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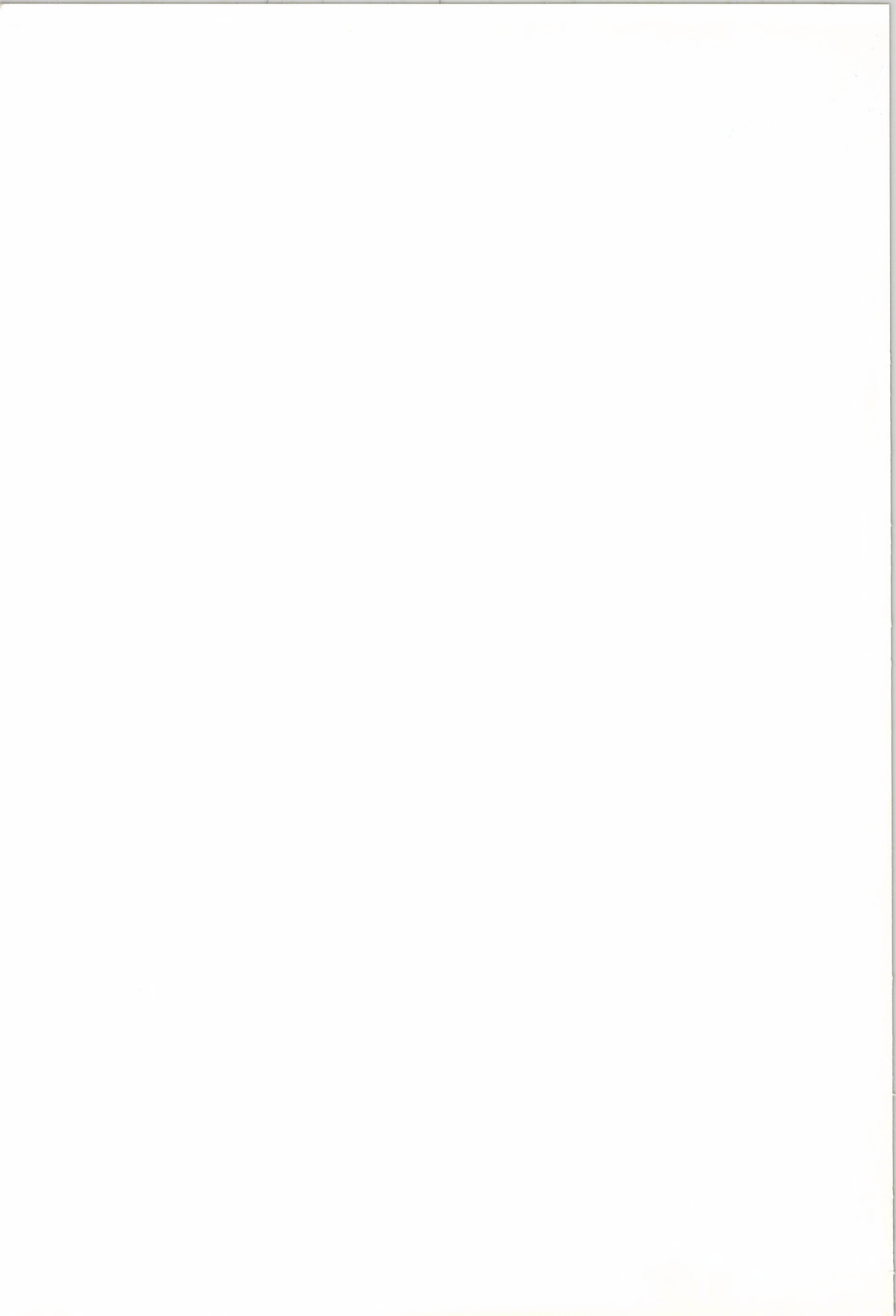
RELATIONES, 2.

WOLFGANG U. DRESSLER

SPOKEN LANGUAGE  
A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO  
LINGUISTIC THEORY AND  
METHODOLOGY

A MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA NYELVTUDOMÁNYI INTÉZETE  
INSTITUTUM LINGUISTICUM ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

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## I. Introduction

Despite lip service paid to the importance of spoken language culminating in statements of the kind that spoken language is the primary source of linguistic data, written language only a derived source, linguistics is solidly based on the study of written language. The origins of this unwarranted bias are manifold:

1) Nineteenth century historical linguistics is an off-spring of philology, therefore its primary sources are manuscripts and inscriptions. So much for historical linguistics, which has had an enormous influence on other branches of linguistics.

2) Applied linguistics has been usually centered on language teaching, and what have been the target languages taught, have generally been written standards or spoken standards derived from written ones and prescriptively regulated according to written norms.

3) Since its beginning as a subject taught in universities, most areas of linguistics are institutionally — and often personally as well — coupled with literature. As a consequence the analysis of literary language has been considered to be one of the most noble tasks of linguistic endeavours. This idea is reinforced by the romantic idea that the language of poets and literary writers embodies the highest possible realizations of the potentialities of a given language (cf. Dressler 1983). Even texts of oral poetry are usually studied in their written materializations. And this has had a great influence on the evaluative hierarchy of descriptive linguistics.

4) Descriptive linguistics, more generally, is based on the analysis of corpora. Either these corpora are written documents or, if they represent oral language, then the structuralist analyst is supposed to reduce oral to written language (note the subtitle of Pike's (1947) *Phonemics*: "a technique for reducing languages to writing"). For this purpose, phoneticians have limited for a long time their studies to strings of maximally differentiated productions of phonemes, e.g. to minimal pairs to be pronounced with utmost care.

Similarly both dialectological and ethnolinguistic field work heavily relied on dictations styles, as if one wanted to rely on careful reading styles of written language. Repetition, nomination and translation tasks to be carried out by informants pointed into the same direction. Moreover, field workers took pride in writing down myths, legends, poems etc., i.e. those oral text types which are most similar to formal written language. But they were hardly interested in recording spontaneous conversations. And such attitudes prevailed even long after the invention of the tape recorder (e.g. Dressler et al.'s 1974 edition of a rapidly and casually delivered Breton narrative has been the first of its kind).

So far I mentioned only empirical (if not empiricist) branches of linguistics which are characterized by rather inductive approaches. Deductive approaches are more theory-oriented. One illustrious example is classical generative grammar. Its protagonists and adepts often took their materials directly from structuralist or historical grammars which — as we have seen — were usually based on written language. Syntacticians relied on the intuitions of informants many of which were linguists (often the authors themselves), i.e. on very conscious language use where the influence of grammatical norms based on written standards is highest. Up to now phonologists have often relied on pronunciation dictionaries (again based on written standards) whereas phonetic variation has been mostly thrown into the waste-basket of performance.

However, such written language bias (cf. Linell 1982) is unacceptable:

1) Realistic applied linguistics usually has, or should have, to do with spoken language: pupils want to learn how to speak and understand oral language; speech therapy must concentrate on oral language production and receptive processing; now there is an enormous interest in, and need of, progress in automatic speech recognition and realistic speech production (for Vienesse work cf. Kubin 1987) etc.

2) Inductive, empirical, descriptive linguistics must be based on language as it is really used: most of it spoken casually, often divergent from norms of written language.

3) Theoretical, deductive, universalist linguistics must generate hypotheses which are checkable against real (incl. spontaneous) data from spoken language.

The main philosophy of my department is to believe in a fertile interplay of deductive, more theoretical, and inductive, more empirical approaches and to look for how the results of theoretical and descriptive linguistics can be applied to needs of society. In what follows I want to illustrate the methodology and theoretical background of research in oral language with work I and my research associates have been involved in ourselves.



## II. Sociophonological Variation

The main motifs of our work on Viennese and Austrian German (Dressler et al. 1972; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Dressler & Moosmüller 1986; Moosmüller 1987), South Tyrol German, Italian (on both s. Tonelli 1984; Herok & Tonelli 1979), and Breton (Dressler 1972; Dressler & Hufgard 1980) have been both theoretical and applied ones:

1) If we take an item-and-process approach, rather than a structuralist item-and-arrangement approach, to phonology, then the area where the superiority of the processual approach (as in Natural Phonology) becomes most evident, is phonological variation (cf. Dressler 1975a).

2) Sociophonological variation methodology has large applications within socio-, psycho-, patholinguistics and even historical linguistics. Its application to computational linguistics (in the vein of Kubin 1987) is now under way.

Our methodology can be segmented into the following main steps which I will first illustrate with Breton (IIa), then with Viennese German data (IIb):

### IIa. Breton dialect data

Breton data are discussed first, because they are easier to handle: None of my informants knew literary Breton or Breton dialects different from their own. For all non-local and most formal language functions they used (some sort of) standard French. Therefore there was no interference from any other type of Breton. The 8 main steps of the methodology used were:

1) Diversified data collection: In one Northern (near Lannion in the Tréguier dialect area, cf. Dressler 1972) and in one very divergent South-western dialect (South Bigouden dialect, south west of Quimper, cf. Dressler & Hufgard 1980, Dressler et al. 1974) we collected as many local and social variants in as many different degrees of formality as possible (using techniques similar to Labov 1927). We concentrated on perfectly competent and fluent informants of Breton, whereas I studied language decay with other types of speakers (this is beyond the scope of this contribution, cf. Dressler 1972b, 1988).

2) After transcribing in narrow phonetic transcription from the tape recorder we collected all phonetic shapes of a morphological word form and of (inflectionally or derivationally) related morphological forms, both in the same and in different syntactic and prosodic contexts, as in figure 1:

## Figure 1

phonetic shapes of a form: '100' ['kân:]#, '100 francs' ['kân: ,ly:R, 'kânly<sup>R</sup>, 'kâ:lə], 'hundreds' ['kântšu, 'kâ:šu, 'kâ:šu], 'widower' [ĩntā(ŋ)f, ĩ:tāf, ĩ:tāf], Pl. [ĩ'ntā:vət, ĩ'tā:vət, ĩ'ta:və, ĩ'tā:və], 'I go to' ['hā: #,da, 'hānda, 'hānda, 'hā:də]

(centralized high vowels occurred only in very casual pronunciations of the Bigouden dialect. Thus the forms given here are Bigouden ones).

3) Then we tried to arrange a hierarchical order of casualness for the phonetic variants of each morphological word form by using standard sociolinguistic criteria (cf. Labov 1972). In comparing the data we tried to expand the material and to fill gaps in the hierarchical series (thus repeating steps 1-3).

4) Next we tried to establish cooccurrence restrictions among the various phonetic shapes of the hierarchically ordered series of different morphological word forms or to find at least preferential cooccurrences. These cooccurrence limitations are displayed in the horizontal rows of figure 2:

## Figure 2

cooccurrence restrictions & preferences

'kântšu	'kân:#	'kân:#:ly:r	'hā:#da	'ĩntāŋf	ĩn'tā:vət
--	--	--	--	'ĩntāf	--
--	--	'kânly <sup>R</sup>	'hānda	--	--
'kâ:šu	--	--	'hānda	--	--
--	--	--	'hā:də	'itāf	ĩ'tā:vət
--	--	'kâ:lə	--	'ĩ:təf	ĩ'tā:və
'kâšu	--	--	--	--	ĩ'tā:və

5) Then we tried to construct for each vertical column of figure 2 an underlying phonemic form and first obligatory input-output relations in terms of allomorphic and morphological rules (cf. Dressler 1985) and — most important — phonological processes matched to universal phonological process types of Natural Phonology (cf. Dressler 1984a). Figure 3 displays the underlying forms for the columns of figure 2 and the obligatory phonological processes:

## Figure 3

underlying phonemic forms and obligatory PRs matched to universal processes /kant, kant+ju, ly:R, intanv, intanv+ed, han da/

nt, mp → n:, m: / \_\_\_\_<sup>\$</sup>      tj → tš      Vn →  $\tilde{V}$ : / \_\_\_\_#  
 e → ə / \_\_\_\_      in endings /ed, et/      final devoicing  
 [-stress]

6) Next we established optional phonological processes of fast/casual speech which fit (must be matched) to universal phonological process types with inherent hierarchies. Figure 4 displays the hierarchy of Breton vowel + nasal fusion:

Figure 4

$$V_n \rightarrow \tilde{V} : \left[ \begin{array}{ccc} \#\# & !!! \\ \text{fricat} & !! \\ \text{obstr} & ! \\ \text{cons} & \end{array} \right] \text{ weak} > \text{ strong prosodic position}$$

In final position of the phonological word this fusion is obligatory (as in ['hã:]); it nearly always occurs before fricative (cf. [ĩntã(ŋ)f]); it occurs before other obstruent consonants (i.e. stops) in moderately casual speech ([ĩ:tãf, 'hãdə]), before /l/ only in very casual/rapid speech ([kã:lə]). *Ceteris paribus* this such as most other casual speech processes first applies in weak prosodic positions (unstressed syllables, rather word-finally than word-initially).

Now let us add, in a simplified form, the hierarchies of vowel centralization: a) it occurs only in unstressed (or destressed) syllables; b) more and earlier (when becoming less formal) after stress than before stress (poststress is prosodically weaker than pre-stress, see above); c) vowels are subject to centralization in the following hierarchical order: /e > a > o > high vowels, and d) oral vowels > nasal vowels; e) there is also a morpholexical hierarchy: endings > function words > lexical words/stems.

Such casual speech processes (all of the "backgrounding" or "lenition" type) apply in a mutually feeding order. But their application is not only conditioned by the above-mentioned phonological and lexical conditions, but also by socio(psycho)linguistic ones (cf. below).

7) Before attempting sociolinguistic interpretations we must try to establish individual and social (i.e. group) style repertoires, i.e. sort out which cooccurring and non-cooccurring variants (cf. step 4) are used by one and the same speaker or (at least moderately) homogeneous groups. In Brittany we (Dressler & Hufgard 1980) looked for regional/local dialect differences (with possible overlaps, e.g. due to marriage patterns), occupational differences, and particularly generation gaps: in the process of language decay, for example, it often occurs that younger: speakers loose more formal, less casual forms/styles replaced by French) until the stage of monostylism is reached (cf. Dressler 1988).

8) The sociolinguistic evaluation starts with correlating linguistic and social/sociopsychological variables within the framework of different speech-situations of different formality. A specialty of the Breton situation was that

there was relatively much homogeneity and little social sanction against the use of wrong phonological styles/registers in inadequate speech-situations, even in complaints against young, less competent speakers of Breton ("semi-speakers").

## IIb. Urban speech in Vienna

The methodology of investigating sociophonological variation within Viennese German is more complex, both because the social and sociolinguistic situation is more complex than in rural bilingual Brittany and because much more researches did much more diversified and extensive research (cf. particularly Dressler et al. 1972; Dressler & Moosmüller 1986; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Leodolter 1975; Moosmüller 1987; Vanecek & Dressler 1977; Wodak & Moosmüller 1981). Nevertheless it is possible to describe methodology in terms of the same 8 steps as in IIa:

- 1) Data gathering has been more extensive and diversified.
- 2) Phonetic shapes of the same morphological forms were more diversified, even if we simplify as in figure 5:

### Figure 5

[a:bəʔ, abɔ, aʃɔ, avɔ, O:ʃɔ, ɔʃɔ, ʃɔ; ʔAOm, ʔb:m, ʔa:m;  
naEn, næ:n, na:, laEt, læ:t, la:t, la:d]

- 3) The hierarchical order of causalness is as in figure 5 (from left to right for each morpholexical word form).

- 4) Cooccurrence restrictions/preferences within the same sentence produced by an informant showed more variety than in IIa.4.

- 5) It proved to be impossible to construct a single underlying input form for all the phonetic shapes of each morpholexical word form given in figure 2 by constructing obligatory phonological processes, unless we allowed for rules which can not be matched to universal phonological process types (according to the principles of Natural Phonology), e.g. a rule deriving [na:] from [næn] would be unnatural. Therefore we often had to construct different input forms for Austrian standard German (as used in Viennese theaters and radio by Austrian speakers) and for the Viennese dialect, as in figure 6:

### Figure 6

Austrian Standard: /a:br, baom, naem, laed, iç, miç, diç, siç, aoç/  
Viennese dialect: /O:br, ba:m, na:, la:d, i:, mi:, di:, si:, a: /  
' but, tree, no, sorry, I me thee, him/herself, also'

- 6) In constructing phonological casual/fast speech processes we can account for all phonetic shapes of figure 5, i.e. all of them can be derived either

from a standard of from a dialect input. Examples are spirantization of intervocalic /b/, unstressed vowel centralization and (afterwards) deletion, monophthongization (fusion) /æ/ → [æ], /ao/ → [ɔ:].

But how should we relate the synonymous standard and dialect inputs to each other? Since dialect forms are used in less formal speech-situations than standard forms, one might be tempted to try to derive dialect from standard inputs. Now we have seen both for Breton and German that casual outputs are derived from phonemic inputs via phonological "backgrounding"/"lenition" processes (cf. Dressler 1984a). However if we try to derive /O:br/ from /a:br/ or /i:/ from /i/ (in the pronouns) then we find that such vowel processes can not be considered backgrounding processes. Moreover, whereas, with phonological backgrounding processes of casual speech, we find intermediate forms, e.g. a continuous gradient between /æ/ and [æ] in phonological monophthongization, there are no such gradients between /æ/ and /a:/ etc.

Thus we introduced a new type of rules: bidirectional input switch rules of the type

$$/a(:) \longleftrightarrow O(:), ao \longleftrightarrow a:, ae \longleftrightarrow a:, V\zeta \longleftrightarrow V:/$$

7) This distinction of phonological backgrounding processes which transform phonemes into allophones and phonemic input switch rules has been confirmed by the finding that the individual/social repertoires are different for each type of rules.

8) An additional confirmation came via our sociopsycholinguistic analysis: Input switches from standard to dialect and vice versa are more consciously applied than phonological casual speech backgrounding processes, and, as to social perception, they are far better perceived and therefore social sanctions are much stronger against input switches from standard to dialect than against changing from formal to informal/casual standard type forms (via backgrounding processes). For further refinements see Moosmüller (1988).

9) In contradistinction to our Breton studies, we were able to run psycholinguistic experiments in Vienna in order to study experimentally the psycholinguistic dimension which mediates between the sociological and the linguistic dimensions. For example, Vanecek & Dressler (1977) studied the variables of attention and speed with sentences such as the sentence pairs:

Aber wir haben  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{im Schnellbahnrestaurant} \\ \text{bei Fleischpreissteigerung} \end{array} \right\}$  gleichbleibende Abendessen

Here we have 4 instances of intervocalic /b/ where the backgrounding process of intervocalic spirantization is applicable. These 4 instances are in different prosodic positions within the two sentences and different positions

as to the tongue twister "Fleischpreissteigerung" which increases attention of the speaker. Production of such sentences was also varied according to respective speeds of production and levels of general attention.

This is not the place to discuss the theoretical and methodological consequences of our studies for the theories of phonology (cf. Dressler 1984a, 1985), of sociolinguistics (cf. Dressler & Wodak 1982), of aphasia (cf. Dressler & Moosmüller & Stark 1985), and of diachronic change (cf. Dressler 1975a). Instead I want to conclude this section with the claim that in the way sketched above it has been possible to describe actually produced oral speech in a more complete way and in accordance with both a phonological theory and an integrated sociopsycholinguistic theory. In this way the analysis of phonological variation has also proved to be a very useful diagnostic tool for sociolinguistic studies of different types (cf. e.g. Leodolter 1975; Moosmüller 1987, 1988; Wodak 1981; Wodak & Moosmüller 1981). Thus it has been possible to achieve a descriptive power which is superior to comparable analyses of written language.

### III. Grammar

Within the frame-work of Natural Morphology I espouse (cf. Dressler 1986a; Dressler & Mayerthaler & Panagl & Wurzel 1987) little has been done so far on the morphology of oral language. The exceptions are studies on the morphopragmatics of Italian interfixed diminutives (cf. Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1987), on aphasic disturbances of morphology (cf. Kilani-Schoch 1982; Dressler 1986b), on the acquisition of morphology (cf. Schaner-Wolles & Dressler 1985; Lo Duca 1988), on morphological neologisms in foreigners' speech (cf. Berretta 1986, 1988); now Marianne Kilani-Schoch (Lausanne) has started a study on morphological neologisms in motherese.

The feasibility of large-scale studies of oral morphology has been shown by Herbert Brekle's Regensburg project on German nominal compounding (cf. Brekle 1978; Wildgen 1982) although the project focussed on written data. Much less theoretically founded are the descriptive Russian studies on morphology in colloquial speech (cf. many articles in the series *Razvitie sovremennogo russkogo jazyka* edited within the Institute of Russian Linguistics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences). Less systematic are Sornig's (1980, 1981) studies on colloquial morphology.

On syntax I can say still less, because I have ceased to work on syntax long ago, and because theoretical syntacticians in Vienna as elsewhere work very little on spontaneous oral speech. This is at least partially explainable by the observation that constructs elaborated for written sentences or private intuitions on correct vs. incorrect sentences sometimes may seem to

be difficult to apply to spontaneous speech. Therefore Svartvik (e.g. 1986) takes tone-groups, instead of sentences, as the basic units of oral syntax. And indeed we had often great difficulties in segmenting tape recordings of spontaneous speech into sentences.

This emerged as a non-negligible problem within the CLAS (Comparative Linguistic Aphasic Studies) project, where I and Jacqueline Stark are contributing the part on German-speaking Broca aphasics vs. healthy controls. However we were even more surprised by the following problem: The object of our study, agrammatism, is defined as an aphasic impairment of grammar, incl. grammatical competence. Now when we compared the control group, we found that they produced a great amount of ungrammatical sentences. The fact that existing grammatical analyses of German are incapable of correctly differentiating between pathologically impaired syntax of aphasics and spontaneous speech of healthy adults, is a drastic consequence of the written language bias in grammatical investigations.

#### IV. The Text Level

##### IVa. Text Linguistics of Spoken German

Following its philological, stylistic, literary and rhetorical antecedents, both American discourse analysis and German Textlinguistik started with studies of written texts. And, as alluded to in I, even tagmemic discourse analysis of unwritten languages centered on myths and those types of narratives whose formal styles correspond most of all oral speech to written styles. In Anglo-Saxon discourse studies the great breach came with Conversation Analysis (cf. Beaugrande & Dressler 1981), in Textlinguistik with the marriage of sociolinguistics and text linguistics in the study of spoken language.

One of the first European monographs in this vein has been the first Viennese PhD finished under my guidance, Leodolter (1975): There Wodak investigated verbal behaviour of defendants, judges and attorneys in court (trials after lethal traffic accidents).

Another Viennese monograph on spoken texts is Wodak (1981 = 1986) on verbal interaction in therapy groups; there she studied also a new, hitherto undescribed text type, the "scene" which she describes as a "typical event without an orienting setting and evaluative position — a picture is suddenly drawn that is usually ended just as abruptly. No metacommunicative generalizations and observations are made". Other monographs are: Hein & Hoffmann-Richter & Lalouschek & Nowak & Wodak (1986) on oral doctor-patient communications; Lutz & Wodak (1987) on comprehension of radio news; Wodak (ed. 1983) on television discussions; Wodak & Menz & Lutz

& Gruber (1985) on both oral and written discourse centering on the projected Hainburg power plant (the Austrian correspondence of Nagymaros); Dressler & Wodak (1984) on various types of pathological discourse.

#### IVb. Aphasic Texts

Since, within a text-linguistic approach, global units of oral speech are taken as texts as well, their descriptive and explanatory linguistic treatment must be comparable with time-honoured linguistic techniques. In this vein I will compare linguistic aphasiology with the great traditions of classical philology (more in Dressler 1984b):

In the process of interdisciplinary cooperation in aphasiology, often a linguist is first over-awed by the scientific methodology a neurologist or psychologist masters: Their facts seem to be more objective than his, their experimental designs are the outcome of well tested, retested and validated procedures seemingly not available in linguistics, they are more at ease with advanced, powerful statistics and computerization; add the impressive array of expensive machines neurologists have at their disposal and the predications by Noam Chomsky and other generativists that linguistics is still in a pre-theoretic stage, whereas physics and other "exact" sciences (in the sense of German "Naturwissenschaften, exakte Wissenschaften") present real scientific theories.

Thus, how could such a linguist better achieve the desired metamorphosis into a modern neurolinguist than by adopting whole-heartedly medical and psychological research paradigms?

This is a onesided approach however, and the (neuro)linguist should not throw away, but rather resuscitate philological standards of research which are a matter of course in 19th century linguistics. As to aphasiology, I will consider only oral productions by aphasics and compare them with manuscripts a philologist has to deal with.

A comparison between philology and aphasiology seems to be far-fetched, philology (especially its first and pioneering representative: classical philology) may seem, at first glance, to have nothing in common with aphasiology. However notice what a leading classical philologist, West (1973:57) had to say about the tasks of a philologist:

"The textual critic is a pathologist. It is his business to identify disorders known to him from professional experience... When he notices that all is not well with a passage, ... however the paradosis, i.e. the transmitted text, is interpreted, his first problem is to discover as precisely as possible where the corruption lies...". I.e. classical philologists have to deal with corruptions (errors) produced by scribes when copying manuscripts of classical authors,



aphasiologists have to deal with errors produced by aphasics. And some of these errors are similar: E.g. Willis (1972:92ff) cites the following typical scribal errors which are common in aphasias as well (for my own methodology in phonology, see Dressler 1982): Perseverations and anticipation, preoccupation with other matter, omission and repetition, transpositions (the first scientific comparison of such errors in writing with speech errors is probably in Meringer & Mayer 1895).

How does a classical philologist approach a corrupted text? Let us follow the concise prescriptions of Maas (1898:11ff): "If the tradition proves to be corrupt, we must attempt to remedy it by conjectures. This attempt leads either to a self-evident emendation or to several more or less equally satisfying conjectures or to the recognition that a cure by conjecture has not been discovered" (= *crux philologorum*). — This practice could be immediately transposed to the neurolinguist: A readable (!) classical manuscript full of scribal errors corresponds to a patient's taped utterance.

"The typical conjecture consists in the removal of an anomaly" (Maas, *loc.cit.*). — The analyst (e.g. the neurologist) notices errors on the phonetic / phonological / morphological / syntactic / lexical / semantic / pragmatic / discourse level and identifies them, i.e. he reconstructs the intended utterance "corrupted" by the errors which the analyst has to identify.

"The assumption then in making a conjecture is that we recognize that an anomaly could not possibly have been admitted or intended by the author" (Maas, *loc.cit.*). — "As a rule no writer will aspire to an anomaly for its own sake". — In the aphasiological counterpart of this, grave problems are involved: The neurologist may be allowed to shy away from dealing with cognitive disturbances and concentrate on reconstructing the intended meaning (even if the intention is abnormal). But what is normal (cf. Dressler & Wodak 1984)? Fortunately this problem is much more acute in psychopathological disturbances than in aphasia.

As to the choice "where several conjectures are available" (Maas 1958:12 §16) West (1973:48) is a very precise guide: "It [sc. the conjecture to be chosen/preferred] must correspond in sense to what the author intended to say, so far as this can be determined from the context". — For the aphasiologist both the linguistic and the non-linguistic context is relevant. "It must correspond in language, style, and any relevant technical points... to a way in which the author might naturally have expressed that sense".

— This endeavour towards (semantic, pragmatic, stylistic) coherence applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to aphasiology as well.

"It must be clear how the presumed original reading could have been corrupted into any different reading that is transmitted". — The aphasi-

ologist has to identify the type of error committed and to argue for the probability/(near-) certainty that such an error was committed in the constellation of the intended utterance, of its context and of the patient's pathological syndrome, i.e. the "path of corruption" has to be vindicated.

"A conjecture may be confirmed or at least supported either by the agreement of all persons qualified to judge or by new arguments not noticed by the originator" (sc. of the conjecture). — I.e. several analysts must compare their views or confront them with experienced raters, and identification of errors as well as reconstruction of intended meanings should be much discussed and improved upon in subsequent publications.

Next a philologist must edit the text (cf. Maas 1958: 2ff, West 1973: 61ff). The edition must contain:

- the reconstructed text — the utterance intended by the patient.

The edition must clearly indicate:

- the readings of the transmitted manuscript(s) — what the aphasic has actually said (pronounced);

- the editor's conjectures (additions to the transmitted reading, deletion of transmitted words or letters) — the neurologist unambiguously displays and identifies the patient's errors;

- physical damage of the manuscript — incomprehensible parts of the tape.

- incurable passages, i.e. where the philologist cannot offer a convincing conjecture; which would restore the author's putative intended words (crux philologorum). — Logatoms, words etc. which the neurologist does not understand/cannot derive via a probable "path of corruption" from the probable intention of the patient.

— In short, the editor must explicitly supply the reader with all the information 1) that the editor had available for himself, and 2) about the criteria mentioned so far.

The editor must justify new conjectures in a commentary either in the same volume of the edited text or in a separate publication. In fact, in classical philology, extensively commented text editions abound. And there is a long tradition of hermeneutics as the base of interpretation.

Any serious linguistic analysis of ancient languages is done on the basis of meticulously edited and, often amply commented texts (including inscriptions, papyri, ostraca etc.)

If historical linguists find a new manuscript or inscription etc. they must first edit and comment it (or have it done by/together with a philologist, epigraphist etc.), before they utilize data from such a text for linguistic argumentation. In fact, it is considered to be an outrageous scandal, if the

happy finder of a new manuscript/inscription keeps it at his sole disposal and uses data from this unedited material in publications of linguistic analyses.

However for a long time no neurolinguist respected all of these standards and most neurolinguists have violated most of these standards en bloque. Of course, the enormous mass of utterances produced by aphasics cannot receive (and do not deserve) the same amount of care as do the masterpieces of Homer and Virgil. However there must be viable compromise solutions!

Let us examine a fairly wide-spread type of neurolinguistic contribution: It contains — beyond neuroanatomic and neuropsychological information — the presentation of one or more hypotheses, the description of the experiment(s), a statistics of the results obtained by experimentation, and a discussion of these results. Often not a single utterance (even not a single, isolated word) made by the patient(s) is cited, and if, then generally in the orthographic form of the respective language tested. In any case the readers cannot reconstruct the utterance(s) of the patient(s), they cannot ascertain or calculate whether and how far the author has correctly heard, understood, and interpreted the utterance on which the neurolinguistic analysis is based. I.e. the material base of the neurolinguistic investigation cannot be checked. The same criticism can be levelled against another type of neurolinguistic publications: case studies.

The reason for this situation lies, in addition to the written language bias of linguistics, in the monopoly, in many neurolinguistic circles, of a medical and psychological research paradigm which is well established and justified in the natural sciences, but is much less adequate in a linguistic discipline. For it is standard predicament (or even platitude), explicitly stated in many science theories that atoms, enzymes, body functions etc. can be investigated according to simpler criteria than verbal behaviour.

Of course, the predominance of this research paradigm is comprehensible in clinical linguistics, if one conceives of clinical linguistics as being a completely ancillary discipline in relation to medical diagnosis and therapy. But the overlapping disciplines of neurolinguistics and patholinguistics have, in addition, goals of their own and must also be considered as branches of linguistics. Thus neither research in neurolinguistics nor presentation of its results should be strictly subordinated to a medical or psychological research paradigm.

Before making concrete proposals let us mention briefly that the concern for establishing, editing and commenting texts is not limited to philology and historical linguistics, but is constitutive for other branches of linguistics as well, e.g. field-linguistics (cf. Samarin 1967; Kibrik 1972): "According to the standards set for the description of an American Indian Language... a com-

plete description should consist of a grammar, a dictionary and a collection of texts with translation" (Seiler 1970:15, who has emphasized several times [e.g. Seiler 1969, 1973] the problems of text editing as a linguistic concern). And also Kibrik's (et al. 1977) 4 volume description of a Caucasian language includes a volume with texts (cf. the relation between Dressler & Hufgard 1980 and Dressler et al. 1984).

In sociolinguistics and in research on therapeutic discourse there is little concern for the problems of text editing, but much discussion on and great progress in text commenting and the hermeneutic problems of interpretation (see especially Soeffner 1979; Wodak 1981).

Relevant methodology of text-linguistics (cf. Beaugrande & Dressler 1981) should be used not only in the analysis of aphasic texts (cf. e.g. Engel 1977; Dressler 1984c), but also in text editing and text commenting!

At least larger research groups strive to publish collections of meticulously edited and amply commented texts which illustrate different text types and syndromes of aphasia, so that aphasias in as many languages as possible are documented by at least one such collection of texts. "Different text types" means spontaneous speech, narratives, summaries, descriptions, complete coherent sections of reactions in nomination, repetition, question-answer, enumeration tests etc.

As many neurolinguistic publications as possible (cf. now the CLAS project mentioned in III) should contain shorter or longer specimens of complete (i.e. uninterrupted), meticulously edited texts or sections of text (cf. Dressler & Wodak 1984; Pléh & Dressler & Wodak 1985), either within the article in order to illustrate the basis on which arguments are made, or as an appendix — instead of publishing empty test forms, why could one not publish a test form with the complete reactions of at least one patient?

The mass of unpublished material should not be lost for the inspection of colleagues who might be weary about the data base of a neurolinguistic publication: Thus patients should be tape-recorded under optimal acoustic conditions, the tapes should be publicly archived (cf. the practices of the Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) and each publication should contain the relevant archive number and the conditions under which copies of these tapes may be made available.

The choice of how the text is edited, depends in the primary goals of the respective publication (cf. Seiler 1973:147f). Accordingly a narrow or broad phonetic or a phonemic transcription or an orthographic transliteration or other normalizations should be used. In our Viennese aphasia project (funded by the Österreichischer Forschungsfond) Karl Heinz Stark started from the very beginning to transcribe all utterances in narrow transcription).

The reader should be able to infer unambiguously the intended utterance from the presented texts. Otherwise the intended meaning must be given in a note or in brackets or in a commentary or the whole intended utterance should be presented; this may take form of a translation into another language.

The reader should be able to infer unambiguously what the patient has actually said, if the text is not edited in transcription.

The reader should be able to infer unambiguously the errors committed, i.e. what the author/analyst consider an error. Therefore the errors must be presented explicitly within their relevant context.

The types of errors that occur in the text should be classified so that the reader can correlate unambiguously the actual utterance with the intended utterance. Therefore common and unproblematic errors do not need to be commented on separately.

Thus the "path of corruption" must be clear to the reader, i.e. the author must give sufficient information for the reader to reconstruct this path (cf. Seiler 1970:16). Where the author is aware of 2 or more conceivable conjectures about probable "paths of corruption", he should indicate it clearly or refer to a commentary where decision procedures are discussed for a set of recurring conflicts among hypotheses.

Incomprehensible parts of an utterance (due to the patient or to the tape or to the analyst) should be clearly indicated, i.e. either phonetically or phonologically or grammatically or lexically or pragmatically unidentifiable parts.

The categories and variables of the published quantitative and/or qualitative analysis should be operationalized, i.e. the reader should be able to clearly identify the exact make-up of the chain leading from an element of the actual utterance to the test variables and its values. The author should make clear which conditions and problems are involved in a certain/probable/dubious/impossible identification of this link.

Neurolinguistic research paradigms should be extended to include discussions of problems involved in text editing and text commenting, both in general and in respect to specific parts of aspects of published analyses and texts. This must include the discussion and adoption of hermeneutic standards.

Neurolinguistics deserves to be called a science only, if its analyses are founded on solid "philological" bases. These bases must be made available to the reader at least in illustrative examples, so that he can check them. What is the point in constantly increasing the sophistication of statistics and experimental designs, if apples are not distinguished from pears in counting, and if this fundamental shortcoming is concealed from the reader?

## V. Conclusion

In IVb we discussed challenges for the empirical validity of results and their falsifiability by the reader of aphasiological publications, and we have seen that the goals of validity and falsifiability cannot be reached without the inclusion of linguistic descriptive methodology oriented towards the analysis of spoken language. Of course, the interdisciplinary methodology of patholinguistics presents the most difficult case for methodological progress in the analysis of oral speech.

However, there are big methodological problems in regard to oral language also in other branches of linguistics, even in theoretical linguistics. Let us just recall the theoretically and methodologically unsound principle of relying on an informant's, or even on one's own intuitions about the correctness of linguistic strings, an extremely naive oral and/or mental technique (cf. Ringen 1975), which had many unfortunate results such as the ill-reputed "your dialect — my dialect" game that nullified the minimal exigencies of observational adequacy.

I hope to have shown 1) that linguistic work on spoken language is neither unsound nor uninteresting, 2) that the increasing domain of linguistics can not be scientifically handled without much concern for spoken language and its methodology, 3) the progress has been made in this methodology, but 3) that large-scale and methodologically advanced work on spoken language is necessary. Many interesting results are waiting for linguistics of spoken language at large, be it theoretical linguistics, descriptive linguistics, applied linguistics be it integrated "hyphen linguistics" such as psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics, sociolinguistics, and computational linguistics.

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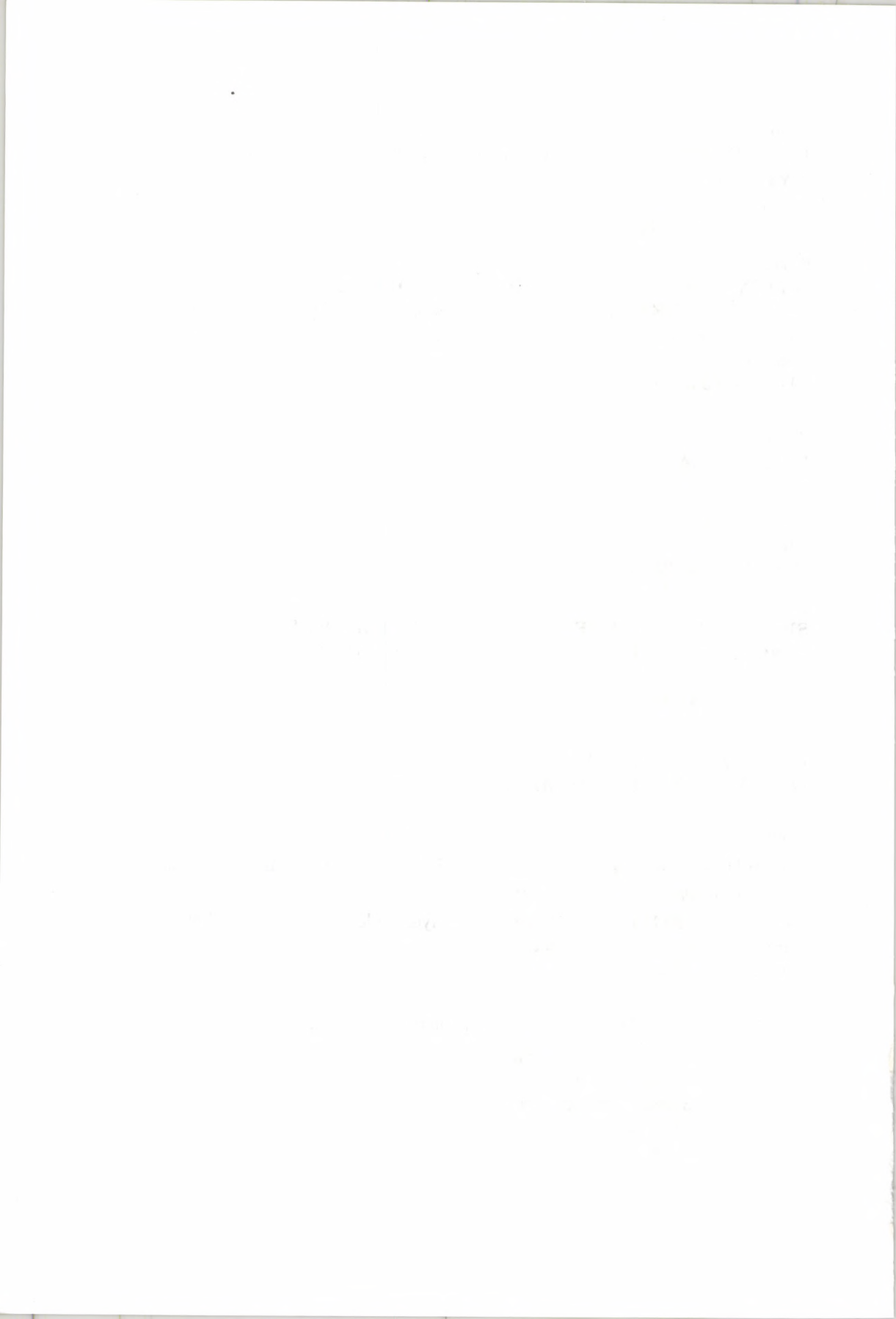
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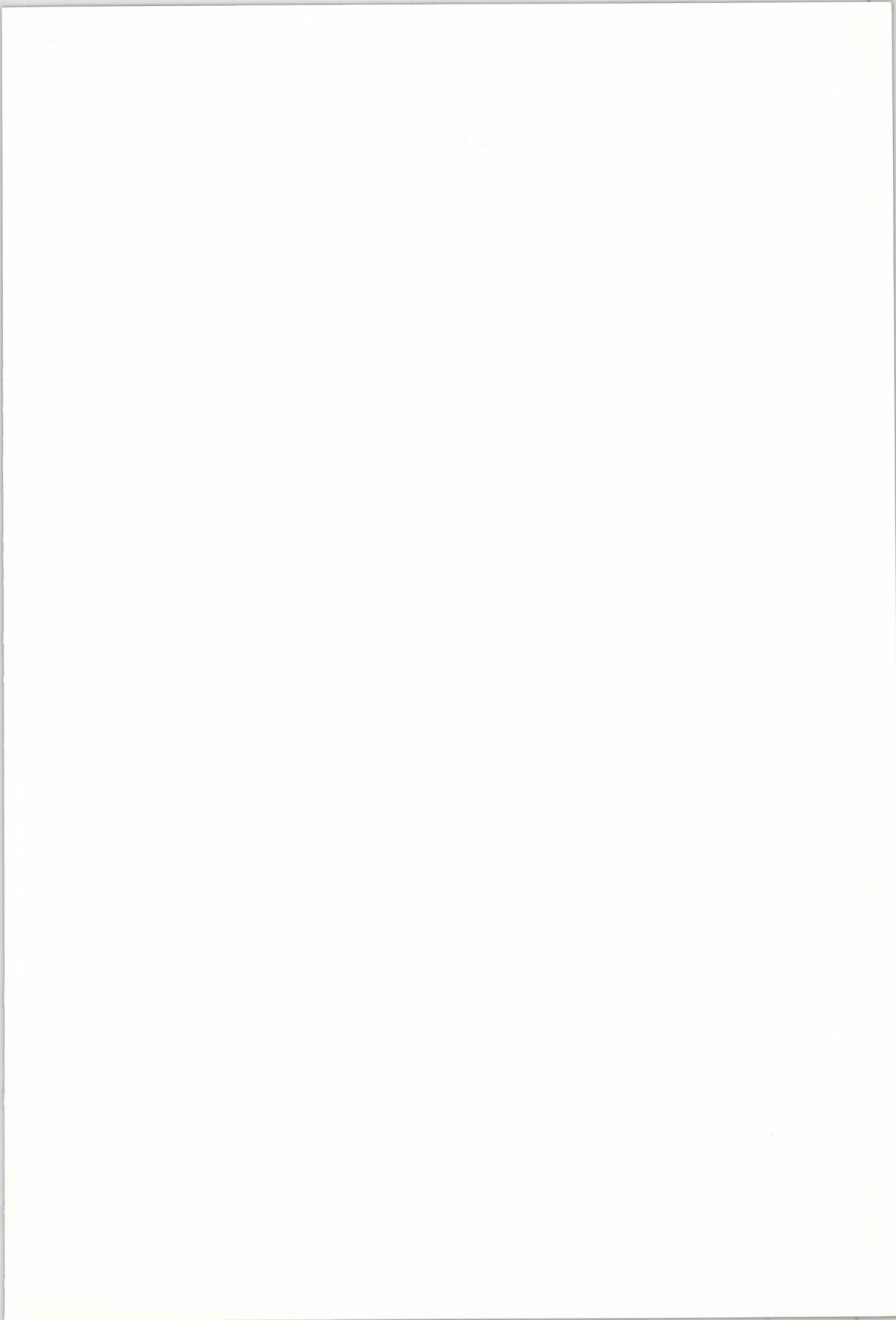
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