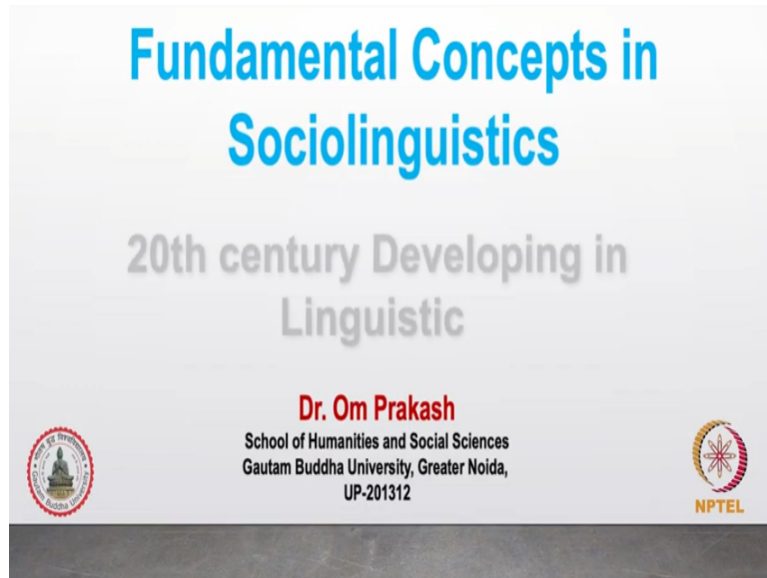


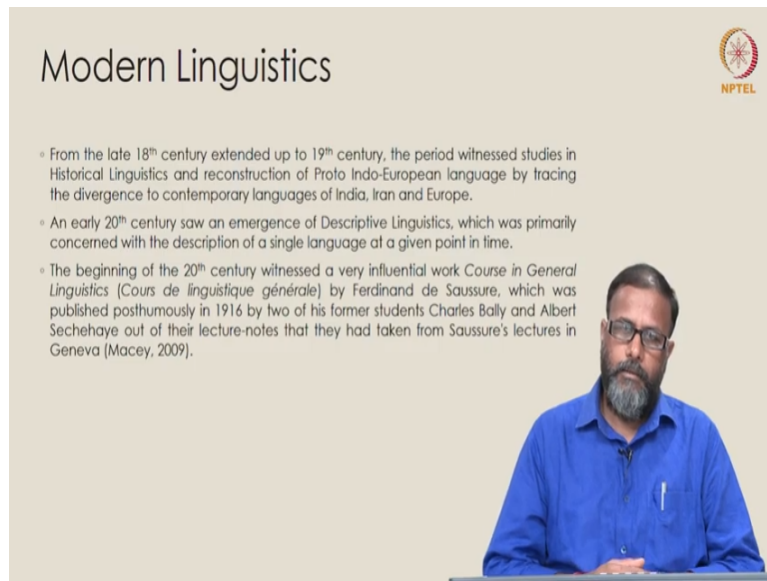
Fundamental Concepts in Sociolinguistics
Doctor Om Prakash
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20th century Theoretical Developments in Linguistics

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Welcome to class, today we are going to talk about 20th century theoretical developments in Linguistics. So, we are going to cover almost all major schools of thoughts, methods, and techniques that they adopted and how modern linguistics got the shape that we see it today. So it is a journey of hundred years, of approximately 100 years that we are going to cover in this discussion. So 20th century theoretical developments in Linguistics.

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The slide is titled "Modern Linguistics" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It contains three bullet points:

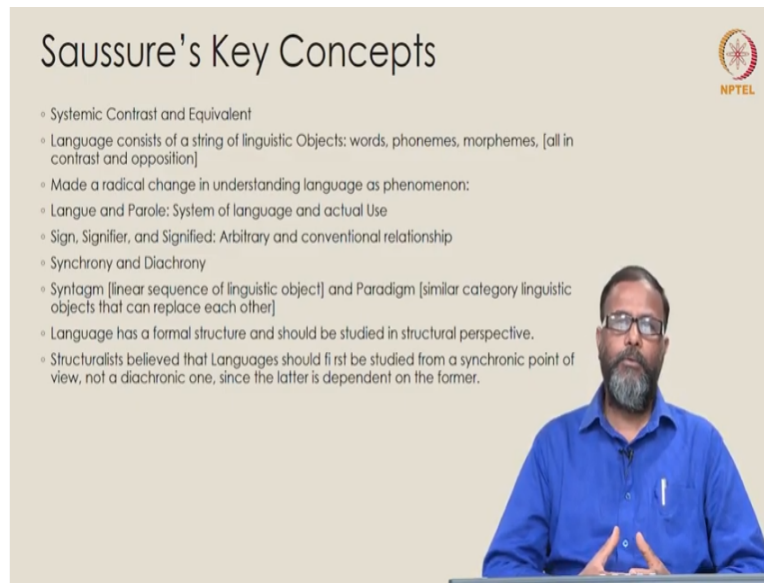
- From the late 18th century extended up to 19th century, the period witnessed studies in Historical Linguistics and reconstruction of Proto Indo-European language by tracing the divergence to contemporary languages of India, Iran and Europe.
- An early 20th century saw an emergence of Descriptive Linguistics, which was primarily concerned with the description of a single language at a given point in time.
- The beginning of the 20th century witnessed a very influential work *Course in General Linguistics* (*Cours de linguistique générale*) by Ferdinand de Saussure, which was published posthumously in 1916 by two of his former students Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye out of their lecture-notes that they had taken from Saussure's lectures in Geneva (Macey, 2009).

In the bottom right corner of the slide, there is a video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

As we discussed earlier, also while talking about Saussure and his work, we saw that Saussure was on the threshold of a paradigm shift in linguistics and language studies, he was trained in philology and historical linguistics that was the trend of the time and from the late 18th century that can be extended up to 19th century. The period witnessed studies in historical linguistics and reconstruction of proto-Indo-European languages by tracing the divergence to contemporary languages of India, Iran and Europe. Saussure was part of that tradition and the early 20th century saw an emergence of descriptive linguistics which was primarily concerned with the description of a single language at a given point of time.

Saussure made a huge change through his works and that period witnessed an influential work, *Course In General Linguistics*. Though this was published posthumously in 1916, Saussure died in 1913, it was published in 1916. This book was compiled by his students, posthumously, Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye out of their lecture-notes that they had taken from Saussure's lecture in Geneva. And that book proved to be a milestone and a turning point in the approach, methods and theoretical constructs in language study and that led to the foundation of Structuralism as a Theoretical approach.

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The slide is titled "Saussure's Key Concepts" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It contains a list of key concepts in linguistics:

- Systemic Contrast and Equivalent
- Language consists of a string of linguistic Objects: words, phonemes, morphemes, [all in contrast and opposition]
- Made a radical change in understanding language as phenomenon:
- Langue and Parole: System of language and actual Use
- Sign, Signifier, and Signified: Arbitrary and conventional relationship
- Synchrony and Diachrony
- Syntagm [linear sequence of linguistic object] and Paradigm [similar category linguistic objects that can replace each other]
- Language has a formal structure and should be studied in structural perspective.
- Structuralists believed that Languages should first be studied from a synchronic point of view, not a diachronic one, since the latter is dependent on the former.

In the bottom right corner of the slide, there is a video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking and gesturing with his hands.

If you look at Saussure's key concepts that are well documented in this book. Saussure looked at language as a systemic, language as an object of systemic contrast and equivalent objects. Language consists of a string of linguistic objects like words for names, morphemes all in contrast and opposition. Saussure made a radical change in understanding language as a phenomenon and he introduced binary ideas like Langue and Parole. We have already talked about Langue and Parole in detail. He introduced ideas like Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic relations. He talked about Synchrony and Diachrony, Synchronic Linguistics and Diachronic Linguistics, internal and external linguistics. So he talked about Sign, Signifier and Signified.

So a Linguistic Signifier is a combination of a composite form of the sound image, the actual sounds and the concept it relates to and he also established that there is no logical connection between the Signifier and the Signified and these ideas and this approach of looking at language, led foundations of Structuralism. Though Saussure never used this term Structuralism, in fact it was introduced by Roman Jakobson.

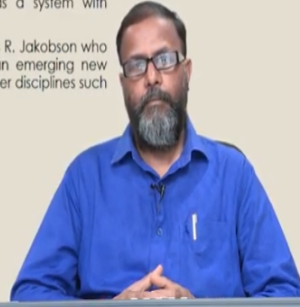
So Saussure believed that language has a formal structure and should be studied in a structural perspective. And a Structuralist believed that language should be first studied from a synchronic point of view not a diachronic point of view. Since the diachronic point of view is dependent on the synchronic point of view. So they preferred studying language from synchronic point of view, that means language at a given point of time.

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Structuralism



- The ideas and approach of Saussure made significant paradigm shifts not only in linguistics but in a wide range of areas such as, literature, philosophy, sociology, and other related disciplines.
- Saussure saw language as a formal system with various constituting elements and be analyzed despite complexities in real time of speech production.
- Drawing primarily from the works by Saussure, 1920s saw emergence of Structuralism in language studies and linguistics. The decade witnessed a shift in approaches with meticulous and sophisticated methods in analyzing language as a system with subdisciplines such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics etc.
- Saussure himself never used the term 'structuralism' in his work. It was R. Jakobson who coined the term in 1929 [Jakobson 1971:711] in reference to an emerging new method which was being used at the time in linguistics, as well as other disciplines such as literary studies, psychology, sociology and anthropology.




So these are the basic tenets of Structuralism and this movement was spread all over out of which two Schools are very important and prominent. One is European Structuralism and the other is American Structuralism. In Europe also we have the Prague Circle, the Copenhagen Circle, and the Vienna Science Circle so it was spread all over Europe. And the Prague school is one which is very influential in European Structuralism and parallel to that we see American structuralism which is primarily led by Leonard Bloomfield. And we will talk about American structuralists like Edward Sapir. American Structuralism was highly influenced by anthropological works and frameworks in psychology, behaviourism.

European Structuralism was highly influenced and deeply rooted in Saussurean work with the Saussurean idea. However American Structuralism has a little departure in technique and methods used for analyzing language data. So the idea and approach of Saussure made a significant paradigm shift not only in linguistics but in a whole range of areas such as Literature, Philology, Sociology and other related disciplines. Saussure saw language as a formal system with various constituting elements and that it should be analyzed despite complexities in real time of speech production. And drawing primarily from the works by Saussure, the 1920s witnessed an emergence of Structuralism in the language studies and linguistics. The decade 1920s witnessed a shift in a process with meticulous and sophisticated methods in analyzing language use as a system with sub disciplines such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, et cetera.

And we see a departure from historical linguistic and philological approaches. So from the 1920s onward, we did not look at sound change in its diachronic perspective, in fact we had

the advantage point of looking at language from a synchronic point of view. And that is a departure in Structuralism. Sausurre himself never used the term Structuralism in his work, in his lectures and his discussions. And it was Roman Jakobson who coined the term in 1929 in reference to an emerging new method which was being used at the time in linguistics as well as other disciplines such as literary theory and studies, psychology, sociology and anthropology. So this term was coined in 1929 by Roman Jakobson but the traits, and the features, and the methods, and the techniques used in Structuralism was highly influenced by the works of Ferdinand de Saussure.


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European Structuralism: The Prague Circle 1920s

◦ European structuralists had emphasis on the view that meaning is an inherent aspect of the language system, not reducible to external factors or reference. The Prague Linguistic Circle was founded in 1926 by a group of scholars who are:


- R. Jakobson,
- B. Havránek,
- V. Mathesius,
- J. Mukarovsky ,
- N. S. Trubetzkoy, and
- B. Trnka.




If you look at the European Structuralism movement we have three important schools of thoughts and practices; the Prague Circle, the Copenhagen Circle, and the Vienna Science Circle. Out of the three, Prague Circle which was founded in 1926, in fact was highly influenced and made a deeper impact in language studies and it is also credited for leading this movement of Structuralism in Europe. So, European Structuralists had emphasis on the view that meaning is an inherent aspect of the language system and you have to notice this aspect that European Structuralism looked at meaning deeply embedded in the structure, inherent in the structure. So they did not see that meaning as the secondary aspect as we see in American Structuralism so there is a difference. And they believe that it is not reducible to external factors or references. The Prague Linguistic Circle was founded formally in 1926 by a group of scholars like Roman Jakobson, B. Havranek, V. Mathesius, J. Mukarovsky, N. S. Trubetzkoy and B. Trnka. So they were the founders of Prague Circle and we all understand

Roman Jakobson's contribution and we know the phonology, Gentry phonology and other things.

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- Although the Praguians became particularly known for their seminal research in phonology, their work encompasses much more.
- The members of the Prague Circle described themselves as both structuralists and functionalists:
 - structuralists because they claimed that every element of a language is part of a paradigmatic 'structure' (e.g. the sound structure of a language, its lexical structure, its intonational structure, etc.);
 - functionalists because they saw each linguistic unit as existing only in as far as it serves particular purpose which ultimately contributes to the communicative function of language.



Though Praguians became particularly known for their seminal research in phonology and their work encompasses much more. The members of the Prague Circle described themselves as both a structuralist and functionalist. They described themselves as a structuralist because they believed that every element of a language is part of paradigmatic structure. The sound structure of language for example it is lexical structure, it is international structure, et cetera. And they also call themselves functionalist because they believed that each linguistic unit as existing only in as far as it serves a particular purpose with which ultimately contributes to the communicative function of language. So, they looked at language from a structural point of view and they looked at language from a functional point of view. And that is why they call themselves a structuralist as well as functionalists. And they produce a lot of seminal work in formal linguistics, theoretical linguistics specifically their impact on phonology is worth mentioning here.

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American structuralism [1930s-1950s]

- Edward Sapir
- Leonard Bloomfield
- Z. S. Harris
- Charles Hockett

American Structuralism was influenced and led by Leonard Bloomfield.

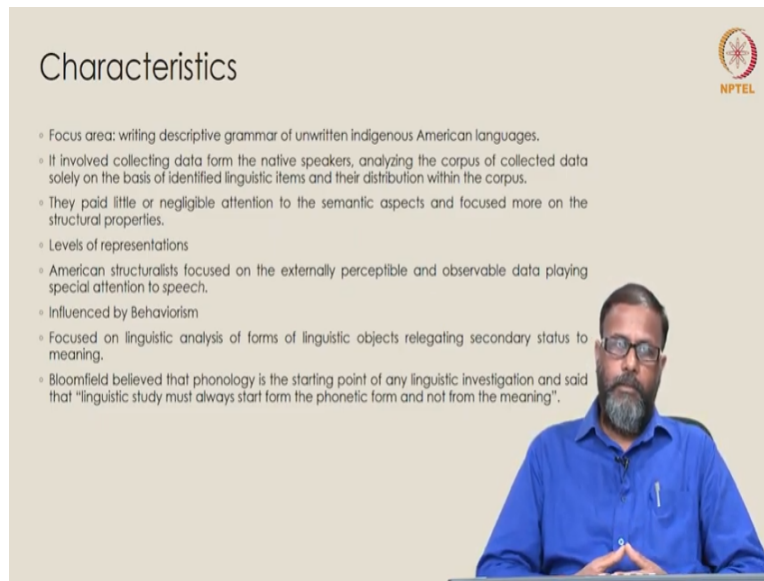
The Bloomfieldian Structuralism declined after 1950s as the Generative Paradigm by Chomsky came to center stage in late 1950s and early 1960s.



If you look at American Structuralism, which roughly started in 30s and continued up to 50s before the advent of Chomsky, linguistics in the scene and the practitioners of American Structuralism are Edward Sapir, who was basically an anthropologist and a linguist, Leonard Bloomfield, who is known as the champion of American Structuralism, Z. S. Harris and Charles Hockett and many of their followers and students. They practiced American Structuralism and as I mentioned, unlike European Structuralism, American Structuralism paid more attention to a structure of the language as compared to the semantic aspect of it, meaning aspect of it. However, European Structuralism looked at meaning as an inherent component of linguistic structure. So that was the departure.

American Structuralism was influenced and led by Leonard Bloomfield. The Bloomfieldian Structuralism declined after the 1950s as the Generative Paradigm or the Chomsky way of doing linguistics and language studies arrived in the mid-1950s and got consolidated in the 1960s. So we see a paradigm shift after, mid-1950s in American Structuralism.

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The slide is titled "Characteristics" and features a list of bullet points on the left side. On the right side, there is a video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the slide.

- Focus area: writing descriptive grammar of unwritten indigenous American languages.
- It involved collecting data from the native speakers, analyzing the corpus of collected data solely on the basis of identified linguistic items and their distribution within the corpus.
- They paid little or negligible attention to the semantic aspects and focused more on the structural properties.
- Levels of representations
- American structuralists focused on the externally perceptible and observable data paying special attention to speech.
- Influenced by Behaviorism
- Focused on linguistic analysis of forms of linguistic objects relegating secondary status to meaning.
- Bloomfield believed that phonology is the starting point of any linguistic investigation and said that "linguistic study must always start from the phonetic form and not from the meaning".


When we look at the characteristics of American Structuralism, the focus area was writing descriptive grammar of unwritten indigenous American languages, led by Bloomfield, though Sapir also studied such indigenous languages. American Structuralism and the approach it followed involved collecting data from the native speakers, analyzing the corpus of collected data solely on the basis of identified linguistic items and the distribution within the corpus. And Bloomfield developed a method of collecting data that is known as the observant method. In that method, he would call the native speaker in the class or in the place where his students and he and his students were collecting data and they would get data directly from the native speaker. And they would analyze, they will do the analysis; phonetic analysis, syntactic analysis and study the linguistic items and their distribution in this collected corpus of data. They paid little or negligible attention to the semantic aspects and focused more on the structural properties of the language. American Structuralism talks about levels of representation, building blocks of language like phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics were included but not paid much attention to.

So they were more interested in the structural aspect of representation at the level of phonology, at the level of morphology, at the level of syntax, sentence structures. American Structuralism focused on externally perceptible and observable data paying a special attention to speech and we can trace this influence from the behaviourist paradigm because American Structuralism was heavily influenced by behaviourist paradigm. In a while, we will talk about behaviourism that relies on analyzing language and understanding language acquisition process in terms of externally perceptible data, that is speech. So not the underlying factors


motivating that speech. So, they were all interested in the externally perceptible data so whatever they got from the informant, respondent their analysis was based on that.

American Structuralism also focused on linguistic analysis of forms, forms of linguistic object, structure of linguistic object and relegating secondary place or secondary status to meaning. Bloomfield believed that phonology is the starting point of any language analysis, any linguistic investigation and said that linguistic study must always start from the phonetic form and not from the meaning. So here you find a very clear distinction between European Structuralism and American Structuralism where European Structuralism looked at language, looked at meaning deeply embedded in the structure. However, the American Structuralist looked at the structure independently and the meaning was relegated to secondary status in their analysis. And this trend continued up to almost mid 1950s.

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- American linguistics as practised from the 1930s through the 1950s as 'structural', although its theoretical and methodological principles were considerably different from 'European structuralism' and Saussure's influence was rather limited.
- European post-war schools and movements fall within the purview of 'structuralism'. Though they had difference in various important methodological issues, what they have in common is that, they are all deeply influenced by the works of Saussure.



American linguistics as practiced from the 1930s through the 1950s as a 'structural' although its theoretical and methodological principles were considerably different from 'European Structuralism' and Saussure's influence on American Structuralism was very limited. Whereas European post-war schools and people who practiced structuralism and the structuralist movement they all fall within the purview of 'structuralism' as promoted and started with the works and inspired from the works of Saussure. It was more grounded in Saussurean work and Saussurean concepts. Though they had differences in various important methodological issues, broadly what they have in common is that they all were deeply influenced by the works, concepts and approaches of Saussure. But as opposed to European


Structuralism, American Structuralism was more into a structure, a restricted influence of Saussure's work and concepts and meaning was relegated to secondary status in their analysis. As Bloomfield himself believed that any linguistic investigation must start with the form not from the meaning. So this is structuralism and what we see from beginning of 20th century to middle of 20th century almost half of 20th century was heavily influenced by methods, techniques and approaches in structuralism. And we have a parallel paradigm being practiced in behaviourism in psychology known as Behaviourism.

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Behaviourism (1920s-1950s)

- In psychology Behaviourism (1920s-1950s) stressed measurement based on objective behaviour rejecting the focus on mental processes.
- **B. F. Skinner:** Covert Behaviour—including cognition and emotions—is subject to the same controlling variables as observable behaviour, **Operant Conditioning**
- **John B. Watson:** methodological behaviourism [1924]; External Perceptible Behaviour
- **Ivan Pavlov:** investigated how (conditioned) neutral stimuli elicit reflexes in respondent conditioning
- As Skinner published his work in 1957 titled Verbal Behaviour Verbal Behavior laid out in detail the behaviourist understanding on language was strongly criticized in a review by Noam Chomsky.



And behaviourism in psychology heavily influenced works in American Structuralism for the fact that psychology and the behaviourist paradigm in psychology looked at externally perceptible speech and analyzed it. So they looked at language as behaviour at the actual act and that also influenced approaches in a structuralist American structuralist tradition.

And we can see that influence when we look at audio-lingual methods of teaching. Bloomfield himself and his students wrote a lot of descriptive grammar based on an American Structural approach and not to mention the 1933 book called Language by Leonard Bloomfield is considered as the key document or the significant milestone publication to understand American Structuralism.

Now coming to Behaviourism, that started in the late 20s and continued up to late 50s culminates into B. F. Skinner's work Verbal Behaviour in 1957. So three names are very important when you look at that particular period: B. F Skinner, John B. Watson and Ivan


Pavlov. Though other psychologists also worked during the period, the three names are important in terms of the emergence of the behaviourist paradigm in language.

That emanated from psychology so B. F. Skinner talked about Covert Behaviour including cognition and emotions which is subject to the same controlling variables as observable behaviour and he gave the theory of 'Operant Conditioning' in 1937. John B. Watson talked about methodological behaviourism in 1924 and he also promoted external perceptible behaviour. Pavlov investigated how conditioned neutral stimuli elicit reflexes in respondents controlling stimulus and response drawing from classical conditioning. Skinner published his monumental work in 1957 called Verbal Behaviour, that can also be seen as a summarised document of the concepts, beliefs and approaches of behaviourism. And it looked at language as verbal behaviour and the fundamental tenets of this entire approach was stimulus response change, the idea that a child is born with a tabula rasa and stimulus response change, operant conditioning, role of reinforcement, positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement and habit formation. So it relied on externally perceptible behaviour, linguistic behaviour to describe and understand language. This work and this approach of behaviourists was severely criticised by Noam Chomsky and he systematically crushed the arguments put forward by behaviourists led by Skinner. However, Skinner later made a remark saying that Chomsky did not get the essence of the explanation.

However, Chomsky's arrival was marked in the late 50s with his standard theory and Chomsky enterprise is known as generative grammar in linguistics. So now we enter into a new paradigm called Generative Grammar.

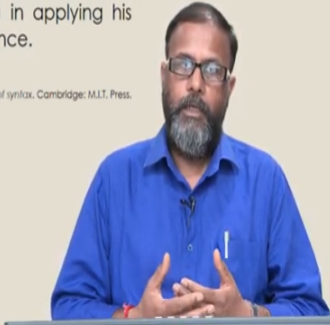
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Mentalism/Generative Linguistics



◦ Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its (the speech community's) language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of this language in actual performance.

◦ Chomsky, Noam (1965), *Aspects of the theory of syntax*, Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.




Chomsky made a very important significant change in the explanation of language as a phenomenon and if you look at Chomsky approach, we can see the summarised statement that Chomsky gives in his aspects of theory of syntax 1965 publication. He says linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community who knows its speech language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristics) in applying his knowledge of language in actual performance.

Chomsky started with three etymological questions, what is knowledge of language, how this knowledge of language is acquired and how this knowledge of language is put into practice.

Chomsky talks about underlined tacit linguistic structures in the human mind and he says that a human child is born with an innate capacity to learn, to acquire a language. So, he postulated two hypotheses: linguistic nativism and innateness hypothesis. And he talks about the infinite creativity of language and linguistic structures because with a finite set of rules we are able to generate an infinite number of utterances. He postulates concepts like LAD (language acquisition device), Universal grammar. So, he is not talking about language specific grammar he talks about universal principles that govern human language are underlying, tacitly there in human mind when we are born and basically acquisition of language is nothing but hypothesis testing this is what he talks about. And the whole idea of principles and parameters he puts forward. So, principles that govern human languages and parameters that distinguish them.


So languages have, English is different from Mexican because of parametric variations. But principally they all share the same underlying principle. A child is born with that knowledge of underlying principle and the input or the stimulus available in the immediate environment called primary linguistic data, triggers that mechanism of the conceptual apparatus known as LAD and a child is able to frame grammatical rules and through hypothesis testing. He also puts forward the argument that the rate at which children learn vocabulary is self-explanatory for the fact that they do not require a stimulus for everything that they learn. So he talks about the poverty of stimulus. That means the input available for the child in the environment is erroneous, idiosyncratic, incomplete and fuzzy but that does not deter a child from picking up any language in the environment. So, he assigns a lot of autonomy and agency to the child or human child or mind that acquires language. So this is a journey of Structuralism, then post-Structuralism, then Behaviour's Paradigm, then Generative Linguistics.

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Generative grammar: The mid 1950s onwards

- Generative grammar developed since the mid 1950s, and has undergone many changes in approaches and methods of analysis and prediction of grammaticality.
- **Standard theory (1956-1965)**
- **Extended standard theory (1965-1973)**
 - syntactic constraints
 - generalized phrase structures X-bar Theory
- **Revised extended standard theory (1973-1976)**
 - Restrictions upon X-bar Theory
 - Assumption of the Complementizer position.
 - Move Alpha
- **Government and binding/principles and parameters theory (1981-1990)**
 - Chomsky's Lectures on Government and Binding (1981) and *Minimalist Program* (1986).
- **Minimalist program (1990s-present)**
 - The minimalist program is a line of inquiry that hypothesizes that the human language faculty is optimal, containing only what is necessary to meet human, physical and communicative needs, and seeks to identify the necessary properties of such a system.
 - It was proposed by Chomsky in 1993.



And within this paradigm we see a lot of other developments. In fact the native grammar itself had multiple milestones and it has witnessed a lot of revisions and changes. And if you trace the history and development of Generative Grammar since the 1950s onwards, we see Standard Theory that came in so that is the period for 1956 to 1965 aspect of Syntax, Chomsky next publication.

Then, Extended Standard Theory 1965 to 1973, where he talks about syntactic constraints, so Generative Grammar talks about syntactic constraints and we have X-bar theory, a

generalized phrasal structure. Then Revised Extended Standard Theory 1973 to 1976, where we have restrictions upon X-bar theory, assumptions of the complement either position and a very important tool to analyse data, linguistic data is move alpha.

And then, we have Government and binding theory, Principles and Parameters theory 1981 to 1990 and then Chomsky produces in 1993, a minimalist program. So that is 1990s onwards till date we have a minimalist programme that hypothesises that human language faculty is optimal containing only what is necessary to meet human physical and communicative needs and seeks to identify the necessary properties of such a system. It was proposed by Chomsky in 1993. So, this is the development in linguistics, starting from Saussure and 1916 publication of his course in General Linguistics to Structuralism and Saussure work, then Edward Sapir's work, then Leonard Bloomfield and his major work published in language 1937 onwards. And then approach and methods is observant method, emphasis on understanding a structure of the language, and talking about building blocks of language, levels of representation then we have parallel to that American Structuralism we have European Structuralism and then we get into Behaviourist Paradigm. Behaviour's paradigm had deep influence on specifically American Structuralism.

And then in 1957 onwards, we find arrival of Chomsky and Chomsky Linguistics known as Generative Grammar and in response to Chomsky Generative Grammar, we have many other linguists coming with parallel proposals, contradictory proposals among them very important work by MAK Halliday Systemic Functions of language, Systemic Grammar that he worked on. Then Relational Grammar for that matter, Context-Free Grammar for that matter.

So, lots of developments from the 1950s to 1990s. And then during that period a parallel approach was evolving which I mean Chomsky looked at Linguistics from a computational point of view, underlining the structures and how the human mind computes these structures. So he also called it Mentalism and Chomsky paid a lot of attention to competence. He talks about linguistic competence. So, paid lots of attention about the underlined structures and their functions, in opposed to that we have people like Delham's who talked about communicative competence, paying a lot of attention to language in use.

So, Chomsky talks more about computational aspects of linguistics of language and human mind and paying less attention to performance. So, he is more concerned about linguistic competence and he said that the goal of Linguistic Theory should be to predict the universal

principles and the computation of data in the human mind. But opposed to that we have Delham's people like MAK Halliday who are talking about language in actual use, language in a socio-cultural context and Delham came up with Communicative Competence in 1970, 72 for that matter.

Halliday talks about systemic functions of language and the language acquisition by human child, he talks about seven systemic functions, if you want to know more about systemic functions you can see MAK Halliday's Systemic Function, the video we have already done you can also watch the video that we did on exclusively on Chomsky Linguistic Competence. You can understand and see the video on Delham's Communicative Competence that we did in detail and if you want to understand Chomsky linguistics you can see the Innateness Hypothesis that we did in a particular video, you can also understand Behaviourism and Behaviourist approach in Language Acquisition that we did in separate video.

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Sociolinguistics as Discipline 1960s

- William Labov: pioneered a school devoted to showing the relevance of social determinants of variation for linguistic theory;
- Basil Bernstein: the British sociologist who worked on class-related 'codes';
- Dell Hymes: shaped the ethnography of communication and educational linguistics and who moulded sociolinguistics by editing several pioneering volumes and the flagship journal *Language in Society*;
- John Gumperz: founder of interactional sociolinguistics;
- Charles Ferguson: Diglossia
- Joshua Fishman: Sociology of Language

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But during that time, another movement was taking place and a sub-discipline of Linguistics later on called Sociolinguistics emerged during the 1960s with various techniques and methods applied by different scholars away from these developments, a parallel development of the sort. And the few founding pillars of this discipline are William Labov for that matter who pioneered a school devoted to showing the relevance of social determinants of variation for linguistic theory and established that linguistic structures are parallel to social structures and they are related.

Then we have a person like Basil Bernstein, a British sociologist who worked on class-related 'codes' to class and codes his work was severely criticised on account of different reasons but he was the one who talked about class and code so language restricted code, elaborate code.

Dell Hymes another important founding father of sociolinguistics who shaped the ethnography of communication and educational linguistics who moulded sociolinguistics by editing several pioneer volumes and the flagship general language in society. Then we have John Gumperz known better for his interactional sociolinguistics. So they are all talking about language in action, language in use, language in a sociocultural space. So, they are not talking like Chomsky and Generative Grammar, abstractness in terms of abstractness of linguistic structures but actually they are talking about the concrete realisation of it in a particular socio-cultural space. Charles Ferguson's work in Diglossia; very important milestone publication. Joshua Fishman's approach in Sociology of Language.

Similarly, William Bright who studied native languages and cultures of California, research on Native American languages, Allen Grimshaw who looked at language in a social context, Einar Haugen who looked at bilingualism and language shift, he was the first linguist to write about ecology of language and also talked about language planning and policy. Uriel Weinreich and his work on understanding language contact, causes and effects, minority languages and language vitality, language revival. Similarly, Susan, Sue Ervin-Tripp talked about distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism, child language acquisition etc. So this was a parallel development, parallel to other theoretical developments in the field and this is the journey of Linguistics, Modern Linguistics in the 20th century.

We will talk about emergence of sociolinguistics more in our next video and I hope that you are now able to trace the history of theoretical developments in linguistics right from Ferdinand de Saussure, his work, birth of a structuralism, practice of structuralism, spread of structuralism till 1950, the structuralism dominated a half of a century and then we see arrival of Chomsky's Generative Grammar and also see the severe criticism of Behaviourist paradigm of language arrival of Generative Grammar. Generative Grammar has gone multiple changes, revisions and now today we have minimalist programme and parallel to this a number of other programmes, other approaches, other theories also developed and a sub-discipline came out, out of all these is modern Sociolinguistics and these are the founding fathers of modern sociolinguistics.

So thank you very much for now, we will meet in our next class.