriptor.) The class of indexicals includes deictics, anaphoric pronouns, and even tense – all of which are linguistic mechanisms for identifying the intended meaning of the current expression through its relationship to elements of the context of utterance. In the case of tense, an event described in the current utterance is "indexed" with respect to its temporal relationship to the time of utterance, with (for example) a simple past-tense form indicating that the event described in the current utterance occurred prior to that utterance. In the case of anaphoric pronouns, discussed below, the referent of the current pronoun is co-indexed with some previously evoked entity. In the case of deixis, a phrase is interpreted relative to the time, location, or interlocutors of the linguistic exchange in which it occurs, or relative to other linguistic material in that same exchange.

Sintaksis
Bahasa Indonesi
(Pendekatan Proses)

Abdul Chaer

SINTAKSIS BAHASA INDONESIA : Pendekatan Proses

Oleh : Abdul Chaer

k. Adverbia *maha* untuk menyatakan 'keadaan yang sangat' lazim digunakan untuk menyebut sifat Allah; meskipun bisa juga untuk yang lain. Contoh:

-   Allah yang *Maha* kuasa
-   Tuhan yang *Maha* bijaksana
-   Pejabat pajak itu sekarang sudah *maha* kaya

Namun, sebaiknya untuk yang bukan Allah tidak digunakan adverbia *maha*. Jadi, harus diganti dengan adverbia *sangat*. Simak contoh berikut:

-   Pejabat pajak itu sekarang sudah *sangat* kaya
-   Sebagai seorang kepala negara beliau memang *sangat* berkuasa

l. Adverbia *nian* untuk menyatakan 'keadaan yang lebih' ditempatkan di sebelah kanan kategori ajektifa; dan dapat menggantikan posisi adverbia sekali. Contoh:

-   Cantik $\begin{Bmatrix} nian \\ sekali \end{Bmatrix}$ gadis itu

-   Pendapatannya per bulan banyak $\begin{Bmatrix} nian \\ sekali \end{Bmatrix}$

m. Adverbia *terlalu* untuk menyatakan 'keadaan melebihi yang seharusnya' ditempatkan di sebelah kiri kata berkategori ajektifa Contoh:

-   Bagiku harganya *terlalu* mahal
-   Untuk berjalan kaki jaraknya *terlalu* jauh

3.2.5 Adverbia Kala

Adverbia kala adalah adverbia yang menyatakan waktu tindakan dilakukan. Yang termasuk adverbia ini adalah kata-kata *sudah, telah, sedang, lagi, tengah, akan, bakal, hendak,* dan *mau.* Semua adverbia ini berposisi di sebelah kiri kategori verba yang mengisi fungsi predikat. Adapun penggunaannya sebagai berikut:

a. Adverbia *sudah* digunakan dengan aturan:
    (i) Untuk menyatakan 'tindakan atau kejadian yang terjadi

pada waktu yang lalu' ditempatkan di sebelah kiri kata berkategori verba. Contoh:

- Kami *sudah* makan
- Semua orang *sudah* mengetahui masalah itu

(ii) Untuk menyatakan 'suatu keadaan telah dan masih berlangsung' ditempatkan di sebelah kiri kata berkategori ajektifa. Contoh:

- Nenekku *sudah* tua sekali
- Pukul tujuh pagi lalu lintas *sudah* ramai

b. Adverbia *telah* dapat digunakan untuk menyatakan 'tindakan atau perbuatanyang terjadi pada waktu yang lalu; dan untuk menyatakan keadaan sudah berlalu (dan masih berlangsung)' ditempatkan di sebelah kiri kata berkategori verba dan ajektifa. Adverbia *telah* ini dapat menggantikan adverbia sudah. Contoh:

- Nenekku *telah* tua
- Pukul tujuh pagi lalu lintas *telah* ramai

c. Adverbia *sedang*, *lagi*, dan *tengah* digunakan untuk menyatakan 'tindakan atau kejadian yang masih berlangsung. Simak contoh berikut:

- Kakek $\begin{Bmatrix} sedang \\ lagi \\ tengah \end{Bmatrix}$ mandi di sungai

- Murid-murid $\begin{Bmatrix} sedang \\ lagi \\ tengah \end{Bmatrix}$ berolahraga

Catatan:

Adverbia *lagi* dapat berposisi di sebelah kanan kata berkategori verba atau ajektifa dengan makna 'kembali' atau 'berulang'. Simak contoh berikut:

- Kakek makan *lagi*
- Setelah diperbaiki mobil kami bagus *lagi*

d. Adverbia *akan* digunakan dengan aturan:

(i) Untuk menyatakan 'suatu tindakan atau kejadian bakal terjadi' diletakkan di sebelah kiri kata-kata berkategori verba.
Contoh:

- Saya *akan* membayarnya besok
- Beliau *akan* datang nanti sore

(ii) Untuk menyatakan 'suatu keadaan bakal terjadi' diletakkan di sebelah kiri kata-kata berkategori ajektifa. Contoh:

- Sebentar lagi dia *akan* sembuh
- Binatang itu *akan*-kurus bila tidak diberi makan

Catatan:

Antara adverbia *akan* dengan ajektifa yang didampinginya lazim disisipkan verba menjadi, sehingga menjadi seperti:

- *Akan* menjadi kurus
- *Akan* menjadi besar

e. Adverbia *bakal* digunakan untuk menyatakan 'sesuatu akan dilakukan atau suatu keadaan akan terjadi' dapat digunakan secara terbatas untuk menggantikan adverbia *akan*. Contoh:

- Saya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} akan \\ bakal \end{array} \right\}$ membayarnya besok

- Dia $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} akan \\ bakal \end{array} \right\}$ sembuh

Dewasa ini adverbia *bakal* lazim digunakan sebagai sinonim nomina *calon* jadi:

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bakal \\ calon \end{array} \right\}$ gubernur

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bakal \\ calon \end{array} \right\}$ istri

jika pemilihan dilakukan secara bertahap, maka pada pemilihan tahap pertama ada istilah *bakal* (bakal calon).

f.   Adverbia *hendak* digunakan untuk menyatakan 'suatu tindakan akan dilakukan' diletakkan di sebelah kiri kata-kata berkategori verba. Contoh:
   - Beliau *hendak* datang
   - Anak itu *hendak* pergi

Namun, di sini perlu dikemukakan adanya tiga catatan:

   Pertama, adverbia *hendak* dapat digantikan dengan adverbia *akan*. Simak:

   - Beliau $\begin{Bmatrix} hendak \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ datang

   - Anak itu $\begin{Bmatrix} hendak \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ pergi

   Kedua, adverbia *hendak* tidak dapat digunakan sebagai pendamping kata berkategori ajektifa. Contoh:

   - Rambutnya $\begin{Bmatrix} *hendak \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ panjang

   - Dia $\begin{Bmatrix} *hendak \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ bingung

Hal ini, berkaitan dengan catatan ketiga berikut.

   Ketiga, adverbia *hendak* berhomonim dengan kata hendak yang memiliki makna 'ingin' atau 'mau'; yang lazim mendampingi verba yang menyatakan tindakan.

g.   Adverbia *mau* digunakan untuk menyatakan 'suatu tindakan akan dilakukan' diletakkan di sebelah kiri kata-kata berkategori verba. Adverbia *mau* ini dapat menggantikan adverbia *akan*. Contoh:

   - Rumah ini $\begin{Bmatrix} mau \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ dijual

   - Kami $\begin{Bmatrix} mau \\ akan \end{Bmatrix}$ mengirim surat

Tense

Bernard Comrie

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TENSE

TENSE

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in temporal location, so that in Yidiny, for example, it is impossible to distinguish lexically between the concepts 'today' and 'now'.[1] Although, in cultures where precise location in time is attainable, expressions can be created for such precise statements, it should be noted that such expressions do not impinge at all on the grammar of the language in question, rather they use existing grammatical patterns, at best creating new lexical items (such as *nanosecond*), or even making use of existing lexical items and mathematical expressions in order to gain precision (e.g. 10^{-6} *seconds*). No language has grammatical devices to make such fine locations, and indeed the languages of the cultures that find it necessary to make such fine discriminations characteristically have a very small range of grammatical distinctions in this area: thus, in English, it is possible to locate a situation before the present moment (by using the past tense), and even to locate a further situation prior to that first situation (by using the pluperfect), but there is no way of quantifying grammatically the time lapse between the first and second situations, or between either of them and the present moment.

The sum total of expressions for locating in time can be divided, in terms of their importance for the structure of the language, into three classes. (The same classification is, of course, possible for other notional oppositions, such as those of aspect or number.) The largest set is that composed of *lexically composite expressions*, since this set is potentially infinite in a language that has linguistic means for measuring time intervals; this gives English expressions of the type *five minutes after John left*, 10^{-43} *seconds after the Big Bang*, which simply involve slotting more accurate time specifications into the positions of a syntactic expression. The second set is the set of *lexical items* in the language that express location in time, and would include such items as *now, today, yesterday*. The precise dividing line between lexically composite expressions and lexical items is different from language to language: thus, English *last year* is a lexically composite expression, whose meaning can be calculated compositionally from the meaning of *last* and the meaning of *year*, whereas the Czech equivalent *loni* is a single lexical item. Since the stock of items listed in the lexicon is necessarily finite, the range of distinctions possible lexically is necessarily smaller than that which is possible using lexically composite expressions.

The third set is the set of *grammatical categories*, which turns out to be the least sensitive of the three. Thus English, for instance, has at most the following grammaticalised expressions of location in time: present, past, future, pluperfect, future perfect, and many linguists would even question the inclusion of the future (and, presumably, the future perfect) in this list.

[1] Dixon (1977: 498–499).

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While many languages have more tense categories than English, in particular languages that distinguish degrees of remoteness in past and future (chapter 4), even the maximal system would have at most tens of categories, rather than the several orders of magnitude more possible in the lexicon. The analogy with number is interesting here: English has grammatically only a two-way opposition (singular and plural); lexically there are around thirty items (excluding those restricted to mathematical or scientific contexts); while for many speakers the possibilities for lexically composite expressions are infinite.

1.4 Tense as grammaticalised location in time

The basis of the discussion in the body of this book is that tense is grammaticalised expression of location in time. On the one hand, this can be viewed as purely definitional. In this way, we would look at a particular form in a language, decide whether it does in fact express location in time and whether it is indeed a grammatical category, and then pronounce it to be tense or not. The definition would enable us, for instance, to say that the difference between *John sang* and *John sings* in English is one of tense, whereas that between *John sings* and *John is singing* is not, but rather of aspect. However, there are two respects in which our view of tense as grammaticalised location in time is more than purely definitional.

First, it is conceivable that, using the above definition of tense, we might examine grammatical categories across languages and find that there are none which match the definition, i.e. we might be forced to the conclusion that tense does not exist, and should therefore not be part of linguistic theory. It is therefore an empirical claim of this book that tense does exist, i.e. that there are languages which express location in time by means of grammatical categories. Indeed, given that no restrictions are placed by the definition on what kind of location in time is to be considered, it is probable that most of the world's languages will turn out to have tense, although there will still probably remain a small residue of languages that do not (section 2.5), just as there are some languages with no grammatical category of aspect or number.

Secondly, it will emerge from the discussion in the body of the book that there are very heavy constraints that language imposes on the range of expressions of location in time that can be grammaticalised. In fact, all clear instances of tense cross-linguistically can be represented in terms of the notions of deictic centre (section 1.5), location at, before, or after the deictic centre, and distance from the deictic centre; furthermore, the location of the deictic centre relative to the present moment is constrained in the same

way as the location of a situation relative to the deictic centre. Given the wealth of logically conceivable contrasts in time location, or even those that are known to be lexicalised across languages, this is a very small range indeed. Thus the definition given above permits a highly constrained theory of tense.

Before examining further differences between kinds of location in time that can be grammaticalised versus those that can be lexicalised, it will be useful to include some further discussion on the distinction between grammaticalisation and lexicalisation in general. This discussion will not be entirely conclusive, since there still remains considerable controversy surrounding the precise borderline between grammatical and lexical categories.[6] The simplest statement of the difference would be to say that grammaticalisation refers to integration into the grammatical system of a language, while lexicalisation refers merely to integration into the lexicon of the language, without any necessary repercussions on its grammatical structure. While this circular definition is surprisingly successful in getting people to appreciate the distinction between grammaticalisation and lexicalisation, clearly some characterisation in independent terms would be preferable. The suggestion advanced here is that the difference can be understood in terms of the interaction of two parameters: that of obligatory expression, and that of morphological boundness. The clearest instances of grammaticalisation satisfy both these criteria (they are obligatory and morphologically bound), the clearest instances of lexicalisation satisfy neither, while there will be many borderline cases which the criteria do not assign unequivocally to grammaticalisation or lexicalisation.[7]

The English past/non-past opposition is a clear instance of a grammaticalised opposition. It is quite impossible to construct an English sentence containing a finite verb that is neutral as between the two poles of this opposition, i.e. *John runs* is clearly non-past, and *John ran* is clearly past, and there is no third term that is neither. Moreover the expression of the distinction is by means of bound morphemes (taken to include morphophonemic alternation, i.e. anything that does not involve a separate word). However, obligatoriness is not in itself a sufficient criterion for assigning an opposition grammatical status. In Norwegian, for instance, expression of the subject by means of a noun phrase is obligatory, as in *jeg kommer* 'I come', *du kommer* 'you come', *han kommer* 'he comes', but it

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6 See further Lyons (1977: 234–237).

7 The definition is thus a prototype definition, rather than a definition in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions. Readers unfamiliar with this distinction should refer to section 1.6.

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would be a gross distortion of the traditional concept to argue that Norwegian thereby has a grammatical category of person and number, since Norwegian verbs, unlike those of English, do not change for the person and number of the subject (cf. English *I come* but *he comes*). The crucial difference between Norwegian and English is that in English the person and number of the subject do have repercussions on the grammar (via the rule of subject–verb agreement), whereas in Norwegian there is no such interaction.

But morphological boundness is not in itself a necessary criterion. In Bamileke-Dschang, for instance, tense is expressed primarily by means of auxiliaries, which are not bound morphemes, as in the distinction between *à kà táŋ'ɔ́* 'he bargained yesterday', *à lè táŋ'ɔ́* 'he bargained some days ago', and *à lè lá² ń'táŋ* 'he bargained a long time ago'.[1] However, although the English glosses use lexical items (like *yesterday*) and lexically composite expressions (like *a long time ago*), in Bamileke-Dschang it is obligatory to make the distinctions outlined above, whereas in English one could refer to all of these situations by saying simply *he bargained*; moreover, the auxiliaries used in the Bamileke-Dschang examples are not separate lexical items, so that one cannot account for the meanings assigned to the sentences above in terms of composition of the meanings of separate lexical items.

The above was an attempt at a definition of the difference between grammaticalisation and lexicalisation, with special reference to location in time. In addition, there is a major distinction between the kinds of location in time concepts that are characteristically grammaticalised, versus those that are characteristically lexicalised. The notions that are most commonly grammaticalised across the languages of the world are simple anteriority, simultaneity, and posteriority, i.e. with the present moment as deictic centre, past, present and future. It is rare to find lexical items with such general semantic characterisations, except for *now* in its relation to the present. While adverbials like English *formerly* might seem a good lexical substitute for the past tense, further investigation shows that their distribution is rather different, in particular *formerly* cannot be used to refer to a single event in the past (i.e. one cannot say *formerly John hit Bill* to mean that on some occasion in the past, John hit Bill) – *formerly* has, in addition to past location in time, also a habitual aspectual component. English expressions like *in the past, in the future*, are merely parasitic on the metalanguage of tense.

Conversely, it is rare to find tenses that are as specific as lexical items with time reference in language, again with the exception of present tense and *now*. While there are some languages with a tense (yesterday past tense)

[1] For the data, see Hyman (1980).

corresponding exactly to the lexical item 'yesterday' (chapter 4), such specificity in the grammatical system is unusual: even in languages with different degrees of remoteness in past and future, the boundaries between the grammatical categories are usually much more fluid than those between lexical items. And no language seems to have a special tense for last year, comparable to the Czech lexical item *loni* mentioned above.

Going beyond the synchronic analysis of languages, another striking piece of evidence for the difference between grammaticalisation and lexicalisation of location of time is that there are hardly any good attestations of grammatical tense marking deriving from lexical items that express time location (whereas there are numerous attestations, for instance, of tense markers deriving from or giving rise to aspect and mood markers). The only examples known to me are the development of tense markers in some Kru languages from time adverbials; the development of a future tense marker *bai, baimbai, bambai*, in New Guinea Pidgin English from the English adverbial *by and by*; and the development of the yesterday past tense suffix *-ngul* from the lexical item *ngul* 'yesterday' in Kalaw Lagaw Ya.[9]

So far, we have spoken of tense as being a grammatical category, but without saying what it is a grammatical category of. In most languages that have tense, tense is indicated on the verb, either by the verb morphology (as with English past *loved* versus non-past *loves*), or by grammatical words adjacent to the verb, as with the auxiliaries referred to above in the Bamileke-Dschang examples. In a few languages, tense marking, or at least some tense marking, takes place in the position reserved for sentence-particles; thus in Warlpiri, tense is indicated as part of the auxiliary complex that stands in sentence-second position.[10] While much traditional grammar regards tense as a category of the verb on the basis of its morphological attachment to the verb, more recently it has been argued that tense should be regarded as a category of the whole sentence, or in logical terms of the whole proposition, since it is the truth-value of the proposition as a whole, rather than just some property of the verb, that must be matched against the state of the world at the appropriate time point.[11]

Even more recently, however, there have been suggestions that the earlier analysis, assigning tense to the verb, may be correct, though for reasons that were not considered by those who set up the original model.[12]

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[9] For Kru languages, see Marchese (1984). For Kalaw Lagaw Ya (Mabuiag dialect), see Bani & Klokeid (1972: 98); note however that the suffix of the Mabuiag last night past tense, *-bungel*, bears no resemblance to the adverbial *kubila* 'last night'.

[10] Hale (1973).

[11] See, for instance, Lyons (1977: 678).

[12] Enç (1981).

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches

JOHN W. CRESWELL

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches

JOHN W. CRESWELL

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA-LINCOLN

However, the criteria for judging a qualitative study differ from quantitative research. First and foremost, the researcher seeks believability, based on coherence, insight and instrumental utility (Eisner, 1991) and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) through a process of verification rather than through traditional validity and reliability measures. [Qualitative characteristics are mentioned.]

The Ethnographic Research Design

This study will utilize the ethnographic research tradition. This design emerged from the field of anthropology, primarily from the contributions of Bronislaw Malinowski, Robert Park and Franz Boas (Jacob, 1987; Kirk & Miller, 1986). The intent of ethnographic research is to obtain a holistic picture of the subject of study with emphasis on portraying the everyday experiences of individuals by observing and interviewing them and relevant others (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990). The ethnographic study includes in-depth interviewing and continual and ongoing participant observation of a situation

(Jacob, 1987) and in attempting to capture the whole picture reveals how people describe and structure their world (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990). [The author used the ethnographic approach.]

The Researcher's Role

Particularly in qualitative research, the role of the researcher as the primary data collection instrument necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study. The investigator's contribution to the research setting can be useful and positive rather than detrimental

(Locke et al., 1987). My perceptions of higher education and the college presidency have been shaped by my personal experiences. From August 1980 to May 1990 I served as a college administrator on private campuses of 600 to 5,000. Most recently (1987-1990), I served as the Dean for Student Life at a small college in the Midwest. As a member of the President's cabinet, I was involved with all top level administrative cabinet activities and decisions and worked closely with the faculty, cabinet officers, president and board of trustees. In addition to reporting to the president, I worked with him through his first year in office. I believe this

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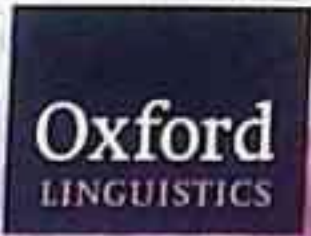
Meaning in Language

An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics

Alan Cruse

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Meaning in Language
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Meaning in Language

An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics

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University of Manchester

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Sentence (46) is subjective, and does not present a conceptual category to the hearer: it expresses an emotional state in much the same way as a cat's purr or a baby's cry. Its validity is restricted to the current state of the speaker: it cannot be put into the past tense. No proposition is expressed: the hearer cannot reply *Are you?* or *That's a lie!* (which are perfectly possible responses to (47)). Sentence (46) is also **prosodically gradable**, in that greater surprise is expressed by both greater volume and greater pitch range. By contrast, (47) expresses a proposition, which can be questioned or denied, and can be expressed equally well by someone else or at a different place or time: *You are surprised* (said by hearer); *He was surprised* (said at a later time). It offers conceptual categories (CURRENT SPEAKER, SURPRISED), under which a given state of affairs can be subsumed. In a sense, of course, (46) and (47) 'mean the same thing', which suggests that the difference between descriptive and expressive meaning is a matter not of semantic quality (area of semantic space), but of mode of signification.

Some words possess only expressive and no descriptive meaning and to these we can assign the term **expletives**:

(48) It's freezing—shut the *bloody* window!
(49) Oh, *hell! Wow! Oops! Ouch!*

Notice that expressive meaning does not contribute to propositional content, so the action requested in (48) would not change if *bloody* were omitted: a bloody window (in this sense) is not a special kind of window.

Some words have both descriptive and expressive meaning:

(50) It was *damn* cold. (cf. *extremely*, which has only descriptive meaning)
(51) Stop *blubbering*. (cf. *crying*)
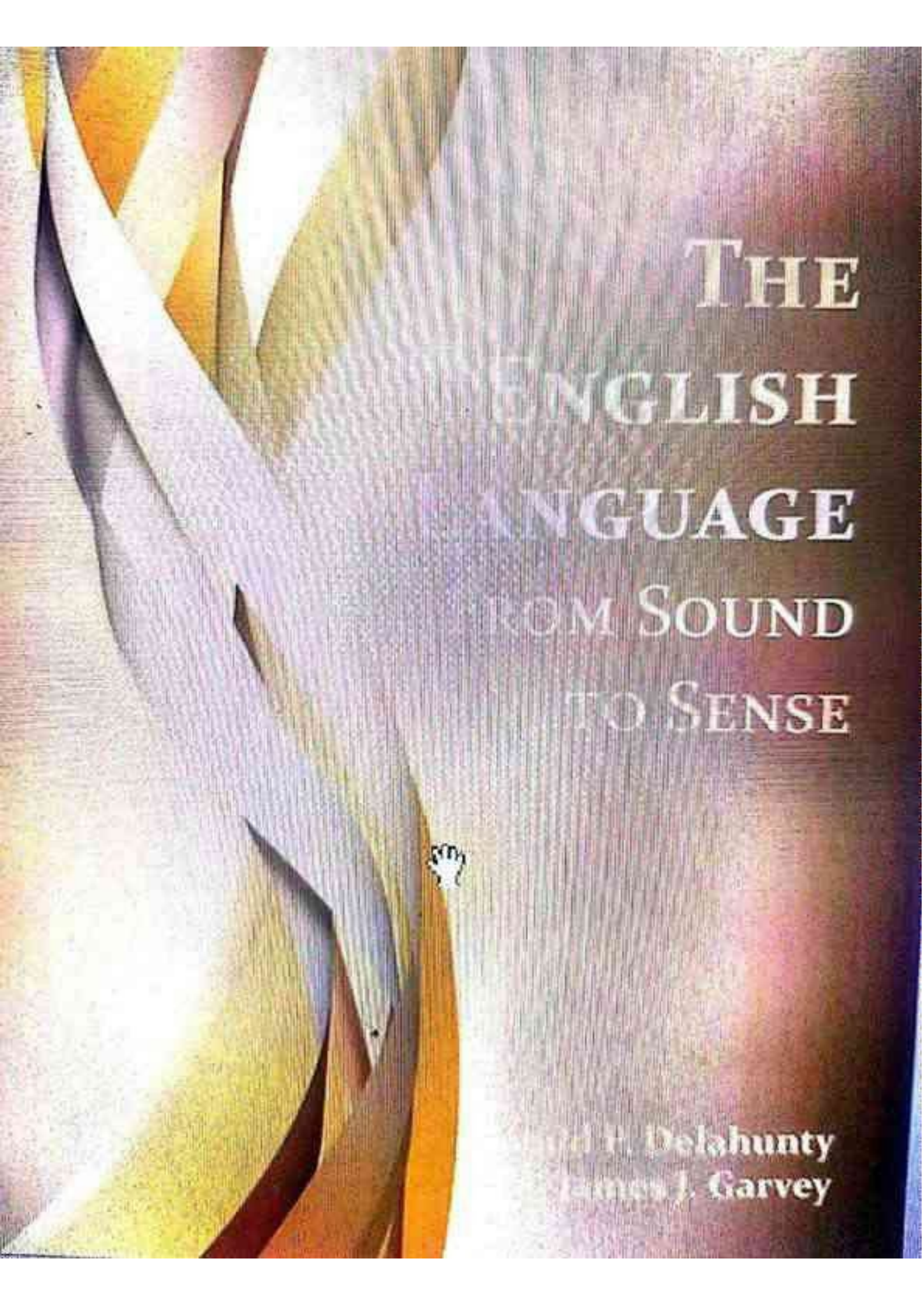
Questions and negatives only operate on the descriptive meaning in such sentences, so, for instance *It wasn't all that cold* in reply to (50) would deny the degree of cold indicated, but would not call into question the speaker's expressed feelings. Evaluative meaning has a variable status: sometimes it seems to be propositional:

(52) A: Don't read that—it's a rag.
     B: No, it isn't, it's a jolly good paper.

There is no doubt that *rag* expresses contempt for the newspaper in question, but B's reply is not at all odd, which suggests that there is also an element of objective conceptualization. In the set *horse, nag, steed*, my intuitions are that the difference between *horse* and *steed* is purely expressive (you can't say: *It's not a steed, it's just a horse*), but the difference between *horse* and *nag* is propositional/descriptive.

The expressive words we have considered so far cannot be used unexpressively. However, some words seem to be potentially, but not necessarily

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

FROM SOUND TO SENSE

Gerald P. Delahunty

James J. Garvey

The English Language
From Sound to Sense

Gerald P. Delahunty
James J. Garvey

Some fragments may be perfectly appropriate in certain contexts, for example, as answers to questions:

What animals purr? *Cats.*
What do tigers eat? *Meat.*
What is Bill Gates fighting for? *For the rights of all capitalism.*

Exercise

For each expression below, say whether it is a sentence or a fragment. Explain how you decided. For example, *Lipitor reduces the risk of stroke.* (Sentence because it includes both subject [*Lipitor*] and predicate [*reduces the risk of stroke*]). *About Lipitor.* (Fragment because it has no main verb and therefore no subject and predicate).

   a. The Jacket has a fully adjustable hood.
   b. All seams are tape-sealed.
   c. Fully waterproof, full of features.
   d. Breathable Nylon Rainwear—lightweight, packable, affordable.
   e. That is Land's End Rainwear.
   f. Both the Jacket and Pants come with a stuff sack.
   g. Sized to fit over light layers.
   h. The Pants have a full mesh lining, an elastic waist with drawcord, two side pockets, and side ankle zips.
   i. Imported.

(Adapted from Land's End Catalog The Real Stuff February 1999, p. 49.)

Sentences come in a variety of shapes and sizes. Some consist of only a single clause. That is, they are **simple sentences** and have only one main verb, one subject, and one predicate, though they may include modifiers of various sorts. A useful way to begin identifying clauses in sentences is to count main verbs. For each main verb there will be a clause.

Linguists write slowly.
Dogs chase cats.
Peter O'Neill is missing.
Cyclists should always wear bike helmets.

Other sentences are **coordinate** (a.k.a. **compound**) because they combine two or more clauses or smaller sentences within them by connecting them with *and, but,* or *or*:

[Dogs chase cats] *but* [cats chase mice].

[Elizabeth Bowen lived between England and Ireland all her life] *and* [her death marked the end of the Anglo-Irish literary tradition].

Complex sentences also contain two or more clauses, but at least one of them is **subordinate** to another in the sense that it plays a grammatical role such as subject, object, or modifier in the larger sentence. Clauses that function as objects are often referred to as **complement clauses**. In the following examples the subordinate sentence is italicized and its role is given in parentheses:

That this is a witty and entertaining book does not justify its high price. (Subject)

Oscar thinks *that Lady Bracknell is a fine creation.* (Object/Complement)

To improve your stamina, jog five miles every day. (Modifier)

I read your short story, *although you asked me not to.* (Modifier)

While researching the history of the castle, Robertson unearthed one of the great scandals of twentieth century Scotland. (Modifier)

If you think carefully about it, language is extraordinarily complex. (Modifier)

When you leave, shut the door behind you. (Modifier)

Exercise

1. For each of the following sentences say whether it is simple, compound/coordinate, or complex. For example, *Tony was eating dinner when the police barged in.* Complex because it contains a main clause (*Tony was eating dinner*) and a subordinate clause (*when the police barged in*).

   a. A nice seasonal note emerged from the Vatican.
   b. Three of the curia's computers are known as Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel.
   c. Raphael maintains what is known as a firewall and it protects the Pope's website from hackers.
   d. We thank you for your custom throughout 2002 and we look forward to your patronage again in 2003.

    f. My culture is very difference from yours.

    g. His grades proof that he is a hard worker.

    h. The T-shirt that China drawing. (from a T-shirt package from China)

In general terms, briefly discuss what English language learners must learn in order to avoid such errors.

3. Some native speakers of English use forms such as *seen* instead of *saw*, *come* instead of *came*, *aks* instead of *ask*, *clumb* instead of *climbed*, *drug* instead of *dragged*, *growed* instead of *grew*. Are these errors? If they are, are they the same kinds of errors made by the non-native speakers of English listed in Exercise 2? If not, what are they?

WORDS AND MORPHEMES

In traditional grammar, words are the basic units of analysis. Grammarians classify words according to their parts of speech and identify and list the forms that words can show up in. Although the matter is really very complex, for the sake of simplicity we will begin with the assumption that we are all generally able to distinguish words from other linguistic units. It will be sufficient for our initial purposes if we assume that words are the main units used for entries in dictionaries. In a later section, we will briefly describe some of their distinctive characteristics.

Words are potentially complex units, composed of even more basic units, called morphemes. A **morpheme** is the smallest part of a word that has grammatical function or meaning (NB not the smallest unit of meaning); we will designate them in braces—{ }. For example, *sawed, sawn, sawing,* and *saws* can all be analyzed into the morphemes {saw} + {-ed}, {-n}, {-ing}, and {-s}, respectively. None of these last four can be further divided into meaningful units and each occurs in many other words, such as *looked, mown, coughing, bakes.*

{Saw} can occur on its own as a word; it does not have to be attached to another morpheme. It is a **free morpheme.** However, none of the other morphemes listed just above is free. Each must be **affixed** (attached) to some other unit; each can only occur as a part of a word. Morphemes that must be attached as word parts are said to be **bound.**

Exercise

1. Identify the free morphemes in the following words:

series of English verbs (e.g., *The building may have collapsed*). In addition, auxiliaries can be inverted in questions (e.g., *Will the building collapse?*), while main verbs cannot (e.g., *Collapsed the building?*).

Just as we did with nouns, we use formal analytic tests to determine which words are verbs. English verbs potentially allow four inflections:

a. 3rd person singular present tense (spelled -s or -es and pronounced /s/, /z/, and /ɪz/ or /əz/).
   We symbolize verbs with this inflection as **Vs**.
   For example, *Harris bakes strudel regularly*.

b. Past tense (in regular verbs, spelled -d or -ed and pronounced /t/, /d/, and /ɪd/ or /əd/).
   We symbolize verbs with this inflection as **Ved**.
   For example, *Harris baked strudel last night*.

c. Ing-form (spelled -ing and pronounced /ɪŋ/).
   We symbolize verbs with this inflection as **Ving**; it normally occurs with a form of the auxiliary verb *be*, or with a similar verb.
   For example, *Harris is baking strudel*.

d. En-form (in regular verbs, spelled and pronounced identically to the past tense).
   We symbolize verbs with this inflection as **Ven**; it normally occurs with the auxiliary verb *have* to create the **perfect** aspect, or with forms of *be* to create **passive** sentences.
   For example, *Harris has baked/eaten strudel*. (Perfect aspect sentence.)
   For example, *Harris was pursued/eaten by a lion*. (Passive sentence.)

TABLE 3: VERB INFLECTIONS

Using these inflectional possibilities, we can create a test for verbhood:

ANALYTIC TEST 4. *A word may be a verb if it can take some or all of the four types of verb inflections: Vs, Ved, Ving, Ven.*

Traditionally, Ving is called the **present participle**. When this form occurs with a form of the auxiliary *be*, it is part of the **progressive aspect**, which typically denotes an activity in progress, as in *Harris is baking*. As a marker of the progressive, [-ing] is usually regarded as an inflection. However, Ving also occurs in structures traditionally known as **gerunds**, e.g., *Parting is such sweet sorrow*. When [-ing] is part of a gerund, it is regarded as a derivational morpheme because its addition causes a change in part

Prof. Dr. Hj. T. FATIMAH DJAJASUDARMA

SEMANTIK 1

Makna Leksikal dan Gramatikal

ADITAMA

Sebagai gejala budaya, bahasa bersifat dinamis, bahasa tumbuh dan berkembang sejalan dengan meningkatnya kemajemukan persepsi manusia terhadap makrokosmos (dunia sekitarnya) dan mikrokosmos (dunia pribadinya). Gejala ini tidak didapati pada makhluk lain. Nama-nama bila diperhatikan tidak hanya nama benda atau peristiwa yang di sekitarnya ada yang berubah, nama baru (kosa kata baru) pun muncul dari zaman ke zaman. Unsur nama-nama (kosa kata) adalah unsur bahasa yang paling labil. Perhatikanlah kata-kata berikut dengan pergeseran, pertahanan, dan perkembangan maknanya, antara lain:

(1) Akibat peristiwa dunia:
   1. negosiasi
   2. Malvinas
   3. perang bintang, dst.

(2) Akibat kemajuan teknologi:
   1. televisi
   2. komputer
   3. satelit, dst.

Masalah yang timbul apakah kita akan bertahan, bergeser, atau berkembang dari khazanah lingkungan sendiri, bila kita mendapat sesuatu yang baru, atau sesuai dengan kata **Marah Rusli**, "Memang kurang baik membuang yang lama karena mendapat yang baru. Tetapi, ada di antara adat dan aturan lama itu, yang sesungguhnya baik pada zaman dahulu, tetapi kurang baik atau tak berguna lagi waktu sekarang ini. Adalah halnya seperti pakaian tatkala mula-mula dibeli, boleh dan baik dipakai, tetapi makin lama ia makin tua dan lapuk, akhirnya koyak-koyak, tak dapat dipergunakan lagi .... Demikian juga adat itu, bertukar-tukar menurut zaman. Walaupun tiada disengaja menukarnya, ia 'kan berganti juga, sebab tak ada yang tetap. Sekali air pasang, sekali tepian beralih ...." (Siti Nurbaya).

Pendapat tersebut menyatakan bahwa tidak hanya adat, kata-kata (nama-nama) pun bisa berubah, sesuai dengan hukum alam.

"pemotongan".

(2) Faktor gramatikal. Misalnya *pemukul* dapat bermakna "alat yang digunakan untuk memukul" atau bermakna "orang yang memukul". *orang tua* "ibu-bapak" atau "orang yang sudah tua".

(b) Faktor leksikal yang dapat bersumber dari:

(a) Sebuah kata yang mengalami perubahan penggunaan sehingga memperoleh makna baru. Misalnya kata *makan* yang berhubungan dengan kegiatan manusia atau binatang, kini dapat berhubungan dengan benda atau binatang, kini dapat berhubungan dengan benda tak bernyawa (misalnya *makan angin, makan riba, tak bernyawa, dimakan api, ternya tidak makan, makan batu, makan lawan, makan keringat orang, makan malam, makan sogok, makan tangan*, dan seterusnya).

(b) Sebuah kata yang digunakan pada lingkungan yang berbeda. Misalnya kata *operasi* bagi dokter "bedah", "bedah" untuk mengobati penyakit, bagi militer "gerakan militer". Misalnya, "Jenderal Suharto memimpin *operasi* penumpasan G-30-S". Sekarang muncul *operasi kebersihan, operasi sapu jagat*.

(c) Karena manusia pandai berandai-andai, atau akibat adanya *metafora*. Misalnya kata *mata* "alat untuk melihat", karena kesamaan makna maka muncul makna "sesuatu yang menjadi pusat, yang di tengah-tengah atau yang mempunyai mata". Bandingkanlah.

mata acara (bagian dari acara)

mata air (sumber air)

mata anggaran (bagian tertentu dari anggaran belanja)

mata angin (arah panah pedoman)

mata bajak (besi tajam pada bajak)

mata buta (buta huruf)

mata pita (pengintai; penonjol)

mata jauh (tahun dekat — hanya dapat melihat dari jarak jauh)

mata kucing (sebutan buta permata, dari warna serta warnanya, nama tumbuhan — pokok & buahnya)

mata keranjang (ruas yang selalu terbuka, mata melihat lawan jenisnya)

dsb.

(4) Faktor pengaruh bahasa asing. Misalnya kata *butir* digunakan untuk menggantikan kata *umur* atau dari bahasa Inggris *item*, dan *butir* bermakna "barang yang kecil-kecil seperti beras, intan". "pemotong bilangan untuk barang yang bulat-bulat atau kecil-kecil". "salah satu bagian dari keseluruhan"; "perincian". Dengan demikian yang digunakan adalah makna yang terakhir, yang berpadanan dengan *item* (point).

Perkembangan polisemi dapat digambarkan secara bergelombang, sebagai berikut:
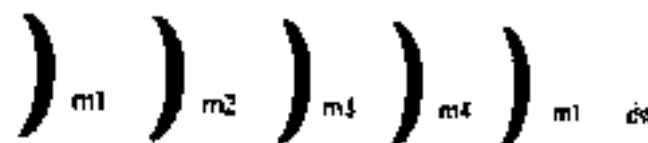
Karena perkembangan pikiran manusia maka berubah secara bergelombang. Makna dasar suatu kata berkembang bertambah atau berubah akibat pola pikir pemakai bahasa yang berkembang sesuai dengan kemajuan zaman. Karena tuntutan perkembangan zaman, manusia memerlukan kata-kata baru sebagai alat untuk menyatakan pikiran, perasaan, dan keinginannya. Hal tersebut dapat diatasi dengan cara:

(1) Menciptakan kata baru (misalnya *latar belakang* "serba balik")

(2) Menggali kata lama yang tidak dipakai lagi misalnya *takta* "mengendalikan", "mengaturkan"; *agung* "untuk", "milik"

CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

AND THE

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13. Contrastive Analysis as a Predictor of Errors, with Reference to Punjabi Learners of English[1]

Howard Jackson

City of Birmingham Polytechnic

1. Contrastive analysis

Contrastive linguistics is a branch of linguistics which seeks to compare (the sounds, grammars and vocabularies of) two languages with the aim of describing the similarities and differences between them. Such a description may be carried out for its own sake, or its purpose may be to contribute to the task of foreign-language teaching. Contrastive analysis is the technique associated with contrastive linguistics, and it may be defined as: 'a systematic comparison of selected linguistic features of two or more languages, the intent of which is...to provide teachers and textbook writers with a body of information which can be of service in the preparation of instructional materials, the planning of courses, and the development of classroom techniques' (Hammer and Rice, 1965).

The aim of this paper is to explore the nature of the information that contrastive analysis can be reasonably expected to provide, and to suggest why this information should be useful to the teacher of English as a second language.

2. The claims of contrastive analysis

Contrastive linguistics developed in the 1950s in America out of the behaviourist inclined second-language learning theories and foreign-language programmes of the time. The notions of 'transfer' and 'interference' were borrowed from psychological learning theory and applied to second-language learning. If a structure to be learned in

4. Why contrastive analysis should be useful in the English as a second language teaching situation

Because of the situation outlined above, it is my contention that contrastive analysis, although it did not deliver the goods for the traditional foreign-language teaching situation for which it was designed, can be more useful to the teacher of English as a second language. For traditional foreign-language teaching it was said that a competent or experienced teacher would be able to predict and explain his students' errors without the help of contrastive analysis; and this was undoubtedly true in a significant number of cases. Familiarity with both languages, and the experience of having learned the foreign language himself anyway, would provide the competent foreign-language teacher with the basis for understanding interference errors in his students' target language performance.

Since the teacher of English as a second language does not usually have competence in both the mother tongue and target language of his students and does not have the experience of having learned English as a foreign language, he does not have the basic knowledge with which to understand the interference errors of his students, or even to detect which errors are caused by interference from the mother tongue and which are from other sources. It seems to me that contrastive analysis can provide this information to the ESL teacher. Contrastive analysis will predict areas of potential error and explain actually occurring errors which are caused by interference from the mother tongue of the learner. This information should help the teacher of English as a second language understand, and then perhaps more readily remedy at least some of the errors of his students caused in this way.

5. Examples from a contrastive analysis of Punjabi/English²

(i) One clear difference between the grammars of Punjabi and English is with words like 'in', 'on', 'to', 'at'; in English these words are prepositions, they come before the noun or noun phrase to which they refer; in Punjabi these words are postpositions, they come after the noun or noun phrase to which they refer. So, 'in the garden' in

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classical languages Greek and Latin had fairly rich morphological patterns that were difficult for speakers of the modern European languages.

This is also the reason why it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the term *morphology* was invented and became current. Earlier there was no need for a special term, because the term *grammar* mostly evoked word structure, i.e. morphology. The terms *phonology* (for sound structure) and *syntax* (for sentence structure) had existed for centuries when the term *morphology* was introduced. Thus, in this sense morphology is a young discipline.

Our initial definition of morphology, as the study of the internal structure of words, needs some qualification, because words have internal structure in two very different senses. On the one hand, they are made up of sequences of sounds (or gestures in sign language), i.e. they have internal phonological structure. Thus, the English word *nuts* consists of the four sounds (or, as we will say, *phonological segments*) [nʌts]. In general, phonological segments such as [n] or [t] cannot be assigned a specific meaning – they have a purely contrastive value (so that, for instance, *nuts* can be distinguished from *cuts*, *guts*, *shuts*, from *nets*, *notes*, *nights*, and so on).

But often formal variations in the shapes of words correlate systematically with semantic changes. For instance, the words *nuts*, *nights*, *necks*, *backs*, *taps* (and so on) share not only a phonological segment (the final [s]), but also a semantic component: they all refer to a multiplicity of entities from the same class. And, if the final [s] is lacking (*nut*, *night*, *neck*, *back*, *tap*), reference is made consistently to only one such entity. By contrast, the words *blitz*, *box*, *lapse* do not refer to a multiplicity of entities, and there are no semantically related words **blit*, **bok*, **lap*.[1] We will call words like *nuts* '(morphologically) complex words'.

In a morphological analysis, we would say that the final [s] of *nuts* expresses plural meaning when it occurs at the end of a noun. But the final [s] in *lapse* does not have any meaning, and *lapse* does not have morphological structure. Thus, morphological structure exists if there are groups of words that show identical partial resemblances in both form and meaning. Morphology can be defined as in Definition 1.

Definition 1:
Morphology is the study of systematic covariation in the form and meaning of words.

It is important that this form–meaning covariation occurs systematically in groups of words. When there are just two words with partial form–meaning resemblances, these may be merely accidental. Thus, one would

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[1] The asterisk symbol (*) is used to mark nonexistent or impossible expressions.

not say that the word *hear* is morphologically structured and related to *ear*. Conceivably, *h* could mean 'use', so *h-ear* would be 'use one's ear', i.e. 'hear'. But this is the only pair of words of this kind (there is no *heye* 'use one's eye', *helbow* 'use one's elbow', etc.), and everyone agrees that the resemblances are accidental in this case.

Morphological analysis typically consists of the identification of parts of words, or, more technically, constituents of words. We can say that the word *nuts* consists of two constituents: the element *nut* and the element *s*. In accordance with a widespread typographical convention, we will often separate word constituents by a hyphen: *nut-s*. It is often suggested that morphological analysis primarily consists in breaking up words into their parts and establishing the rules that govern the co-occurrence of these parts. The smallest meaningful constituents of words that can be identified are called morphemes. In *nut-s*, both *-s* and *nut* are morphemes. Other examples of words consisting of two morphemes would be *break-ing*, *hope-less*, *re-write*, *cheese-board*; words consisting of three morphemes are *re-writ-ing*, *hope-less-ness*, *ear-plug-s*; and so on. Thus, morphology could alternatively be defined as in Definition 2.

Definition 2:
Morphology is the study of the combination of morphemes to yield words.

This definition looks simpler and more concrete than Definition 1. It would make morphology quite similar to syntax, which is usually defined as 'the study of the combination of words to yield sentences'. However, we will see later that Definition 2 does not work in all cases, so we should stick to the somewhat more abstract Definition 1 (see especially Chapters 3 and 4).

In addition to its main sense, where morphology refers to a subdiscipline of linguistics, it is also often used in a closely related sense, to denote a part of the language system. Thus, we can speak of 'the morphology of Spanish' (meaning Spanish word structures) or of 'morphology in the 1980s' (meaning a subdiscipline of linguistics). The term *morphology* shares this ambiguity with other terms such as *syntax*, *phonology* and *grammar*, which may also refer either to a part of the language or to the study of that part of the language. This book is about morphology in both senses. We hope that it will help the reader to understand morphology both as a part of the language system and as a part of linguistics.

One important limitation of the present book should be mentioned right at the beginning: it deals only with spoken languages. Sign languages of course have morphology as well, and the only justification for leaving them out of consideration here is the authors' limited competence. As more and more research is done on sign languages, it can be expected that these

British system) or even a kind of book. By contrast, the properties of word-forms are mostly predictable and hence do not need to be listed separately for each lexeme.

Thus, there are two rather different kinds of morphological relationship among words, for which two technical terms are commonly used:

(2.5) Kinds of morphological relationship

inflection (= inflectional morphology): the relationship between word-forms of a lexeme

derivation (= derivational morphology): the relationship between lexemes of a word family

Morphologists also use the corresponding verbs *inflect* and *derive*. For instance, one would say that the Latin lexeme INSULA is inflected (or inflects) for case and number, and that the lexeme READER is derived from the lexeme READ. A derived lexeme is also called a derivative.

(Note that we are making a terminological simplification here: a lexeme is an abstract entity without phonological form so, strictly speaking, one lexeme cannot be derived from another. When morphologists talk about *derived lexemes*, they mean that form *a* (e.g. *reader*), corresponding to lexeme A (READER), is derived from form *b* (*read*), corresponding to lexeme B (READ). However, since this phrasing becomes quite clumsy, morphologists commonly simplify the terminology. We will do the same in this book.)

It is not always easy to tell how word-forms are grouped into lexemes. For instance, does the word-form *nicely* belong to the lexeme NICE, or does it represent a lexeme of its own (NICELY), which is in the same word family as NICE? Issues of this sort will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 5. Whenever it is unclear or irrelevant whether two words are inflectionally or derivationally related, the term *word* will be used in this book instead of *lexeme* or *word-form*. And for the same reason even the most technical writings on morphology often continue to use the term *word*.

Some morphologically complex words belong to two (or more) word families simultaneously. For instance, the lexeme FIREWOOD belongs both in the family of FIRE and in the family of WOOD. Such relationships are called **compounding**, and lexemes like FIREWOOD are called **compound lexemes**, or just **compounds**, for short. Compounding is often grouped together with derivation under the category of word formation (i.e. lexeme formation). The various conceptual distinctions that we have seen so far are summarized in Figure 2.1.
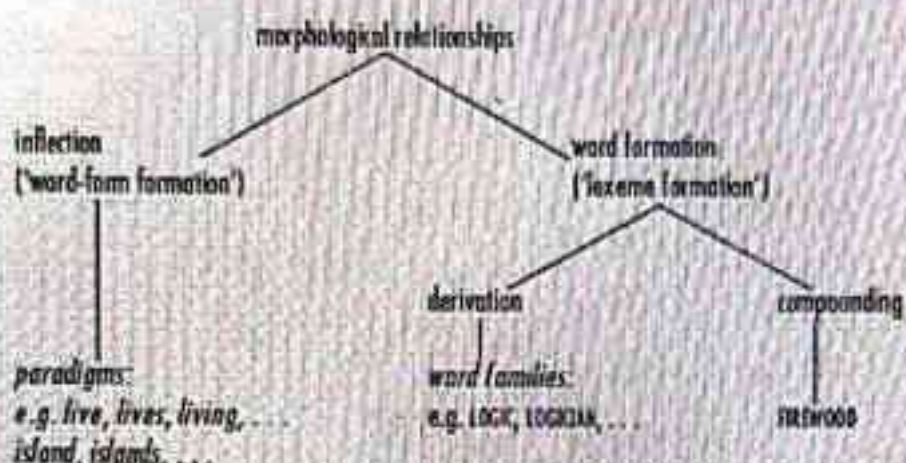
Figure 2.1 Subdivisions of morphology

2.2 Affixes, bases and roots

In both inflection and derivation, morphemes have various kinds of meanings. Some meanings are very concrete and can be described easily (e.g. the meanings of the morphemes *wash, logic, chameleon, un-*), but other meanings are abstract and more difficult to describe. For instance, the morpheme *-al* in *logic-al* can perhaps be said to mean 'relating to' (cf. *logic-al, mathematic-al, physic-al, natur-al*), *-able* in *read-able* can be said to mean 'capable of undergoing a process', and the meaning of *-ity* is 'quality' (e.g. *readability* is 'the quality of being readable'). Some meanings are so abstract that they can hardly be called meanings. For example, the Latin morpheme *-m* in *insula-m* (see (2.3)) serves to mark the direct object in a sentence, but it is difficult to say what its meaning is. And English *-s* in *read-s* is required when the subject is a third person singular noun phrase, but again it is unclear whether it can be said to have meaning. In such cases, linguists are more comfortable saying that these morphemes have certain *grammatical functions*. But, since the ultimate purpose of grammatical constructions is to express meaning, we will continue to say that morphemes bear meaning, even when that meaning is very abstract and can be identified only in the larger grammatical context.

Word-forms in an inflectional paradigm generally share (at least) one longer morpheme with a concrete meaning and are distinguished from each other in that they additionally contain different shorter morphemes, called affixes. An **affix** attaches to a word or a main part of a word. It usually has an abstract meaning, and an affix cannot occur by itself. For instance, Russian nouns have different affixes in the paradigm in (2.6), which have case meaning (*-a* for nominative, *-u* for accusative, etc.), and Classical Nahuatl nouns have different affixes in the paradigm in (2.7) that indicate a possessor (*no-* for 'my', *mo-* for 'your', etc.).

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5 Deixis

STEPHEN C. LEVINSON

For those who treat language as a generative system for objectively describing the world, deixis is a big black fly in the ointment. Deixis introduces subjective, attentional, intentional and, of course, context-dependent properties into natural languages. Further, it is a much more pervasive feature of languages than normally recognized. This complicates a tidy treatment within formal theories of semantics and pragmatics. Deixis is also critical for our ability to learn a language, which philosophers for centuries have linked to the possibility of ostensive definition. Despite this theoretical importance, deixis is one of the most empirically understudied core areas of pragmatics; we are far from understanding its boundaries and have no adequate cross-linguistic typology of deictic expression.

This article does not attempt to review either all the relevant theory (see, e.g., the collections in Davis 1991, section III, or Kasher 1998, vol. III) or all of what is known about deictic systems in the world's languages (see, e.g., Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel 1999). Rather, I attempt to pinpoint some of the most tantalizing theoretical and descriptive problems, to sketch the way in which the subject interacts with other aspects of pragmatics, and to illustrate the kind of advances that could be made with further empirical work.

A word on terminology: I will use the terms DEIXIS and INDEXICALITY largely co-extensively – they reflect different traditions (see Bühler 1934 and Peirce in Buchler 1940) and have become associated with linguistic and philosophical approaches respectively. But I will make this distinction: indexicality will be used to label the broader phenomena of contextual dependency and deixis the narrower linguistically relevant aspects of indexicality.

1 Indexicality in Communication and Thought

Students of linguistic systems tend to treat language as a disembodied representational system essentially independent of current circumstances, that is, a

system for describing states of affairs in which we individually may have no involvement. It is these linguistic properties that have been the prime target of formal semantics and many philosophical approaches – and not without good reason, as they appear to be the exclusive province of human communication. The communication systems of other primates have none of this "displacement," as Hockett (1958: 579) called it. For example, vervet monkeys produce four kinds of alarm calls, signaling snake, big cat, big primate, or bird of prey. But when the vervet signals BIG PRIMATE, it goes without saying that it means RIGHT HERE, RIGHT NOW, RUN! Indexicality is an intrinsic property of the signals, an essential part of their adaptive role in an evolutionary perspective on communication – animals squeak and squawk because they need to draw attention to themselves or to some intruder (Hauser 1997).

The question naturally arises, then, whether in studying indexicality in natural languages we are studying archaic, perhaps primitive, aspects of human communication, which can perhaps even give us clues to the evolution of human language. Jackendoff (1999) has argued that some aspects of language may be residues from ancient human communication systems, but he curiously omits deictics from the list. There would be reasons for caution, because indexicality in human communication has some special properties. For example, take the prototypical demonstrative accompanied by the typical pointing gesture – there seems to be no phylogenetic continuity here at all, since apes don't point (Kita in press). Secondly, unlike the vervet calls, demonstrative can referentially identify – as in *that* particular big primate, not *this* one. More generally, one can say that whereas other animals communicate **presupposing** (in a non-technical sense) the "here and now," as in vervet alarm calls, humans communicate by **asserting** the (non-)relevance of the "here and now." Thirdly, even our nearest animal cousins lack the complex, reflexive modeling of their partners' attentional states, which is an essential ingredient in selective indexical reference – this is why apes cannot "read" a pointing gesture (Povinelli et al. in press).

But if the phylogenetic continuities seem to be missing, perhaps the ontogenetic priority of deixis will be clear. Indeed, human infants invariably seem to point before they speak (see E. Clark 1978, Butterworth 1998, Haviland in press), although we have little cross-cultural evidence here. Philosophers have long taken indexicality as the route into reference – as John Stuart Mill argued, how could you learn a proper name except by presentation of the referent? The view was refined by Russell, who made the distinction between what he called logically proper names (*I, this*), which require such ostensive learning, and disguised descriptions, like *Aristotle*, which assertedly don't. Linguists have argued similarly that deixis is the source of reference, i.e. deictic reference is ontogenetically primary to other kinds (Lyons 1975). But the actual facts concerning the acquisition of deictic expressions point a different picture, for the acquisition of many aspects of deixis is quite delayed (Tanz 1980, Wales 1986), and even though demonstratives figure early, they are often not used correctly (see Clark 1978). This is hardly surprising because, from the

infant's point of view, deixis is as confusing as a hall of mirrors: my "I" is your "you," my "this" your "that," my "here" your "there," and so forth. The demonstratives aren't used correctly in English until well after the pronouns *I* and *you*, or indeed after deictic *in front of/in back of*, not until the age of about four (Tanz 1980: 145).

Apart from this oscillation of point of view, there's another reason that deixis in language isn't as simple as a vervet monkey call signaling BIG PRIMATE RIGHT HERE NOW! The deictic system in language is embedded in a context-independent descriptive system, in such a way that the two systems produce a third that is not reducible to either. To use Peirce's terminology, we have an intersection of the indexical plane into the symbolic one – it's a folding back of the primitive existential indexical relation into symbolic reference, so that we end up with something much more complex on both planes. On the one hand, symbolic reference is relativized to time, place, speaker, and so on, so that *John will speak next* is true now, not later, and on the other, indexical reference is mediated by symbolic meaning, so that *this book* can't be used to point to this mug.

The true semantical complexity of this emergent hybrid system is demonstrated by the well-known paradoxes of self-reference essentially introduced by indexical reference. Consider the liar paradoxes of the Cretan variety, as in *This sentence is false*, which is true only if it is false, and false only if it is true: the paradox resides in what Reichenbach called TOKEN-REFLEXIVITY, which he considered to be the essence of indexical expressions. There is still no definitive solution to paradoxes of this sort, which demonstrates the inadequacy of our current metalinguistic apparatus (but see Barwise and Etchemendy 1987 for a recent analysis invoking the Austinian notion of a proposition, which involves an intrinsic indexical component).

Indexical reference also introduces complexities into the relation between semantics and cognition – that is, between, on the one hand, what sentences mean and what we mean when we say them and, on the other hand, the corresponding thoughts they express. The idea that the relation between meaning and thought is transparent and direct has figured in many branches of linguistic inquiry, from Whorfian linguistics to Ordinary Language Philosophy. But as Frege (1918: 24) pointed out almost a century ago, indexicals are a major problem for this presumption. He was finally led to say that demonstratives, in particular the pronoun *I*, express thoughts that are incommunicable! Frege found that demonstratives introduced some special problems for the theoretical stance he wanted to adopt (see Perry 1977 for explication), but the general issue is easily appreciated.

The question is: what exactly corresponds in thought to the content of a deictically anchored sentence? For example, what exactly do I remember when I remember the content of an indexical utterance? Suppose I say, sweating it out in Clinton Hall at UCLA,

(1) It's warm here now.

and suppose the corresponding thought is just plain "It's warm here now." When I recollect that thought walking in Murmansk in February, I will then be thinking something false, something that does not correspond to the rival Murmansk thought, namely "It's bone-chilling cold here now." So in some way the sentence meaning with its deictics must be translated into a deicticless UCLA-specific thought. A candidate would be:

(2) It be warm (over 30 °C) at 3.00 p.m. on July 6, 2001 in room 327 in Clinton Hall on the UCLA campus.

Then when I inspect this thought in Murmansk in February it will look just as true as it did on July 6, 2001 in Clinton Hall. But unfortunately, this doesn't seem to correspond to the psychological reality at all – that's just not what I thought! I might not even know the name of the building, let alone the room number, and perhaps I have failed to adjust my watch for jet lag and so think it is July 7. So we cannot cash out indexicals into absolute space/time coordinates and retain the subjective content of the thought corresponding to the utterance (1). Well, what if the corresponding thought is just "It is warm here now" but somehow tagged with the time and place at which I thought it? Then walking in Murmansk I would think "In the first week of July somewhere on the UCLA campus I had the thought 'It is warm here now'." That seems subjectively on the right track, but now we are into deep theoretical water, because now the language of thought has indexicals, and in order to interpret THEM we would need all the apparatus we employed to map contexts into propositions that we need in linguistics but now reproduced in the *lingua mentalis*, with a little homunculus doing all the metalinguistic work. Worse, when we ultimately cash out the indexicals of thought into a non-indexical mental metalanguage of thought to get the proposition expressed, we will have lost the subjective content again (or alternatively, we will have an infinite regression of indexical languages). So we haven't reduced the problem at all.

So what does correspond to the thought underlying an indexical sentence? The source of the conundrum seems once again to be the peculiar hybrid symbolic/indexical nature of language – it seems easy enough (in the long run anyway) to model the objective content of symbolic expressions on the one hand and pure indexical signals like vervet monkey calls on the other, but something peculiar happens when you combine the two.

2 The Challenge of Indexicality

Deixis is the study of deictic or indexical expressions in language, like *you, now, today*. It can be regarded as a special kind of grammatical property instantiated in the familiar categories of person, tense, place, etc. In what follows, I adhere to this conservative division of the deictic field, because there is much to be said about how linguistic expressions build in properties for contextual

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morphology? This book will address these issues in depth. Here we only attempt to give you a flavour of one of the issues to be explored.

There are morphological processes that are similar to syntactic processes. For instance, certain adjectives that describe periods in history, such as *industrial*, can have the prefix *post-* before them as in *post-industrial*. Furthermore, given the adjective *post-industrial*, we can place another *post-* before it to yield *post-post-industrial*. Clearly, the word-formation process we witness here is recursive. We have the rule attaching *post-* to a word reapplying to its own output. This raises an interesting question: if morphological rules that build words are similar to syntactic rules that build sentences, what reason is there for assuming that morphology is essentially different from syntax?

Before we go any further we need to clarify the terms **grammar** and **rule of grammar**. These terms are used by linguists in at least four distinct senses. First, in generative linguistics 'grammar' can refer to the implicit, totally unarticulated knowledge of rules and principles of their language that people have in their heads. This tacit knowledge enables them to distinguish between well-formed and ill-formed words and utterances in their language. For example, many English speakers may not be able to explain in an articulate manner why it is 'correct' to say *a grain* but 'incorrect' to say **a oat*. (An asterisk indicates a disallowed or ungrammatical form.) Nevertheless, their knowledge of English grammatical structure enables them to determine that the former is correct and the latter is not.

Second, whereas in traditional approaches 'grammar' only includes morphology and syntax, in generative linguistics the term 'grammar' is employed in a much wider sense. It covers not only morphology and syntax but also semantics, the lexicon and phonology. Hence, there are rules of grammar in every linguistic module. Phonological rules, morphological rules, syntactic rules and semantic rules are all regarded as rules of grammar.

Third, grammar and rules of grammar may refer to a book containing a statement of the rules and principles inferred by linguists to lie behind the linguistic behaviour of speakers of a particular language. These rules simply describe regular patterns observed in the linguistic data.

Lastly, some grammars are books containing prescriptive statements. Such grammars contain rules that *prescribe* certain kinds of usage. Outside linguistics, this view of grammar is still prevalent. The reason for this is clear. In everyday life, rules are normally mechanisms for regulating behaviour — the behaviour of pupils in a school, members of a club, inmates of a prison, etc. In many traditional pedagogical grammars, rules serve the same purpose. They are statements like 'A sentence must not end with a preposition.' They prescribe what the 'officially or socially approved' usage is — in the opinion of the grammarian.

In much of modern linguistics, however, rules have a different function. They are not prescriptions of behaviour that the grammarian imposes on

we were counting the number of words in a passage, we would gladly count *see, sees, seeing, saw* and *seen* as five different word-forms (belonging to the same lexeme).

2.1.3 The Grammatical Word

The 'word' can also be seen as a representation of a lexeme that is associated with certain morphosyntactic properties (i.e., partly morphological and partly syntactic properties) such as noun, adjective, verb, tense, gender, number, etc. We shall use the term **grammatical word** to refer to the 'word' in this sense.

Exercise

Show why *cut* should be regarded as representing two distinct grammatical words in the following.

[2.3] a. Usually I cut the bread on the table.
      b. Yesterday I cut the bread in the sink.

The same word-form *cut*, belonging to the verbal lexeme CUT, can represent two different grammatical words. In [2.3a], *cut* represents the grammatical word *cut*[verb, present, non-3rd person singular], that is, the present tense, non-third person singular form of the verb CUT. But in [2.3b] it represents the grammatical word *cut*[verb, past] which realises the past tense of CUT.

Besides the two grammatical words realised by the word-form *cut* which we have mentioned above, there is a third one which you can observe in *Jane has a cut on her finger*. This grammatical word is *cut*[noun, singular]. It belongs to a separate lexeme CUT, the noun. Obviously, CUT, the noun, is related in meaning to CUT, the verb. However, CUT, the noun, is a separate lexeme from CUT, the verb, because it belongs to a different word-class (see Section 1.5 below).

The nature of the grammatical word is important in the discussion of the relationship between words and sentences and the boundary between morphology and syntax.

2.2 MORPHEMES: THE SMALLEST UNITS OF MEANING

Morphology is the study of word-structure. The claim that words have structure might come as a surprise because normally speakers think of

words as indivisible units of meaning. This is probably due to the fact that many words are morphologically simple. For example, *the, fierce, elephant, eat, boot, at, fee, mosquito*, etc., cannot be segmented (i.e., divided up) into smaller units that are themselves meaningful. It is impossible to say what the *-quito* part of *mosquito* or the *-erce* part of *fierce* means.

But very many English words are morphologically complex. They can be broken down into smaller units that are meaningful. This is true of words like *desk-s* and *boot-s*, for instance, where *desk* refers to one piece of furniture and *boot* refers to one item of footwear, while in both cases the *-s* serves the grammatical function of indicating plurality.

The term morpheme is used to refer to the smallest, indivisible units of semantic content or grammatical function from which words are made up. By definition, a morpheme cannot be decomposed into smaller units which are either meaningful by themselves or mark a grammatical function like singular or plural number in the noun. If we divided up the word *fee* [fi:] (which contains just one morpheme) into, say, [f] and [i:], it would be impossible to say what each of the sounds [f] and [i:] means by itself, since sounds in themselves do not have meaning.

How do we know when to recognise a single sound or a group of sounds as representing a morpheme? Whether a particular sound or string of sounds is to be regarded as a manifestation of a morpheme depends on the word in which it appears. So, while *un-* represents a negative morpheme and has a meaning that can roughly be glossed as 'not' in words such as *un-just* and *un-tidy*, it has no claim to morpheme status when it occurs in *uncle* or in *under*, since in these latter words it does not have any identifiable grammatical or semantic value, because *-cle* and *-der* on their own do not mean anything. (Morphemes will be separated with a hyphen in the examples.)

Lego provides a useful analogy: morphemes can be compared to pieces of Lego that can be used again and again as building blocks to form different words. Recurrent parts of words that have the same meaning are isolated and recognised as manifestations of the same morpheme. Thus, the negative morpheme *un-* occurs in an indefinitely large number of words, besides those listed above. We find it in *unsafe, unclean, unhappy, unfit, uneven*, etc.

However, recurrence in a large number of words is not an essential property of morphemes. Sometimes a morpheme may be restricted to relatively few words. This is true of the morpheme *-dom*, meaning 'condition, state, dignity', which is found in words like *martyrdom, kingdom, dukedom*, etc. (Glosses, here and elsewhere in the book, are based on definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).)

It has been argued that, in an extreme case, a morpheme may occur in a single word. Lightner (1975) has claimed that the morpheme *-ric* meaning 'diocese' is only found in the word *bishopric*. But this claim is disputed by Bauer (1983) who suggests instead that perhaps *-ric* is not a distinct

In [2.14a], tonal differences are used to distinguish lexical items. The word-forms are identical in all respects except tone. In [2.14b], on the other hand, tone is used to signal grammatical distinctions. LHLH corresponds to LHHF in the first verb, while in the last two, LHH corresponds to LLF. In each case, the first pattern represents a third-person main clause present tense form of the verb and the second pattern represents the relative clause form.",

2.2.3 Grammatical Conditioning, Lexical Conditioning and Suppletion

We have seen in the last section that the distribution of allomorphs is usually subject to phonological conditioning. However, sometimes phonological factors play no role in the selection of allomorphs. Instead, the choice of allomorph may be **grammatically conditioned**, that is, it may be dependent on the presence of a particular grammatical element. A special allomorph may be required in a given grammatical context although there might not be any good phonological reason for its selection. For example, in [2.15a], the presence of the past tense morpheme in the majority of cases has no effect on the selection of the allomorph that represents the verb itself. But, as [2.15b] and [2.15c] show, in certain verbs the presence of the past tense morpheme requires the selection of a special allomorph of the verb:

[2.15]

	Present tense		Past tense	
a.	walk	/wɔ:k/	walked	/wɔ:kt/
	kiss	/kɪs/	kiss-ed	/kɪst/
	grasp	/grɑːsp/	grasp-ed	/grɑːspt/
b.	weep	/wi:p/	wep-t	/wept/
	sweep	/swi:p/	swep-t	/swept/
c.	shake	/ʃeɪk/	shook	/ʃʊk/
	take	/teɪk/	took	/tʊk/

In [2.15b], the choice of allomorph is grammatically conditioned. The presence of the past tense morpheme determines the choice of the /wep/ and /swep/ allomorphs in verbs that belong to this group. For the verbs in [2.15c], the past tense dictates the choice of the allomorphs *took* and *shook* of the verbs *take* and *shake* respectively.

In other cases, the choice of the allomorph may be **lexically conditioned**, that is, use of a particular allomorph may be obligatory if a certain *word* is present. We can see this in the realisation of plural in English.

Normally the plural morpheme is realised by a phonologically conditioned allomorph whose distribution is stated in [2.16]:

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thus defining such notions as congruence[1], equivalence, correspondence[2], etc." He further adds that:

> theoretical contrastive studies are language independent. They do not investigate how a given category present in language A is presented in language B. Instead, they look for the realization of a universal category X in both A and B. Thus, theoretical contrastive linguistics does not have a direction from A to B or vice-versa, but rather as illustrated in Figure 1 below, the direction is from X to A and B.

Figure 1

Fisiak (1985, p.2)

On the other hand, applied contrastive analysis is part of applied linguistics. Since it was first introduced by Robert Lado in the 1950's, CA has been concerned with practical problems, for instance, (a) to avoid interference errors in foreign-language learning, as advocated by the proponents of CA such as Di Pietro (1971), (b) to assist interlingual (between two languages) transfer in the process of translating texts from one language into another, as demonstrated by Hatim (1996), and (c) to find lexical equivalents in the process of compiling bilingual dictionaries, as illustrated by Heltai (1988) and Hartmann (2007).

A major task of applied contrastive studies is explaining why some features of the target language are more difficult to acquire than others. It is this kind of contrastive study, i.e. pedagogical contrastive analysis, with which we shall be concerned in the remainder of this chapter.

---

(1) Congruence, Semantic similarities
(2)Correspondence: Similarity between words in two languages.

1.3 Pedagogical Contrastive Analysis and Its Psychological Basis

Throughout the fifties and until the late sixties, pedagogical contrastive analysis was used extensively in the field of **Second Language Acquisition** (SLA) as a method of explaining why some features of the target language are more difficult to acquire than others. As Ellis & Barkhuizen (2005, p.52) explain,

> CA involved describing comparable features across the two languages, identifying the differences and, then, predicting what errors learners would make. It served two major purposes: first it provided an explanation for why learners make errors, and secondly it served as a source of information for identifying which structural areas of the TL teachers needed to teach (i.e., those where negative transfer was likely).

The proponents of Contrastive Analysis maintained that once the areas of potential difficulty had been mapped out through CA, it would be possible to design language courses more efficiently. Contrastive Analysis, along with **Behaviorist Psychology** and **Structural Linguistics** had a profound effect on SLA curriculum design and language teacher education, and provided the theoretical foundation of **Audio-Lingual Method**.

Pedagogical contrastive analysis rests on the underlying assumptions of Behaviorist Psychology. The Behaviorists, inspired by the ideas of Skinner (1957), viewed first language acquisition essentially as the formation of new habits acquired through repetition and strengthened by the reinforcement of correct responses. This is similar to the way certain animals can be trained, through the use of appropriate conditioning techniques, to perform certain tasks. In this theory, language acquisition was not viewed as an active mental process but as a passive mechanical one.

The strong version and the idea that second or foreign language learners' difficulties and errors could be predicted remained highly influential for quite a long time.

1.4.2 The Weak Version

Having realized that the strong claims of contrastive analysis were too ambitious and beyond the reach of contrastive grammars, Wardhaugh (1970) proposed a more reasonable *weak version* of contrastive analysis. "The 'weak' version", he writes, "requires of the linguist only that he use the best knowledge available to him in order to account for observed difficulties in second language learning" (p.4). He adds:

> It [the weak version] starts with the evidence provided by linguistic interference and uses such evidence to explain the similarities and differences between the two systems ... reference is made to the two systems [NL and TL] only in order to explain actually observed interference phenomena. (Wardhaugh, 1970, p.5).

The weak version is a model with diagnostic and explanatory as opposed to the predictive claim of the strong version. In this version, errors are studied after they have been committed by second-language learners and explanations based on a contrastive analysis of those areas in question are offered as to why the errors have occurred. However, as it is evident from the above quotation, the weak version—though more realistic and practicable than the strong version—is still confined to the notion of linguistic interference and transfer. In other words, the weak version recognizes the significance of interference across languages, the fact that such interference does exist and can explain difficulties, but it also recognizes the fact that linguistic difficulties can be more profitably explained after they have been observed.

1.4.3 The Moderate Version

In view of the shortcomings of the contrastive analysis hypothesis, its proponents were gradually forced to tone down the unrealistic claims of their discipline and make less ambitious ones. Along these lines, Oller & Ziahosseiny (1970) proposed a third version of Contrastive analysis on the basis of their analysis of the spelling errors made by some foreign learners of English with different native language backgrounds. Contrary to the prediction of the strong version of the CAH, they found that English spelling proved to be more difficult for learners whose native language used a Roman alphabet (French, Spanish, French, Germanic, Slavic) than for those whose native language used a non-Roman alphabet (Chinese, Japanese, Semitic). Similarly, according to the weak version of the CAH students whose native language uses a Roman alphabet would be expected to do better that the other group because of greater positive transfer. However, Oller & Ziahosseiny's data proved that this was not the case. Thus, they rejected the strong and weak versions, as being too strong and too weak, respectively, in favor of their proposed version, which they wished to call the Moderate Version. The authors claim that the moderate version has more explanatory power than the other two versions since it centers on the nature of human learning, and not just on the contrast between two languages.

Oller & Ziahosseiny maintained that the learning of sounds, sequences and meanings will be the most difficult where the most subtle distinctions are required either between the target and native language, or within the target language itself. In fact, as Brown (1987) says, interference can actually be greater when items to be learned are more similar to the existing items than when they are entirely new and unrelated to the existing ones. Brown further explains that gross differences are often more easily perceived and stored in memory while minimal differences can be overlooked because of overgeneralization. Therefore, contrary to the assumption of the strong version of contrastive analysis hypothesis greater differences do not always result in greater difficulty. Such a view underscores the

significance of intralingual errors, which are as much a factor in second-language learning as interlingual errors. (For more on these two types of error, see Chapter 8).

1.5 Linguistic Levels of Analysis

Linguists have traditionally viewed language as a complex communication system, which must be analyzed on a number of levels: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, and pragmatics. In other words, language can be divided into components corresponding to various levels of analysis namely phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexico-semantic, as well as pragmatic, and contrastive descriptions can be made at every level of linguistic structure. It needs to be pointed out that linguistics have differed in the degree of separateness/integration of these levels. For instance, while Chomsky once argued that grammar is autonomous and independent of semantics (1957), another tradition initiated by the British linguist Firth claims that there is no boundary between lexis and grammar. That is, lexis and grammar are in fact interdependent.

Traditional contrastive studies produced inventories of similarities and differences between linguistic components of the two languages being compared and contrasted. The emphasis given to various linguistic levels has not been the same in different linguistic theories. For instance, while the main focus of research in Generative-Transformational Grammar is *syntax*, the Communicative Theory is more concerned with the *pragmatic uses* of language.

It needs to be pointed out that structural linguistics and traditional grammar are not the only models to be used for contrastive analysis. Generative-Transformational Grammar and other linguistic theories have also been used as a basis for comparing and contrasting languages (see, for example, Di Pietro, 1971, and Krzeszowski, 1974).

PESONA BAHASA:
Langkah Awal
Memahami Linguistik

PESONA BAHASA:

Langkah Awal
Memahami Linguistik

Penyunting:

Kushartanti
Untung Yuwono
Multamia RMT Lauder

(1) diambil,
(2) dibawa,
(3) dicuri,
(4) didukung

dibandingkan dengan kata

(5) ambil,
(6) bawa,
(7) curi,
(8) dukung.

pertama-tama akan terlihat bentuk-bentuk yang sama susunan fonemnya, yakni /di/. Kedua, makna yang membedakan *diambil* dengan *ambil* juga terdapat dalam pasangan *dibawa - bawa, dicuri - curi,* dan *didukung - dukung.* Dengan kata lain, /di-/ mempunyai makna. Bentuk /di-/ ternyata tidak dapat dipecah menjadi bagian-bagian bermakna yang lebih kecil. Dengan perbandingan seperti di atas, kedudukan /di/ sebagai morfem untuk sementara dianggap terbukti.

Dengan membandingkan

(9) di Enarotali,
(10) di Fakfak,
(11) di Gorontalo

dengan

(12) Enarotali,
(13) Fakfak,
(14) Gorontalo,

akan terlihat juga bentuk dengan susunan fonem /di/ yang bermakna. Dari perbandingan itu diperoleh pula (dalam kesimpulan sementara) morfem yang berbentuk /di/. Namun, segera akan terlihat bahwa /di/ yang terdapat dalam *diambil, dibawa, dicuri,* dan *didukung* mempunyai makna yang jelas berbeda dari makna /di/ yang terdapat dalam *di Enarotali, di Fakfak,* dan *di Gorontalo.* Kedua /di/ harus dilihat sebagai dua morfem yang berbeda. Untuk membedakan kedua morfem itu, dapat digunakan angka seperti {di₁} dan {di₂}.

Geoffrey Leech

SEMANTICS

The Study of Meaning
Second edition – revised and updated

'Integrated, coherent and
stimulating...discusses
all the important current
issues in semantics'–
Language in Society

Geoffrey Leech was born in Gloucester in 1936 and educated at Tewkesbury Grammar School and University College London, where he read English. From 1962 to 1969, when he received his Ph.D., he was Assistant Lecturer, then Lecturer in English at University College London. Since 1969 he has been at the University of Lancaster. He studied linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1964-5 as a Harkness Fellow, and in 1972 was Visiting Professor at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. He has previously published *English in Advertising* (1966), *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (1969), *Meaning and the English Verb* (1971), *Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics* (1980). and has co-authored, with Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum and Jan Svartvik, *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972), with Jan Svartvik, *A Communicative Grammar of English* (1975), and with Michael Short, *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* (1981). He is now Professor of Linguistics and Modern English Language at the University of Lancaster. He is married, with two children.

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Semantics

The Study of Meaning

Second Edition

Penguin Books

as soon as we start to treat semantics as deserving its own frame of reference instead of having to borrow one from elsewhere, we dispel many of the difficulties that have beset its development in the past fifty years. An autonomous discipline begins not with answers, but with questions. We might say that the whole point of setting up a theory of semantics is to provide a 'definition' of *meaning* – that is, a systematic account of the nature of meaning. To demand a definition of *meaning* before we started discussing the subject would simply be to insist on treating certain other concepts, e.g. stimulus and response, as in some sense more basic and more important. A physicist does not have to define notions like 'time', 'heat', 'colour', 'atom' before he starts investigating their properties. Rather, definitions, if they are needed, emerge from the study itself.

Once this commonplace is accepted, the question of how to define *meaning*, which so preoccupied Ogden and Richards, is seen in its true colour as a red herring.

A Linguistic Starting Point for Semantics

So far I have been trying to clear the ground, by arguing that the study of meaning should be free from subservience to other disciplines. This leads naturally to the challenge: 'How then should meaning be studied? What sort of questions should we be trying to answer in setting up a theory of meaning? What principles should form its foundations?'

One of the keynotes of a modern linguistic approach to semantics is that there is no escape from language: an equation such as *cent* = *hundredth of a dollar* or *salt* = *NaCl* is not a matching of a linguistic sign with something outside language; it is a correspondence between two linguistic expressions, supposedly having 'the same meaning'. The search for an explanation of linguistic phenomena in terms of what is not language is as vain as the search for an exit from a room which has no doors or windows, for the word 'explanation' itself implies a statement in language. Our remedy, then, is to be content with exploring what we have inside the room: to study relations *within* language, such as paraphrase or synonymy (both terms meaning roughly 'sameness of meaning'). Paraphrase, and some other relations of meaning capable of systematic study, are illustrated below. *Entailment* and *presupposition* are types of meaning-dependence holding between one utterance and another; *logical inconsistency* is a type of semantic *contrastiveness* between utterances.

1. *X*: The defects of the plan were obvious

    IS A PARAPHRASE OF *Y*: The demerits of the scheme were evident.

favour of structures like (11), can be added yet another syntactic principle, which is that if an element of the sentence receives focal emphasis as 'new information', it should occur towards the end rather than the beginning of the sentence. In the light of this principle, we can explain why it is more natural to say *The box contained a bracelet* rather than *A bracelet was in the box*: 'a bracelet', being indefinite, is normally new information, in contrast to 'the box', the referent of which is already given by context; therefore it is more natural to place 'the box' earlier in the sentence than 'a bracelet'. Another related factor which enters into the choice of word-order is the so-called topic-comment articulation: the division of a sentence or a clause into a topic (the element which comes first – normally the subject) and the comment on this topic. When we negate a clause with *not*, it is usually only the comment, the part of the clause following *not*, which is affected by the negation:

TOPIC	COMMENT
(14) The children	ate some apples
(15) The children	didn't eat any apples
(16) *Any apples	weren't eaten by the children.

Accordingly (15), as the negative equivalent of (14), negates the *comment* of (14) only. It is also because of the topic-comment articulation that (16) is not a well-formed passive of (15). The form *any* in *any apples* indicates that this phrase is within the scope of negation: something which is not compatible with its position as the subject and topic, preceding the negative particle *not*.

The topic-comment distinction in fact limits the scope of negation as described on pp. 167-8, so that scope is restricted on the one hand by semantic dependency, and on the other by syntactic precedence. More of this in Chapter 14, pp. 290-92.

The principles of syntactic ordering just discussed bring into play not just linearization, but also a further process, which I shall call *thematiza-tion*. This is the process of organizing the elements of the message so that weight and emphasis fall in appropriate place. To some extent, the thematizing function is performed by the normal process of matching semantic with syntactic elements. If, as has been suggested, adverbial elements of syntax (e.g. prepositional phrases of time) are matched with modifying downgraded predications, then the natural result of this matching rule is to turn a syntactically awkward division of the sentence like that of (17) into an ordering like (18):

(17) *a.* *P* *b*
they . SAW ⟨ON THURSDAY⟩ . her

(18) Subject   VP   Object   Adverbial

| They | | saw | | her | | on Thursday |

This is because there is a fairly general rule of English syntax that adverbials (especially those consisting of more than one word) most commonly occur in final position, following the verb and (if any) its complements or objects.

But there is more to thematization than this. As we saw in Chapter 2 when considering thematic meaning, a language such as English contains numerous rules or syntactic devices for varying the order of elements in a sentence. The most well-known of these is the rule converting active into passive sentences:

(19) *Peter reminded me of my promise →*
     I was reminded of my promise (by Peter).

Other instances are the rule which relates a sentence-type with an indefinite subject to a sentence-type with the introductory particle *there*:

(20) *A bracelet was in the box → There was a bracelet in the box.*

and the rule which postpones a clausal subject to the end of the sentence, substituting for it the dummy subject *it* in initial position:

(21) *That he has left surprises me → It surprises me that he has left.*

These TRANSFORMATIONAL rules can be regarded as rules operating on syntactic structures with their associated semantic content, very roughly as follows:

(22) *Passive Rule*
        ... S$_a$ VP [active] (...) O$_b$ ... →
                ... S$_b$ VP [passive] (...) (Adverbial Phrase)

                                                          by   Noun Phrase$_a$

(where *a* and *b* indicate the corresponding arguments in the semantic representation).

Such rules are essentially syntactic rather than semantic, however: they equate sentences having the same semantic representation, and can be compared with similar equative rules on the semantic level (see, for example, p. 170, pp. 256–69).

In other theories (see pp. 343–8), transformational rules have a different and wider role than has been assumed here: here I have regarded them purely as devices of linear organization on the syntactic level, and

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and this seems to be encoded in the use of the infinitive form. In Chinook, in formal ceremonies, neither the source (e.g. a chief) nor the target (e.g. the spirits) were necessarily present (Hymes, 1974: 56). In time many of these distinctions will perhaps be found reflected in the grammatical categories of some language or another (see Levinson, in prep.).

2.2.2 Time deixis

Both time and place deixis are greatly complicated by the interaction of deictic co-ordinates with the non-deictic conceptualization of time and space. To understand these aspects of deixis in depth it is first necessary to have a good understanding of the semantic organization of space and time in general, but these topics lie beyond the scope of this book (see though, Leech, 1969; Fillmore, 1975; Lyons, 1977a: Chapter 15). Briefly, though, the bases for systems of reckoning and measuring time in most languages seem to be the natural and prominent cycles of day and night, lunar months, seasons and years. Such units can either be used as **measures**, relative to some fixed point of interest (including, crucially, the deictic centre), or they can be used **calendrically** to locate events in 'absolute' time relative to some absolute *origo*, or at least to some part of each natural cycle designated as the beginning of that cycle (Fillmore, 1975). It is with these units, calendrical and non-calendrical, that time deixis interacts.

Like all aspects of deixis, time deixis makes ultimate reference to participant-role. Thus as a first approximation (but see below), *now* can be glossed as 'the time at which the speaker is producing the utterance containing *now*'. It is important to distinguish the moment of utterance (or inscription) or *coding time* (or CT) from the moment of reception or *receiving time* (or RT). As we noted, in the canonical situation of utterance, with the assumption of the unmarked deictic centre, RT can be assumed to be identical to CT (Lyons (1977a: 685) calls this assumption **deictic simultaneity**). Complexities arise in the usage of tense, time adverbs and other time-deictic morphemes wherever there is a departure from this assumption, e.g. in letter writing, or the pre-recording of media programmes. In that event, a decision has to be made about whether the deictic centre will remain on the speaker and CT, as in (51), or will be **projected** on the addressee and RT, as in (52) (Fillmore, 1975):

(51)   a. This programme is being recorded today, Wednesday April
       1st, to be relayed next Thursday
    b. I write this letter while chewing peyote

(52)   a. This programme was recorded last Wednesday, April 1st, to
       be relayed today
    b. I wrote this letter while chewing peyote

Linguistic conventions may often specify the proper usage in situations
where RT is not coincident with CT. For example, the Latin
'epistolary tenses' used past tense for events including CT, pluperfect
for events prior to CT – in other words the deictic centre was
projected into the future, the recipients' RT (Lakoff, 1970: 847). But
we shall have to skirt these issues here (see Fillmore, 1975).

There are a number of aspects of 'pure' time deixis, where there
is no direct interaction with non-deictic methods of time reckoning.
These include tense (to be discussed below), and the deictic time
adverbs like English *now, then, soon, recently* and so on. We can
improve on our previous gloss for *now*, by offering 'the pragmatically
given span including CT', where that span may be the instant
associated with the production of the morpheme itself, as in the
gestural use in (53), or the perhaps interminable period indicated in
(54):

(53)   Pull the trigger *now*!
(54)   I'm *now* working on a PhD

Now contrasts with *then*, and indeed *then* can be glossed as 'not now'
to allow for its use in both past and future. *Then* is sometimes claimed
to be necessarily anaphoric in nature, and to have no gestural deictic
usage, but rather complex usages show this is not so - consider, for
example, the following said pointing at a 1962 model Chevrolet
(Nunberg, 1978: 33):

(55)   I was just a kid *then*

As an initial step towards seeing how time deixis interacts with
cultural measurements of time in an absolute or non-deictic way,
consider words like *today, tomorrow, yesterday*. Such terms presuppose
a division of time into diurnal spans. Roughly, then, *today* glosses as
'the diurnal span including CT', *yesterday* as 'the diurnal span
preceding the diurnal span that includes CT', and so on. However,
as Fillmore (1975) notes, these have two kinds of referent: they can

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either refer to the entire span itself, as in (56), or to a point within the relevant span, as in (57):

(56)   Tomorrow is Wednesday
(57)   Dennis hit Murphy with a baseball bat *yesterday*

Note that the deictic words *yesterday*, *today* and *tomorrow* pre-empt the calendrical or absolute ways of referring to the relevant days. Thus the following, said on Thursday, can only be referring to next Thursday (or perhaps some more remote Thursday), otherwise the speaker should have said *today*:

(58)   I'll see you on *Thursday*

The same holds if it is said on Wednesday, due to pre-emptive *tomorrow*.[*] Languages differ in how many such deictic names of days there are: the Amerindian language Chinantec has four named days either side of today; Japanese names three days back from today, and two ahead; Hindi has the same word for yesterday and tomorrow (i.e. it glosses as 'the relevant day adjacent to the day including CT'); and so on (Fillmore, 1975).

Further aspects of the interaction of calendrical reckoning and time deixis arise when we consider complex time adverbials like *last Monday*, *next year*, or *this afternoon*. These consist of a deictic modifier, *this*, *next*, *last*, etc., together with a non-deictic name or measure word. Now, interpretation of such adverbials in English is systematically determined by (a) the calendrical vs. non-calendrical (and specifically deictic) modes of reckoning, and (b) the distinction between common noun units, like *weeks*, *months*, *years*, and proper name units, like *Monday*, *December*, and perhaps *afternoon*, which cannot be used as measures (Fillmore, 1975). Thus *this year* is ambiguous between the calendrical unit that runs from January 1 to January 1 and which includes CT,[*] and the measure of 365 days that begins on the day including CT. In general, the phrase *this X*, where

---

[*] Perhaps this pre-emptive nature of pure deictic words is a general tendency; it takes special conventions to make it appropriate for a speaker to refer to himself by name, and it would be strange to say *This is it to 36* instead of *I'm now*, when now is 10 36. Exceptions, though, are often used instead of second person pronouns, as in *Your Honour should do as he wishes*, with full third person agreement, and one can say *London* instead of *here* if one is in London.

[*] There are other possibilities too, due to other kinds of calendrical fixed points, e.g. the tax year, the academic year, etc.

'X' ranges over the terms *week*, *month*, *year*, will refer to the unit X including CT, and will be ambiguous between the calendrical and non-calendrical interpretations.[19] Similarly, *next X* will refer to the unit X which follows the unit of the same order which includes CT, and so on. In contrast, *this Y*, where 'Y' is a proper name for a unit included in the larger calendrical span Z, will often mean 'that unit Y which is included in the larger span Z which includes CT'. Hence, *this August* does not necessarily mean the month that we are now in, in the way that *this week* ordinarily means the week that we are now in. Rather, *this August* means the August of the calendar year that includes CT; and *this morning* means the morning of the diurnal unit that includes CT. Thus I can say *this morning* either during the morning or the afternoon, and refer to the same span; whereas in Chinantec, I must use a different word for referring to the morning in the morning (i.e. when the span includes CT) from the one I use to refer to the morning in the afternoon (i.e. when the span referred to excludes CT, but is within the same larger diurnal span as CT – Fillmore, 1975: 47).

In the application of *next* to calendrical names of days, an ambiguity arises: *next Thursday* can refer either to the Thursday of the week that succeeds the week that includes CT, or that Thursday that first follows CT. Note that on a Friday or a Saturday, these will coincide; and given the rule that *today* and *tomorrow* pre-empt calendrical day names, on Wednesday and Thursday, *next Thursday* can only mean the Thursday of next week. It follows that, if one starts the week on Monday, *next Thursday* is ambiguous only on Monday and Tuesday (Fillmore, 1971b). The example nicely raises the issue of the degree to which a general linguistic theory is committed to giving an account of language understanding: for here we have a complex interaction between deictic words (clearly a linguistic problem) and a culture's temporal reckoning systems (not so clearly a linguistic problem), and the pre-emptive usage of deictic words (which lies somewhere in between). On the wider programme for pragmatics which we reviewed in Chapter 1, namely that pragmatics should provide (in connection with the rest of linguistic theory) a full account of language understanding, inferences like this must be fully explained.

Finally, we should turn briefly to **tense**, although the complexities

[19] Note that this use of *this* is perhaps borrowed from its proximal place deixis usage, here to indicate spans close to or including CT

of this subject lie well beyond the scope of this book. In those languages that unequivocably exhibit it, tense is one of the main factors ensuring that nearly all sentences when uttered are deictically anchored to a context of utterance.[11] Confusion over whether some sentences like the following are tenseless or 'eternal' in part stems from a deep equivocation over the term *tense*:

(59)   Two and two is four
(60)   Iguanas eat ants

Let us, following Lyons (1977a: 682), distinguish the semantic or theoretical category of tense, which we may call metalinguistic tense or **M-tense** for short, from the verbal inflections that a traditional grammar of a particular language may call that language's tenses, which we may call **L-tenses**. M-tense can be given a purely deictic and strictly temporal interpretation, but it is an empirical question as to what extent L-tenses can also be treated in the same way. Then we may say that (59) and (60) are L-tensed, but M-tenseless and non-deictic (although they may be non-deictic in different ways; see Lyons, 1977a: 680). Now, we may investigate the properties of M-tense systems in isolation from their partial and imperfect realization in L-tense systems, as is done in tense logics (see Reichenbach, 1947; Prior, 1968). Obviously, though, if M-tense and L-tense get too far apart, M-tense may be of little use to the analysis of language. In an M-tense system we can easily distinguish *past* (events completed prior to CT), from *present* (events whose span includes CT), from *future* (events succeeding CT); we can further distinguish *points* from *spans* (Lyons, 1977a: 683); and we can also make first approximations to complex tenses like the *pluperfect*, by representing events that are prior to other events, which are themselves prior to CT (Reichenbach, 1947: 288ff; see also Allwood, Andersson & Dahl, 1977: 121ff). Thus (61) will be true, on this account, just in case there is some reference time (say, another event) prior to CT, such that at that reference time, (62) would have been true (while (62)

---

[11] But some languages require other forms of deictic anchoring in all sentences. Thus the North American Indian language Kwakwala requires virtually every noun phrase to be coded as either visible or non-visible to the speaker (Anderson & Keenan, in press, after Boas), while S.E. Asian languages like Korean and Japanese enforce the coding of social deixis, and other languages the encoding of discourse deixis (in the form of discourse topic), in almost every sentence.

is in turn true, just in case (63) would have been true at some point prior to the CT of (62)):

(61)   John *had seen* Mary
(62)   John *saw* Mary
(63)   John *sees* Mary

But such M-tenses do not match up simply with L-tenses, for L-tenses nearly always encode additional *aspectual* and *modal* features too (see Comrie, 1976a; Lyons, 1977a: 703ff, 809ff). For example, L-future-tenses probably invariably contain a modal element, and the nearest M-tense correlates of L-tenses are to be found in the distinction between past and non-past (Lyons, 1977a: 678). Any theorist who wants to claim that, for example, the English L-present and L-future coincide with the M-present and M-future, will find catalogues of insuperable odds in Huddleston, 1969; Lakoff, 1970; Lyons, 1977a: 809ff; and the references they cite. Nevertheless a pure deictic M-tense system seems to be an integral component, together with aspectual, modal and other notions, of most L-tense systems. Clearly, just what M-tense concepts are needed for linguistic description will differ from language to language. Further, we can expect interactions between pure deictic M-tense concepts and cultural divisions and measures of time to show up in L-tenses. Thus, in the Peruvian language Amahuacan, there is an L-tense affix (call it 'T') which means different things at different times of the day: *John kicked-T Bill* said in the afternoon means 'John kicked Bill in the morning', but said in the morning it means 'John kicked Bill yesterday'. In other words 'T' seems to mean that the event described took place in the largest unit of the daylight span that precedes the unit which contains CT, whether or not night intervenes. (For this, and other 'exotic' elements of time deixis, see Fillmore, 1975.)

It is sometimes claimed that there are languages without true tenses, for example Chinese or Yoruba, and this is correct in the sense that such languages may lack L-tenses morphologically marked in the verb, or indeed systematically elsewhere (Comrie, 1976a: 82ff; Lyons, 1977a: 678-9). But we can confidently assume that there are no languages where part of an M-tense system is not realized somewhere in time-adverbials or the like, not to mention the implicit assumption of M-present if no further specification is provided (Lyons, 1977a: 686).

Finally, we should mention that time deixis is relevant to various other deictic elements in a language. Thus *greetings* are usually time-restricted, so that

(64)   Good morning

can only be used in the morning, and so on. Curiously, while (64) can only be used as a greeting (at least in British English), (65) can only be used as a parting:

(65)   Good night

so that we have here an interaction of time and discourse deixis.

2.2.3   *Place deixis*

Place or space deixis concerns the specification of locations relative to anchorage points in the speech event. The importance of locational specifications in general can be gauged from the fact that there seem to be two basic ways of referring to objects – by describing or naming them on the one hand, and by locating them on the other (Lyons, 1977a: 648). Now, locations can be specified relative to other objects or fixed reference points, as in:

(66)   The station is two hundred yards from the cathedral
(67)   Kabul lies at latitude 34 degrees, longitude 70 degrees

Alternatively, they can be deictically specified relative to the location of participants at the time of speaking (CT), as in

(68)   It's two hundred yards *away*
(69)   Kabul is four hundred miles West of *here*

In either case it is likely that units of measurement, or descriptions of direction and location, will have to be used, and in that case place deixis comes to interact in complex ways with the non-deictic organization of space (see Leech, 1969; Fillmore, 1975: 16–28; Lyons, 1977a: 69off; and references therein).

There are, though, some pure place-deictic words, notably in English the adverbs *here* and *there*, and the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*. The symbolic usage of *here*, as in (70), can be glossed as 'the pragmatically given unit of space that includes the location of the speaker at CT'.

(70)   I'm writing to say I'm having a marvellous time *here*

mental lexicon

inflection

Introducing
Morphology

Rochelle Lieber

Introducing Morphology

Morphology is the study of how words are put together. A lively introduction to the subject, this textbook is intended for undergraduates with relatively little background in linguistics. Providing data from a wide variety of languages, it includes hands-on activities such as "Challenge Boxes," designed to encourage students to gather their own data and analyze them, work with data on websites, perform simple experiments, and discuss topics with each other. There is also an extensive introduction to the terms and concepts necessary for analyzing words. Topics such as the mental lexicon, derivation, compounding, inflection, morphological typology, productivity, and the interface of morphology with syntax and phonology expose students to the whole scope of the field. Unlike other textbooks it anticipates the question "Is it a real word?" and tackles it head-on by looking at the distinction between dictionaries and the mental lexicon.

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Introducing Morphology

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1.1 Introduction

The short answer to the question with which we begin this text is that morphology is the study of word formation, including the ways new words are coined in the languages of the world, and the way forms of words are varied depending on how they're used in sentences. As a native speaker of your language you have intuitive knowledge of how to form new words, and every day you recognize and understand new words that you've never heard before.

Stop and think a minute:

- Suppose that *splinch* is a verb that means 'step on broken glass'; what is its past tense?
- Speakers of English use the suffixes *-ize* (*crystallize*) and *-ify* (*codify*) to form verbs from nouns. If you had to form a verb that means 'do something the way ex-Prime Minister Tony Blair does it', which suffix would you use? How about a verb meaning 'do something the way ex-President Bill Clinton does it'?
- It's possible to *rewash* or *rehear* something. Is it possible to *relove*, *reexplode*, or *rewiggle* something?

Chances are that you answered the first question with the past tense *splinched* (pronounced |splɪntʃt|)¹, the second with the verbs *Blairify* and *Clintonize*, and that you're pretty sure that *relove*, *reexplode*, and *rewiggle* are weird, if not downright impossible. Your ability to make up these new words, and to make judgments about words that you think could never exist, suggests that you have intuitive knowledge of the principles of word formation in your language, even if you can't articulate what they are. Native speakers of other languages have similar knowledge of their languages. This book is about that knowledge, and about how we as linguists can find out what it is. Throughout this book, you will be looking into how you form and understand new words, and how speakers of other languages do the same. Many of our examples will come from English – since you're reading this book, I assume we have that language in common – but we'll also look beyond English to how words are formed in languages with which you might be familiar, and languages which you might never have encountered before. You'll learn not only the nuts and bolts of word formation – how things are put together in various languages and what to call those nuts and bolts – but also what this knowledge says about how the human mind is organized.

The beauty of studying morphology is that even as a beginning student you can look around you and bring new facts to bear on our study. At this point, you should start keeping track of interesting cases of new words

as we'll see as this book progresses, those ways might be quite different from the means we use in English.

On the other hand, we sometimes use morphology even when we don't need new lexemes. For example, we saw that each lexeme can have a number of word forms. The lexeme WALK has forms like *walk, walks, walked, walking* that can be used in different grammatical contexts. When we change the form of a word so that it fits in a particular grammatical context, we are concerned with what linguists call **inflection**. Inflectional word formation is word formation that expresses grammatical distinctions like number (singular vs. plural); tense (present vs. past); person (first, second, or third); and case (subject, object, possessive), among others. It does not result in the creation of new lexemes, but merely changes the grammatical form of lexemes to fit into different grammatical contexts.

Interestingly, languages have wildly differing amounts of inflection. English has relatively little inflection. We create different forms of nouns according to number (*wombat, wombats*); we mark the possessive form of a noun with *-'s* or *-s* (*the wombat's eyes*). We have different forms of verbs for present and past and for present and past participles (*sing, sang, singing, sung*), and we use a suffix *-s* to mark the third person singular of a verb (*she sings*).

However, if you've studied Latin, Russian, ancient Greek, or even Old English, you'll know that these languages have quite a bit more inflectional morphology than English does. Even languages like French and Spanish have more inflectional forms of verbs than English does.

But some languages have much less inflection than English does. Mandarin Chinese, for example, has almost none. Rather than marking plurals by suffixes as English does, or by prefixes as the Bantu language Swahili does, Chinese does not mark plurals or past tenses with morphology at all. This is not to say that a speaker of Mandarin cannot express whether it is one giraffe, two giraffes, or many giraffes that are under discussion, or whether the sighting was yesterday or today. It simply means that to do so, a speaker of Mandarin must use a separate word like *one, two* or *many* or a separate word for *past* to make the distinction.

(6) Wo jian guo yi   zhi   chang jing lu.
    I   see past one CLASSIFIER giraffe[4]

(7) Wo jian guo liang zhi   chang jing lu
    I   see past two   CLASSIFIER giraffe

The word *chang jing lu* 'giraffe' has the same form regardless of how many long-necked beasts are of interest. And the verb 'to see' does not change its form for the past tense; instead, the separate word *guo* is added to express this concept. In other words, some concepts that are expressed via inflection in some languages are expressed by other means (word order, separate words) in other languages.

In (1) can stand alone as words: *wipe, head, bracelet, McDonald*. These are called free morphemes. The morphemes that cannot stand alone are called bound morphemes. In the examples above, the bound morphemes are *un-, -ize*, and *-ation*. Bound morphemes come in different varieties. Those in (1) are prefixes and suffixes: the former are bound morphemes that come before the base of the word, and the latter bound morphemes that come after the base. Together, prefixes and suffixes can be grouped together as affixes.[2]

New lexemes that are formed with prefixes and suffixes on a base are often referred to as derived words, and the process by which they are formed as derivation. The base is the semantic core of the word to which the prefixes and suffixes attach. For example, *wipe* is the base of *unwipe*, and *McDonald* is the base of *McDonaldization*. Frequently, the base is a free morpheme, as it is in these two cases. But stop a minute and consider the data in the next Challenge box.

Challenge

Divide the following words into morphemes:

- pathology
- psychopath
- dermatitis
- endoderm

Chances are that you recognize that there are two morphemes in each word. However, neither part is a free morpheme. Do we want to call these morphemes prefixes and suffixes? Would this seem odd to you?

If you said that it would be odd to consider the morphemes in our Challenge as prefixes and suffixes, you probably did so because this would imply that words like *pathology* and *psychopath* are made up of nothing but affixes!

Morphologists therefore make a distinction between affixes and bound bases. Bound bases are morphemes that cannot stand alone as words, but are not prefixes or suffixes. Sometimes, as is the case with the morphemes *path* or *derm*, they can occur either before or after another bound base: *path* precedes the base *ology*, but follows the base *psych(o)*; *derm* precedes another base in *dermatitis* but follows one in *endoderm*. This suggests that *path* and *derm* are not prefixes or suffixes: there is no such thing as an affix which sometimes precedes its base and sometimes follows it. But not all bound bases are as free in their placement as *path*: for example, *psych(o)* and *ology* seem to have more fixed positions, the former usually preceding another bound base, the latter following. Similarly, the base *-itis* always follows, and *endo-* always precedes another base. Why not call them respectively a prefix and a suffix, then?

One reason is that all of these morphemes seem in an intuitive way to have far more substantial meanings than the average affix does. Whereas

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2. We will see in chapter 5 that there are other types of affixes as well.

Introducing Pragmatics in Use

Anne O'Keeffe, Brian Clancy,
Svenja Adolphs

Introducing Pragmatics in Use

Introducing Pragmatics in Use is a lively and accessible introduction to pragmatics, which both covers theory and applies it to real spoken and written data.

Pragmatics is the study of language in context, yet most textbooks rely on invented language examples. This innovative textbook systematically draws on language corpora to illustrate features such as creativity in small talk or how we apologise in English. The authors investigate the pragmatic implications of the globalisation of the English language and focus on the applications of pragmatics for teaching languages. In addition, a practical chapter on researching pragmatics aimed at developing students' research skills is included.

With a range of tasks aimed at putting theory into practice and chapter by chapter further reading recommendations, this is the ideal textbook for advanced undergraduate or postgraduate students of pragmatics and corpus linguistics within applied language/ linguistics or TEFL/TESOL degrees.

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Introducing
Pragmatics in Use

ANNE O'KEEFFE

BRIAN CLANCY

SVENJA ADOLPHS

The deictic centre

(1) The central person is the speaker.

(2) The central time is the time at which the speaker produces the utterance.

(3) The central place is the speaker's location at utterance time.

(4) The discourse centre is the point at which the speaker is currently at in the production of his [sic] utterance.

(5) The social centre is the speaker's social status and rank, to which the status and rank of addresses or referents is relative.

Levinson (1983: 64)

3.5 BASIC CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

Deixis is traditionally subdivided into a number of categories: *person, place* and *time* deixis are the most common of these categories. Two additional categories, *discourse* and *social* deixis, are also present in some of the most influential work done in the area (cf. Lyons, 1977; Levinson, 1983; Fillmore, 1997). There is also a sixth deictic category referred to as *empathetic* deixis (see Lyons, 1977).

Person deixis

Person deixis is concerned with 'the identity of the interlocutors in a communication situation' (Fillmore, 1997: 61). Personal pronouns such as *I* and *you* are the most obvious and most frequent manifestations of person deixis. In order to illustrate the frequency and importance of these and other personal pronouns in casual conversation, frequency counts for the top 20 most frequently occurring words were generated for the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE) using *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2009) and the results are displayed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 demonstrates that five personal pronouns – *I, you, it, he* and *they* (marked in bold in Table 3.1) – occur in the top 20 most frequent words in LCIE, which is consistent with many other corpora of spontaneous, face-to-face casual conversation. Similar findings have also been recorded by Biber *et al.* (1999) working with the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus (LSWE), O'Keeffe *et al.* (2007) working with the CANCODE and CIC corpora, and Rühlemann (2007) working with the BNC. This is in contrast with written corpora. For example, frequency lists based on the written component of the BNC show *I* in 17th position and *you* in 21st (Leech *et al.* 2001b). Regarding the distribution of these pronouns, Biber *et al* (1999: 333) have shown that the pronouns *I* and *you* are far more common in casual conversation than in other registers such as academic prose. Rühlemann (2007: 66–9) posits four reasons for the preferred use of *I* and *you* in casual conversation:

(1) *I* is prone to repetition (*I* is repeated at a frequency of about 200 times per million words in conversation: see Biber *et al*, 1999: 334);

Time deixis

According to Huang (2007: 144), time deixis 'is concerned with the encoding of temporal points and spans relative to the time at which the utterance is produced'. In other words, in order to correctly interpret a time deictic, it needs to be considered in relation to the time at which the communicative act takes place. To do this correctly, we need to distinguish between coding time (CT), the moment of utterance, and receiving time (RT), the moment of reception. Coding time is usually located around the speaker, whereas receiving time is located around the addressee. Because the majority of conversation is face-to-face in nature, CT and RT are considered to be identical. However, there are situations where the CT and RT are different and this can lead to a situation where the utterance becomes *unanchored* (see Fillmore, 1997: 60). For example, Fillmore (ibid.) suggests a 'worst case scenario' for an 'unanchored' sentence: finding a message in a bottle which says *Meet me here at noon tomorrow with a stick about this big.*

Notions of time deixis are expressed using both simple adverbs of time such as *now, then, today, tomorrow, yesterday* and complex adverbs of time such as *this month, next year* or *last week.* Similarly to place deixis, time deixis also distinguishes between a proximal time *now* (time 'around now' including the CT) and a *distal* time *then* (time 'not now'). *Then* can be used to refer to both a particular past time and a particular future time. In extract 3.19, a workplace discussion about buying a house features *then* (in bold) used to refer to past time:

(3.19)

A: They were to revise loads of figures. I had all those figures done and **then** all the mortgage rates changed again and they were to come back to me with the revised figures and they never did.
B: Jesus you'd better get on get on to them about that.
A: I know.

In contrast, in extract 3.20 a nurse and a student nurse are discussing upcoming exams and *then* (in bold) is used to refer to future time:

(3.20)

A: Are you all ready for Wednesday?
B: I am indeed Mary
A: Well **then** how's the study going? You have it all done at this stage anyway I'd say Connor?
B: I'm taking some time off lately. I'm resting.
A: Yeah you'd want to take some time off you'd be wrecked from studying. So when will you be finished? Are you going straight through yeah?

Prof. Dr. Sugiyono

METODE PENELITIAN KUANTITATIF KUALITATIF DAN R&D

BEST SELLER

ALFABETA

METODE PENELITIAN KUANTITATIF, KUALITATIF DAN R & D

Prof. Dr. Sugiyono

Penelitian yang akan digunakan untuk memahami masalah misalnya, penelitian tentang sebab-sebab jatuhnya pesawat terbang atau sebab-sebab membudayanya korupsi di Indonesia, penelitian yang bersifat memecahkan masalah misalnya, penelitian untuk mencari cara yang efektif untuk memberantas korupsi di Indonesia, dan penelitian yang bersifat antisipasi masalah misalnya penelitian untuk mencari cara agar korupsi tidak terjadi pada pemerintahan baru.

B. Jenis-jenis Metode Penelitian

Jenis-jenis metode penelitian dapat diklasifikasikan berdasarkan, tujuan, dan tingkat kealamiahan (*natural setting*) obyek yang diteliti. Berdasarkan tujuan, metode penelitian dapat diklasifikasikan menjadi penelitian dasar (*basic research*), penelitian terapan (*applied research*) dan penelitian pengembangan (*research and development*). Selanjutnya berdasarkan tingkat kealamiahan, metode penelitian dapat dikelompokkan menjadi metode penelitian eksperimen, survey dan naturalistik. Hal ini dapat digambarkan seperti gambar 1.1 berikut.

Gay (1977) menyatakan bahwa sebenarnya sulit untuk membedakan antara penelitian murni (dasar) dan terapan secara terpisah, karena keduanya terletak pada satu garis kontinum. Penelitian dasar bertujuan untuk mengembangkan teori dan tidak memperhatikan kegunaan yang langsung bersifat praktis. Penelitian dasar pada umumnya dilakukan pada laboratorium yang kondisinya terkontrol dengan ketat. Penelitian terapan dilakukan dengan tujuan menerapkan, menguji, dan mengevaluasi kemampuan suatu teori yang diterapkan dalam memecahkan masalah-masalah praktis. Jadi penelitian murni/dasar berkenaan dengan penemuan dan pengembangan ilmu. Setelah ilmu tersebut digunakan untuk memecahkan masalah, maka penelitian tersebut akan menjadi penelitian terapan.

Jujun S. Suriasumantri (1985) menyatakan bahwa penelitian dasar atau murni adalah penelitian yang bertujuan menemukan pengetahuan baru yang sebelumnya belum pernah diketahui, sedangkan penelitian terapan adalah bertujuan untuk memecahkan masalah-masalah kehidupan praktis.

Dalam bidang pendidikan, Borg and Gall (1988) menyatakan bahwa, penelitian dan pengembangan (*research and development/R&D*), merupakan metode penelitian yang digunakan untuk mengembangkan atau memvalidasi produk-produk yang digunakan dalam pendidikan dan pembelajaran.

Penelitian dan pengembangan merupakan "jembatan" antara penelitian dasar (*basic research*) dengan penelitian terapan (*applied research*), di mana penelitian dasar bertujuan untuk "*to discover new knowledge about fundamental phenomena*" dan *applied research* bertujuan untuk menemukan pengetahuan yang secara praktis dapat diaplikasikan.

Prof. Dr. Henry Guntur Tarigan

PENGAJARAN
ANALISIS
KONTRASTIF
BAHASA

ber-B2 melalui latihan, pengulangan, dan penguatan (hadiah dan hukuman).

Analisis Kontrastif, berupa prosedur kerja, adalah aktivitas atau kegiatan yang mencoba membandingkan struktur B1 dengan struktur B2 untuk mengidentifikasi perbedaan-perbedaan di antara kedua bahasa. Perbedaan-perbedaan antara dua bahasa, yang diperoleh dan dihasilkan melalui Anakon, dapat digunakan sebagai landasan dalam meramalkan atau memprediksi kesulitan-kesulitan atau kendala-kendala belajar berbahasa yang akan dihadapi oleh para siswa di sekolah, terlebih-lebih dalam belajar B2.

Dari pembicaraan di atas, dapatlah kita simpulkan bahwa Analisis Kontrastif adalah komparasi sistem-sistem linguistik dua bahasa, misalnya sistem bunyi atau sistem gramatikal. Analisis Kontrastif dikembangkan dan dipraktikkan pada tahun 1950-an dan 1960-an, sebagai suatu aplikasi linguistik struktural pada pengajaran bahasa, dan didasarkan pada asumsi-asumsi berikut ini:

(1) Kesukaran-kesukaran utama dalam mempelajari suatu bahasa baru disebabkan oleh interferensi dari bahasa pertama.

(2) Kesukaran-kesukaran tersebut dapat diprediksi atau diprakirakan oleh analisis kontrastif.

(3) Materi atau bahan pengajaran dapat memanfaatkan analisis kontrastif untuk mengurangi efek-efek interferensi. Analisis kontrastif memang lebih berhasil dalam bidang fonologi daripada bidang-bidang bahasa lainnya (Richards [et al] 1987: 63).

C. HIPOTESIS ANALISIS KONTRASTIF

Perbandingan struktur antara dua bahasa, B1 dan B2, yang akan dipelajari oleh para siswa menghasilkan identifikasi perbedaan antara kedua bahasa tersebut. Perbedaan antardua bahasa merupakan dasar buat memperkirakan butir-butir yang menimbulkan kesulitan belajar bahasa dan kesalahan berbahasa yang akan

(1) Analisis kontrastif berbeda dengan linguistik murni (*pure linguistics*) dalam mendekati disiplin-disiplin ilmu lainnya;

(2) karena linguistik adalah ilmu yang paling banyak dimanfaatkan oleh analisis kontrastif.

Carl James (1986 : 7–8) menegaskan bahwa bukunya "*Contrastive Analysis*" berhubungan dengan Anakon Terapan dan bukan dengan Anakon Murni. Oleh karena itu, dapat dipahami bahwa dia mengemukakan komponen "*central*" atau komponen yang sangat nyata dalam linguistik terapan, seperti yang dikemukakan oleh Wilkins (1972: 224):

> "Analisis kontrastif adalah salah satu dari beberapa penelitian/ penyelidikan dalam struktur bahasa yang telah memperbaiki pedagogi sebagai tujuannya, dan oleh karena itu, analisis kontrastif benar-benar merupakan suatu bidang penelitian bahasa terapan."

Walaupun agak kurang eksplisit, ada pakar lain yang berpendapat bahwa "Anakon merupakan komponen *central* dan penting dalam linguistik terapan (Politzer 1972).

Memang ada suatu fakta yang sukar dibantah bahwa para pakar linguistik murni telah menerapkan sesuatu yang sangat mirip dengan analisis kontrastif. Kepentingan-kepentingan mereka itu bukannya komparatif, kontrastif, atau tipologis, tetapi terletak pada hal-hal yang universal atau yang bersifat kesemestaan dalam bahasa. Tujuan untuk menetapkan atau menemukan hal-hal yang bersifat kesemestaan bahasa adalah demi penghematan. Berkaitan dengan hal ini, kita teringat pada pendapat seorang pakar yang menyatakan bahwa:

> "Kemajuan nyata dalam linguistik terlihat jelas pada temuan bahwa ciri-ciri bahasa-bahasa tertentu dapat direduksi, dikurangi/diperkecil sampai menjadi ciri-ciri umum bahasa serta dijelaskan menurut aspek-aspek bentuk linguistik yang lebih dalam" (Chomsky 1965 : 35).

Demikianlah pakar linguistik terapan terpanggil dan terdorong untuk meneliti bahasa-bahasa lain untuk memperkuat setiap kesemestaan

kontrastif yang dikemukan kepada[...]
tersebut. Namun demikian, kita [...]
pakar linguistik dapat mengecek [...]
dengan memerhatikan segala bah[...]
dapat mereka perbuat/lakukan ada[...]
yang meyakinkan dari beberapa [...]
yang mereka ketahui. Dengan [...]
akhirnya mereka berhadapan juga [...]
ini mengingatkan kita pada upa[...]
mengadakan analisis kontrastif, [...]
murni dan bukan linguistik terapa[...]

Dari pembicaraan di atas, k[...]
analisis kontrastif merupakan sua[...]
ataupun linguistik murni. Justru ka[...]
hanyalah suatu upaya yang tidak [...]
linguistik murnilah maka analisis k[...]
inti utama atau pokok sentral dala[...]
sebabnya maka analisis kontrast[...]
sebenarnya bermakna "Analisis kon[...]
contrastive analysis" (James 1986 : 8).

Bagaimana pula kaitan antara A[...]
atau Kedwibahasaan? Baik Jam[...]
sebelumnya, yaitu Wandruszka (1971)[...]
sebagai suatu bentuk studi antarbah[...]
Kalau demikian halnya, Anakon bia[...]
kedwibahasaan. Menurut batasannya [...]
studi mengenai bahasa-bahasa secara [...]
studi mengenai bahasa secara umum: [...]
merupakan pemilikan dua bahasa. Kala[...]
pemilikan dua bahasa oleh masyarakat [...]
dengan "*societal bilingualism*" atau ke[...]
sedangkan kalau kita menelaah orang y[...]
dua bahasa, kita berhubungan dengan "[...]
"kedwibahasaan perorangan" Anakon b[...]
bahasaan individual.

Berdasarkan kaitan penggunaan bahasa pengantar dalam pengajaran B2, kita mengenal dua istilah. Pertama, "penataan terpadu", yang bahasa ibu siswanya digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar pembantu di samping B2. Penataan terpadu ini, walaupun ditolak oleh para penentang Anakon, digunakan oleh Anakon. Alasan penggunaannya ialah karena banyak bukti menunjukkan keberhasilannya. Tercatat percobaan yang dilakukan oleh Lambert, Gardener, Barik, dan Tunstall menunjukkan hasil demikian "Dalam kursus bahasa intensif dengan metode langsung, pemisahan fungsi B1 dan B2 sepanjang kursus hasilnya tidak sebaik hasil belajar siswa yang menggunakan perangkat semantik B2, yakni interaksi B1 dan B2 (Lambert 1967). Kedua, penataan koordinatif, di mana B1 tidak dipakai sama sekali dalam pengajaran B2 Pengajaran B2 langsung dengan bahasa pengantar B2.

Dari uraian di atas, kita dapat menyimpulkan bahwa Anakon dapat berperan banyak dalam pengajaran B2. Hal-hal yang perlu dilakukan adalah menyempurnakan teori atau landasan yang digunakan oleh Anakon. Yang jelas, implikasi Anakon dalam kelas pengajaran B2 terlihat pada segi-segi:

(1) Penyusunan materi pengajaran yang didasarkan kepada butir-butir yang berbeda antara B1 siswa dan B2 yang sedang dipelajari.

(2) Penyusunan tata bahasa pedagogis yang didasarkan kepada teori linguistik yang digunakan.

(3) Penataan kelas secara terpadu yang B1 digunakan sebagai pembantu dalam pengajaran B2.

(4) Penyajian materi pengajaran secara langsung:
   a) menunjukkan persamaan dan perbedaan B1 dan B2;
   b) menunjukkan butir-butir B1 yang mungkin mendatangkan kesalahan dalam B2;
   c) menganjurkan cara-cara mengatasi interferensi;
   d) memberikan latihan intensif pada butir-butir yang berbeda.

Gambar 1.14 Empat daerah potensial bahasa Punjabi yang menginterferensi pemakaian bahasa Inggris para siswa (Jackson (1985).

Hal yang sama barangkali dapat terjadi dalam pengajaran bahasa Inggris sebagai B2 di Indonesia. Sebagai contoh, marilah kita, perhatikan butir-butir berikut ini.

(1) fonem /g/ dan /x/

di akhir kata : Umumnya, siswa Indonesia sukar membunyikan bunyi [g] dan [ks] di akhir kata, sedangkan dalam bahasa Inggris kedua bunyi itu sangat produktif di akhir kata. Oleh karena itu, tidaklah mengherankan apabila siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris membuat kesalahan seperti:

[bik]

[taeek]

yang seharusnya:

[big]

[big]   *big*   (besar)
[taeeks] *tax*   (pajak).

(2) susunan kata:

Umumnya, susunan kata dalam bahasa Indonesia mengikuti hukum DM, sedangkan bahasa Inggris MD. Oleh karena itu, tidak jarang kita menjumpai siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris membuat kesalahan seperti:

house	*big*
friend	*girl*
hair	*long*
water	*hot*

yang seharusnya:

big	*house*
girl	*friend*
long	*hair*
hot	*water*

(3) predikat kalimat :

Predikat kalimat bahasa Indonesia dapat berupa nomina, verba, adjektiva, sedangkan predikat kalimat bahasa Inggris selalu harus berupa verba; bila bukan verba, harus ditambahkan kata kerja bantu *"to be"*. Akibat perbedaan ini, para siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris sering membuat kesalahan seperti:

*) *He rich*
*) *You wrong.*
*) *She beautiful.*

yang seharusnya

He is rich
You are wrong
She is beautiful.

Kata kerja yang berfungsi sebagai predikat dalam bahasa Inggris untuk orang ketiga tunggal selalu dibubuhi -*s*, sedangkan dalam bahasa Indonesia kata kerja tersebut sama saja untuk setiap kata ganti (pertama, kedua, ketiga, tunggal, dan jamak). Akibat perbedaan ini, siswa Indonesia sering membuat kesalahan seperti:

*) *He read Kompas every morning.*
*) *The sun rise in the east and set in the west.*

yang seharusnya:

He reads Kompas every morning. The sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

(4) kata atau tense :

Bahwa Indonesia tidak mengenal tenses seperti yang terdapat dalam bahasa Inggris. Perbedaan ini sering menyulitkan para siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris. Kesalahan yang sering mereka perbuat, antara lain seperti:

*) *He is it on the chair.*
*) *Amin go to Bali last week.*

yang seharusnya:

He is sitting on the chair.
Amin went to Bali last week.

(5) kalimat tanya :

Kalimat tanya bahasa Indonesia berbeda dengan kalimat tanya bahasa Inggris; kadang-kadang perbedaan itu sangat besar. Perbedaan ini jelas menyebabkan kesulitan belajar bagi para siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris. Beberapa kesalahan yang sering dibuat oleh siswa Indonesia ialah:

*) *I may go with you?*
*) *When she came?*
*) *He lazy?*

yang seharusnya

May I go with you?
When did she come?
Is he lazy?

Agar lebih jelas lagi, mari kita perhatikan Gambar 1.15.

Gambar 1.15 Kemungkinan interferensi bahasa Indonesia terhadap bahasa Inggris yang dibuat oleh siswa Indonesia yang belajar bahasa Inggris.

Dengan kelima jenis kesalahan yang dibuat oleh para siswa Indonesia pada contoh di atas, sekali lagi ditunjukkan bukti bahwa Anakon dapat memprediksi kesalahan berbahasa, walaupun mungkin tidak secara tepat betul, toh dapat menunjukkan butir-butir perbedaan bahasa yang potensial mendatangkan interferensi B1 terhadap B2. Akhirnya dapat pula dijelaskan mengapa kesalahan itu terjadi, serta dapat mengoreksi atau meremedinya secara efektif dan efisien (bd. Tarigan & Tarigan 1988:19-58).

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Gambar 1.9 Faktor pemengaruh operasi efek transfer.

Gambar 1.10 Dua pendekatan terhadap operasi efek transfer

Para pakar pengajaran bahasa, penganjur atau pengikut Anakon, sering mendiskusikan masalah yang mereka hadapi tanpa melibatkan faktor psikologis. Kesimpulan-kesimpulan yang mereka tarik tidak mempertimbangkan faktor-faktor nonstruktural. Jacobovits memberikan contoh yang menarik mengenai hal ini, yakni hipotesis yang didasarkan pada prinsip kerja transfer, terutama tiga hukum kesamaan ciptaan Osgood. Jika proses ini meramalkan bahwa pengajaran B2 yang tidak serumpun dengan B1 siswa dengan penataan terpisah akan sedikit menghasilkan transfer negatif bila dibandingkan dengan pelaksanaan yang menggunakan penataan terkait. Sebaliknya, pengajaran B2 yang serumpun dengan B1 siswa dengan penataan tersebut akan menghasilkan lebih banyak transfer positif bila dibandingkan dengan penataan terpisah. Jika hipotesis ini benar-benar dilahirkan dari kenyataan yang sebenarnya, diperlukan bahan strategi belajar yang berbeda bagi bahasa-bahasa serumpun dan bahasa-bahasa tidak serumpun.

Mengingat betapa pentingnya faktor nonstruktural bagi operasi efek transfer, terbukalah mata para pakar pengajaran bahasa yang diperlukan tidak hanya sekadar linguistik kontrastif saja, tetapi lebih dari itu, yakni psikolinguistik. Pendapat ini dikemukakan oleh Tatiana Slama - Cayucu, dari Universitas Bukarest. Dalam makalah yang disampaikan pada Konferensi Zagreb mengenai English Contrastive Projects (ECP) pada bulan Desember 1970, Tatiana menyatakan betapa perlunya mengembangkan "contrastive analysis in discentis" yang berkaitan dengan pemerian dan prediksi interferensi yang benar-benar dialami oleh siswa, bukan yang hal-hal yang bersifat abstrak atau teoretis. Pendekatan yang hampir bersamaan juga dilakukan oleh William Nenser dari Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) di Washington DC.

Apabila kita hanya memahami secara sepintas lalu saja argumentasi yang digunakan oleh para penentang Anakon, seperti perasaan kecewa, tidak puas, frustasi, dan pesimis yang melanda