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ABSTRACT

Four papers on contrastive linguistics include: (1) "The Search for an Ideal Theoretical Model in Applied Contrastive Linguistics: A Wild Goose Chase" (Herman Wekker, Flor Aarts), which argues that contrastive linguists should feel free to adopt an eclectic approach to theory since no single linguistic model can be adopted in its entirety and applied consistently to all areas of language comparison; (2) "Similar Errors in the Written English of Finnish and Native Speakers" (J. J. Mary Hatakka), a comparison of slips, or accidental errors, in Finnish and British usage; (3) "Got It? Conceptions of Deviance by Finnish Students from Learning Material in English and Finnish" (Paula Kalaja), in which Finnish college students' conceptualizations of social deviance vary from the meanings intended in an English-language sociology textbook and also its Finnish translation; and (4) "Translation Science and Contrastive Linguistics: Boundary Clearing and a Neighbourly Handshake" (Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto), a discussion of the differences and mutual contributions of the fields of translation and contrastive linguistics. (MSE)

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Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen

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CONTENTS

THE SEARCH FOR AN IDEAL THEORETICAL MODEL IN APPLIED CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS: A WILD GOOSE CHASE?[1]

Herman Wekker and Flor Aarts
University of Nijmegen

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we propose to discuss and to illustrate the eclectic approach to applied contrastive analysis that we have adopted in our forthcoming pedagogical-contrastive grammar of English and Dutch (for previous reports see Aarts and Wekker 1982, and Wekker 1980, 1981).

After a brief discussion of the purpose and contents of our grammar (section 2), we deal with what has for some time been one of the most controversial issues in applied linguistics: the relationship between linguistic theory and applied contrastive analysis. We argue that, although the contrastive linguist can derive a great deal of benefit from what linguistic theories have to offer, he should be free to adopt an eclectic approach if he considers this to be pedagogically justified (section 3). Our conclusion (section 4) is that, given the present state of the art, it is impossible to adopt a particular linguistic model in its entirety and to apply it consistently to all areas of the languages that are being compared.

2. THE NIJMEGEN PEDAGOGICAL-CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR OF ENGLISH AND DUTCH

2.1. The grammar is intended for beginning students of English at Dutch-speaking universities, teacher training colleges and schools for translators. Its purpose is to facilitate the teaching and learning of English by (a) providing students with information about the facts of English, and (b) presenting them with those similarities and differences between the two languages which are known to cause learning problems. Since first-year students have no more than a fairly elementary knowledge of English grammar, we believe that it is pedagogically necessary to present this material in two stages: first the (basic) facts of English grammar, and subsequently the relevant similarities and differences between Dutch and English.

[1] This is a revised and expanded version of a paper given on August 10, 1984 at the symposium on Contrastive Analysis and Error Analysis, AILA Congress, Brussels.

2.2. As far as linguistic theory is concerned, our grammar is a compromise and so is its terminology. In very general terms it fits in with the compromise position adopted by the Quirk grammars. Although we believe that, at some stage, students should be introduced to linguistic theories, we think that they should first familiarize themselves with the facts of English grammar before attempting to tackle theoretical questions that have to do with the linguistic explanation of these facts.

2.3. The Nijmegen grammar will consist of two parts. Part I constitutes a concise non-contrastive English grammar, which introduces the student to basic grammatical categories, concepts and terms (the metalanguage) under traditional headings. The grammar is based on the units of the rankscale (morpheme-word-phrase-sentence) and deals with both structures and functions. The purpose of Part I is to provide students with the necessary information about English structures and the relevant terminology, so as to enable them to work through Part II without too much difficulty. This outline of English grammar also serves as an introduction to the more comprehensive survev grammars which will have to be studied later in the course. Part II contains the actual pedagogical-contrastive material, organized on the basis of structures and also on the basis of meanings or functions (e.g. the expression of future time in English and Dutch). Only those items are discussed in Part II which are known to be difficult for intermediate or even advanced learners of English. Originally, we had in mind a separate functionally-oriented Part III, comparing the ways in which language functions and notions are expressed in the two languages, but we have now decided to incorporate this type of information as much as possible into Part II, and to leave a proper treatment of functions and notions for a later publication.

The provisional table of contents looks as follows:

A CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR OF ENGLISH AND DUTCH

PART ONE: A CONCISE ENGLISH GRAMMAR

3. LINGUISTIC THEORY AND APPLIED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

3.1. Let us now turn to the main point of this paper, the relationship between linguistic theory and applied contrastive analysis. There are currently two points of view on this. Many linguists believe that contrastive analysis is impossible without a particular theoretical framework and, indeed, claim that the only suitable candidate for such a linguistic model is transformational-generative grammar. Others take the view that what is needed is a common sense approach based on the experience of practising teachers (for a short history of the contrastive analysis debate on this issue see, for example, Aarts 1982). The fact that linguists have so far failed to produce an exhaustive contrastive analysis of two languages, based on a particular linguistic theory, would seem to confirm the second view.

3.2. In comparing the grammars of two languages contrastive linguists should be able to make statements like the following:

1. L_1 and L_2 share rule R_1, which has the same domain in both langua-

ges. For example, English and Dutch share a rule which says that singular count nouns must be preceded by a determiner, whereas plural count nouns can stand on their own. Cf.:

I have bought a ticket - Ik heb een kaartje gekocht
*I have bought ticket - *Ik heb kaartje gekocht
I have bought tickets - Ik heb kaartjes gekocht

2. L_1 and L_2 share rule R_2, but the rule's domains in the two languages are not the same. For example, English and Dutch share a transformation known as Object-to-Subject Raising or as Tough-Movement. This transformation raises the object of an embedded sentence into the subject position of the matrix sentence. It applies to adjectives like easy in English and gemakkelijk in Dutch and converts

It is easy to persuade Bill into Bill is easy to persuade
and
Het is gemakkelijk Bill over te halen into Bill is gemakkelijk over te halen

However, the rule's domains in the two languages are different, since the set of adjectives to which it applies in English is larger than in Dutch. Cf.:

It is boring to talk to her - She is boring to talk to
Het is vervelend om met haar te praten - *Ze is vervelend om mee te praten

3. L_1 has a rule which L_2 lacks (or vice versa). For example, Dutch, unlike English, allows subject-verb inversion in yes/no questions, not only when the verb is an auxiliary, but also when the verb is a lexical verb. Cf.:

Kan ze komen? - Can she come?
Kwam ze te laat? - *Came she late?

English, on the other hand, allows the omission of the relative pronoun (provided it does not function as subject) in restrictive relative clauses. This is impossible in Dutch. Cf.:

This is the book I have bought - *Dit is het boek ik gekocht heb

Together such statements about rules may be said to constitute a specification of both the similarities and the differences between the two systems under investigation. Such comparisons can only be made, however, if exhaustive descriptions of the two languages in question are available and if these descriptions are based on the same framework. Unfortunately this remains an idealization. It is well known that there is no language for which a complete grammar has been produced, nor is there a linguistic theory which can handle all the data.

3.3. The contrastive linguist thus has two options open to him. The first is to base his comparison on what he believes to be the best theory. This choice implies that all his explanations are formulated in terms of the theoretical model that he has adopted, for example in terms of phrase-structure rules and transformations. This no doubt makes for consistency and explicitness and is probably the best solution if the comparison is made for theoretical purposes.

The second option that is open to the contrastive linguist is to adopt an eclectic approach. This means that he does not worry too much about the alleged desirability of adopting one particular theoretical frame of reference, but avails himself of whatever insights and explanations turn out to serve his purpose. This does not guarantee that he can explain everything. It does mean, however, that the range of his explanatory repertoire is larger. This approach is certainly the most suitable one in applied contrastive analysis, where comparisons are made for didactic purposes (cf. Kalogjera 1978:117, Sajavaara 1978:220).

3.4. It is fairly obvious that the role of transformational grammar as a linguistic model in contrastive analysis has been less prominent than was initially anticipated. The view that transformational grammar enables the contrastive linguist to start out with the deep structures that are common to the two languages under analysis and to account for the surface-structural differences in terms of the application of language-specific transformations, was of course a very attractive one. However, since 1965 there have been many changes in Chomsky's Aspects-model, and it is precisely those notions that were considered to be of crucial importance at first that have since come under attack, namely the nature of deep structures and the role and number of transformations. Transformational grammar is not a homogeneous theory today. This means that it is not immediately obvious which of its rival versions the contrastive linguist should adopt.

3.5. In this paper we wish to argue that, although the relevance of linguistic theories to theoretical contrastive analysis cannot be denied, their value in applied contrastive analysis is limited. We therefore advocate an eclectic approach, which makes use of linguistic theories whenever this seems useful. We claim that in the comparison of closely related languages, such as English, German and Dutch, the grammatical framework that is offered by Quirk et al's Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (that is, a compromise position between traditional and modern approaches) can serve as a useful basis, and that concepts and explanations from linguistic theories such as transformational grammar, case grammar, systemic grammar of functional grammar can be brought in whenever they can make a relevant contribution. In this connection it is useful to remind ourselves that A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language is the most detailed description of present-day English syntax to date, and that there exists no equivalent description in terms of a particular linguistic theory.

A large number of areas in the syntax of English and Dutch can easily be compared without there being any need to invoke theoretical concepts and rules. To illustrate this let us look at some examples.

Table 1. The demonstrative pronoun systems of Dutch and English.

	Dutch		English	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
'near'	dit (+ het-words) deze$_1$ (+ de-words)	deze$_2$	this	these
'far'	dat (+ het-words) die$_1$ (+ de-words)	die$_2$	that	those

Table 1

The easiest areas to compare are closed systems with a finite number of items that can be listed and juxtaposed. Examples are the article system, the personal pronoun system and the demonstrative pronoun system. To illustrate only the latter, it is possible to contrast the two systems by simply listing the items they contain and specifying along which dimensions they agree and differ (see Table 1).

Table 1 shows, for example, that Dutch dit/deze and English this/these agree and differ as follows:

dit	deze_1	deze_2
$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ near} \\ + \text{ singular} \\ + \text{ neuter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ near} \\ + \text{ singular} \\ - \text{ neuter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ near} \\ - \text{ singular} \\ \emptyset \text{ neuter} \end{bmatrix}$

this	these
$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ near} \\ + \text{ singular} \\ \emptyset \text{ neuter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ near} \\ - \text{ singular} \\ \emptyset \text{ neuter} \end{bmatrix}$

Other examples of areas that are fairly easy to contrast are concord phenomena, tense usage and word order. Thus we require no elaborate theory to show that at least superficially the basic word order in Dutch and English main clauses is SVO (in Dutch it may also be SvOV), but that in subordinate clauses Dutch, unlike English, requires SOV. Cf.:

Main clause:	Dutch:	SVO:	Jan kent Grieks
		SvOV:	Jan heeft Grieks geleerd
	English:	SVO:	John knows Greek
			John has learned Greek
Subordinate clause:	Dutch:	SOV:	Ik weet dat Jan Grieks kent
			Ik weet dat Jan Grieks heeft geleerd (geleerd heeft)
	English:	SVO:	I know that John knows Greek
			I know that John has learned Greek

There are also areas, however, where it does make sense to borrow concepts and rules from a particular linguistic theory. Let us look, by way of example, at the formation of restrictive relative clauses in Dutch and English. Consider sentences (1)-(3):

1a. de vrouw met wie hij uitging	b. the woman with whom he went out
2a. ---------------------------	b. the woman who(m) he went out with
3a. ---------------------------	b. the woman $\emptyset$ he went out with

Sentences (1)-(3) illustrate some of the major similarities and differences in the formation of restrictive relative clauses in Dutch and English. They are the following:

a. in both languages relative clauses can open with a prepositional phrase, consisting of preposition + relative pronoun (with whom/ met wie)

b. in English the preposition can be left behind (or stranded) at the end of the relative clause (who...with). This is impossible in Dutch. Note, however, that Dutch allows constructions in which the preposition occurs in sentence-medial (rather than sentence-final) position. Cf.:

de vrouw waarmee hij uitging
de vrouw waar hij mee uitging

c. in English the relative pronoun can be delected under certain conditions. This is impossible in Dutch.

In order to be able to compare restrictive relative clauses in English and Dutch it is useful to borrow the following concepts and rules from transformational grammar:

1. deep structure
2. pied piping
3. preposition stranding
4. wh- deletion

For sentences (1)-(3) above we can then postulate an underlying structure of the form NP-S. We derive sentences (1)-(3) by means of a number of transformations some of which are common to both English and Dutch and some of which are language specific:

Deep structure (English and Dutch)

the woman	he went out with whom
de vrouw	hij ging uit met wie

Pied piping (English and Dutch)

the woman	$\boxed{\text{with whom}}$	he went out
de vrouw	$\boxed{\text{met wie}}$	hij uitging

Preposition stranding (English only)

the woman	$\boxed{\text{who(m)}}$	he went out with
*de vrouw	$\boxed{\text{wie}}$	hij uitging met

wh-deletion (English only)

the woman	∅	he went out with -
*de vrouw	∅	hij ging uit met -

Ideally, we would like such an approach to yield a description which derives restrictive relative clauses from the same underlying structure and which reveals the differences and similarities between the two languages in terms of the transformations they share and those that are unique. The advantage of this approach is also that it can serve to bring out relations between ostensibly different syntactic areas. Thus pied piping and preposition stranding are transformations that also play a role in the derivation of WH-questions. Cf.:

4a. Ik gaf de bloemen aan Mary	b. I gave the flowers to Mary
5a. Aan wie gaf je de bloemen?	b. To whom did you give the flowers?
6a. ------------------------	b. Who(m) did you give the flowers to?

The main motivation for describing the facts of English and Dutch in transformational terms in the derivation of restrictive relative clauses and WH-questions is that this method enables us to reveal syntactic relations between constituents that otherwise remain obscured in surface structure. This is particularly striking in sentences where the relative or interrogative pronoun has been moved to sentence-initial position over a long distance and has thus become separated from the predicate with which it is associated. Cf.:

7. This is the woman $\boxed{\text{who}}$ I told Mary to persuade John to ring up

8. $\boxed{\text{Who}}$ did you tell Mary to persuade John to ring up ?

There are interesting differences between English and Dutch here, which are known to cause learning problems, but we cannot go into them now. What we are suggesting is that certain areas of the grammars of two languages can hardly be contrasted in any illuminating way without invoking the help of linguistic theory. However, it turns out that other areas (and they are probably in the majority) can be usefully compared without invoking theoretical concepts. Our claim, then, is that the applied linguist should be an eclectic user of theories, selecting whatever theoretical notions and insights he considers to be relevant to his task (cf. Widdowson 1979, Chapter 18).

3.6. As Widdowson (1979:243) says, it is the purpose of applied linguistics as the theoretical branch of language teaching pedagogy 'not to take random pot shots at pedagogic problems using the occasional insights from linguistics as ammunition, but to devise ... a coherent model of linguistic description which will be relevant to language teaching'. Unfortunately, Widdowson does not tell us what such a model might look like, apart from making the important point that it should embody the user's concept of language rather than the 'detached' view of the linguist. Further research is needed on user models incorporating information from linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, performance analysis, etc. (see, for example, some recent publications by Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1981, 1983).

4. CONCLUSION

Summing up, we claim that in applied contrastive analysis, where our primary objective is pedagogical, it is more important to describe the facts than to provide explanations for why the facts are as they are. We also argue that an eclectic approach is both feasible and illuminating: there is no need for the analyst to describe contrasts exclusively in terms of one particular linguistic theory. Our brief discussion of some examples of syntactic contrasts between English and Dutch shows that in many cases it is possible to formulate rules in such a way that no specific reference is made to abstract structures, transformations and the like and that whenever necessary the contrastive linguist should be free to borrow his descriptive tools from whatever theory he believes provides the best solution. However, an eclectic approach definitely does not mean a non-theoretical one.

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SIMILAR ERRORS IN THE WRITTEN ENGLISH OF FINNISH AND NATIVE SPEAKERS

A review of a neglected area of L2 proficiency

J.J. Mary Hatakka

University of Helsinki

The present review of similar errors in the written production of Finnish students and U.K. pupils began quite simply as an interesting spin-off of a study I had embarked upon to assess the difference in written production. Differences, both correct and incorrect, are extremely difficult to define and classify: the error similarities have the virtue of clear form and clear lines of comparison across the L1 and L2 populations.

Briefly defining error, for the moment, as deviation from normal usage, with 'normal usage' encompassing (i) the subject's normal usage, and (ii) accepted usage within the standard language, on finds marked similarities in types of error in both the Finnish and U.K. populations. The type of error that occurs outwith a subject's normal usage is variously classified as a 'mistake', or a 'slip.' Slips, or accidental errors, have been classified in various modes of language perception and production (see, e.g., Fromkin 1980). Although, by definition, slips are rare, this is an area in this data where the L1/L2 similarities are striking.

Slips are a form of deviance within the native language. They represent a type of non-conscious or unintentional language behaviour. (For various models of language production that attempt to account for slips, see, e.g., Baars 1980; Dell and Reich 1980; and Laver 1980.) Moreover, they most certainly represent an area of language to which the L2 learner has not been consciously exposed. The L2 learner may have heard an occasional slip such as one Helsinki lecturer's 'Sheets and Kelly' for 'Keats and Shelley', but it is most unlikely that they have ever seen English slips of the type reviewed here. The only possible area of exposure would be red-pencil items in their own L2 written production.

Theories of contrastive analysis and interlanguage do not account for the slip factor in language, the regularly definable properties of types of slip, and the occurrence of slips across various modes - speech, writing, hearing, and in the sign language of the deaf. The 'English' slips that the Finns make might accommodate themselves within the Dulay and Burt (1974) theory of native-type developmental error although their data is speech, and the focus regular errors. Kelz (1984), reporting on pronunciation errors in the German of immigrant Vietnamese, demonstrates the inadequacy of predictions based on contrastive analysis, and the immediate, powerful effect of the target language.[1] None of Kelz's subjects had previously been exposed to German, and only a small group had some previous knowledge of French and/or (American) English. Phonetic and phonological factors also play a part in certain types of slip and the Finnish population of this study err in the English fashion.

Finnish students invariably have a relatively sophisticated foreign language background; on commencing their university studies they will have a good command of at least two foreign languages, and most language students tend to have three foreign languages in their repertoire on leaving school. Finnish differs from English in many repects, e.g. 14 cases of the noun, no articles, and phonemic spelling,[2] but there are wider areas of similarity, e.g. word order and basic SVO sentence structure, though these have non-English variants.

The fact that the Finnish written slips and errors resemble those of the native speakers could be attributed to what might be called the proficiency effect, i.e. with increasing proficiency the TL rather than the NL accounts for deviance in L2 production. Taylor (1975), using eight sentence types, showed that intermediate learners tend to rely more on the TL and overgeneralization strategies whereas more elementary learners tend to rely on the NL and transfer strategies. But Taylor also states that these findings only represent a difference in degree and quantity.

Writing is an education-based, more advanced form of expression, and it is seldom error-free at any stage in any language. It would be difficult to disentangle slips from other erroneous forms in early written production, in what type of written production, and whether or not such slips are language-specific. There is the further consideration that writing is a

[1] Contrary to expectations, sounds not yet mastered were substituted by other sounds of German; their distribution depended both on linguistic context...and on the stimulus used...as well as on other factors.

It also appears that the majority of errors was not due to a simple, or complex, one-to-one substitution, but that they were errors which may be attributed to the phonotactic structure of German (Kelz 1984:149).

[2] For an extremely clear coverage of Finnish grammar designed for a foreign reader, see Karlsson 1983.

conventionalized form of language expression, and some types of slip or error are specific to the written mode; this is true of spelling and punctuation. Spelling has, in addition to the visual element, a phonological aspect, and some spelling errors have affinities with types of speech error as do many of the errors presented here.

DATA

My first concern was to acquire written material which was produced under natural circumstances, with constraints that were comparable and natural for both language groups. Elicitation formats for L2 speakers which are specifically designed to test L1/L2 interference, transfer, or learning strategies generally produce the required results - most well-constructed tests do. Furthermore, different test situations promote performance differences. Granfors and Palmberg (1976) used guided composition and translation formats with Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns and the spelling errors increased by almost 75% in the guided compositions. The quantitive difference between the tasks in this Swedish/Finnish study did not apparently confuse the basic comparative trends, but Larsen-Freeman (1975) found that her results across varying elicitation procedures produced few statistically significant correlations. Examples abound.

The essay-essay[1] type exercise leaves the tester room to manipulate, but has an uncomfortable number of variables and definitely encourages avoidance strategies. Moreover, in the essay-essay type of writing, language is of paramount importance: anyone in this situation, even using their mother tongue, is almost as conscious of syntax and vocabulary as of the actual topic. One might say that the essay is a language-anxiety situation. The writer's interest in, and experience of, the topic is by no means uniform: even providing on-the-spot material (articles, statistics, writing hints, the ubiquitous pictures, etc.) does not necessarily help. The essay, however, has the advantage of being a consecutive text, and to enjoy the benefits of consecutive text while reducing the focus on language, and providing a topic for which the same pre-information and training was available to both L1 and L2 writers, I chose a Shakespeare examination.

In the Shakespeare examination, prelearnt information is primary and language is secondary; moreover, limitations on time further reduce any

[1] By essay-essay I mean the compulsory writing of an essay for the sake of writing an essay.

focus on language. The language of the original text can be considered 'exotic' for both L1 and L2 populations.

A written task is generally considered an area of careful style with high monitoring of language. In this case the information focus and time limitations modify this assumption though this task, and much else, falls well within Labov's (1971:450) loosest definition of formal context: "Under 'formal context' we must include any situation where more than minimal attention is being paid to language for whatever reason."

It took almost two years to get comparable natural populations from the U.K. and Finland and, on the way, I acquired several L1 and L2 sub-populations which are occasionally referred to for confirmation of trends presented here. (See Appendix for a table of all populations.)

MAIN POPULATIONS

The main populations were as follows:

Finland	U.K.
23 students: Helsinki University	23 pupils: Edinburgh secondary school
6 male 17 female	12 male 11 female
Level: Stage 11 (2nd-3rd year)	Level: Fifth Form
Age: c. 22	Age: 16+ 17+

The original Helsinki University examination population was 24, but one of the students was Hungarian. The original U.K. class population was also 24 but was reduced by random selection to match Helsinki. The reasons for taking the younger L1 subjects are: (i) their proficiency in written English is not yet fully developed: (ii) their Shakespeare background more or less matches that of the Helsinki population; (iii) U.K. University examination papers are not available. Moreover, a U.K. University population has a reading background and a knowledge of Shakespeare and the English language that would make comparison with the L2 population extremely difficult.

EXAMINATION SITUATION

The Helsinki students were taking a normal term examination. The Edinburgh pupils, prior to my inquiry, had done a routine trial examination in preparation for the final school examination.

EXAMINATION QUESTION

The question originally set by the class teacher at the Edinburgh school was taken from a recent examination paper. More than a year later the question was set in the Helsinki examination.

The essence of most tragedies is conflict, and a typical Shakespearean hero is destroyed by a combination of internal and external forces acting on him. Discuss with reference to Hamlet.

TIME ALLOWED

The time allowed in Finland was 40 - 60 minutes, and in the U.K. 35 minutes.

The Helsinki examination format has two sections: A. identification of a passage of text; B. essay type answer on play. The total examination time is 1½ hours with an estimated 30 minutes or more for Section A. The Helsinki students have more time to write in than the U.K. population, but for both populations this is the time they are accustomed to write in for written productions of this type. The extra time also incidentally compensates for writing in a foreign language.

Both students and pupils in both countries complain of lack of time or writing against the clock. For the purposes of L1/L2 comparison this is a welcome complaint as it means that the populations do not have time to be overconscious of language.

EXAMINATION STANDARD

The marking standards for assessing their knowledge of a Shakespeare play are virtually the same for both populations, i.e. both students and pupils have the same goal, of the same standard of achievement is set before them. Helsinki students are specifically informed that marks will not be deducted for language except in cases of unintelligibility: this rule applies to all Stage II literature examinations which are written in English.

The mark range in examination results was Good Minus (just below average) to Very Good for both populations.

EXAMINATION SCRIPTS

The approximate number of words in the examination scripts was as follows:

		Finland	U.K.
overall range	words	325 - 950	370 - 900
centre range	words	350 - 520	400 - 550
	users	15	13
above centre range	users	6	10

Although the overall range limits for the approximate number of words are remarkably similar, the U.K. pupils tend on average to produce slightly longer answers; more of them write answers over 550 words. This should be borne in mind when considering the items selected for analysis. Since errors are relatively few, concepts of 'more' or 'less' between the populations cannot be defined with mathematical rigour.

TRAINING

In U.K. secondary schools English literature is a staple of mother tongue studies. A Shakespeare play is studied mainly through close reading of the text, and wider commentary from the teacher. The Finnish school tradition in the native language concentrates on grammar and essay writing. The final school examination in Finnish is the writing of two essays from a choice of on-the-spot topics.

Accordingly, the Helsinki University students, for good or ill, are U.K.-tradition-trained by their native English lecturers. Their school training in the writing of essays may spill over into L2 written work, but their whole literary training and approach is native 'Eng.Lit.' A university course on one Shakespeare play is approximately 28 hours of lectures and text analysis.

ERROR

No one in either of the main populations writes inadequate English, and errors of any type tend to be few, but there is only one error-free paper and that is from the L1 group.

Within the range of similar errors considered here, the majority are only single instances in any one script. The sections dealing with Articles, Prepositions, Misassimilations, Punctuation and Style Mix give typical examples of error type as in these categories there is sometimes more than one instance of the error type in the scripts. Particularly in the case of single instances it is difficult to determine whether the item is (i) a chance accidental slip, (ii) an accidental slip with recurring potential, or (iii) a systematic and consistent error. There is the further problem of error types which lend themselves to multiple classification, especially, for example, in cases where the syntagmatic environment increases error potential, or contributes on the actual error.[1] Even given these considerable reservations, many of the errors in the following examples can be classified as slip types (i) or (ii). My use of the term 'error' is neutral with respect to types (i), (ii) and (iii) unless otherwise specified.

SPELLING ERRORS

Spelling errors (see Table 1) are a typically indeterminate area between slip and consistent error; most, however, can presumably be assigned to slip category (ii). Since we are dealing with handwriting, a possible

Table 1. Spelling errors

	L 1			L 2		
(i)	Looses	-->	loses	Looser	-->	loser
(ii)	Comitting	-->	committing	Comitted	-->	committed
(iii)	Melancolic	-->	melancholic	Scolar	-->	scholar
(iv)	Unfaithfullness	-->	'fulness	Fulfill	-->	fulfil
(v)	X Propably	-->	probably			
(vi)	Tradgedy	-->	tragedy			
(vii)	Wheather	-->	whether			

[1] Kelz (1984:149) makes a similar observation in his Vietnamese/German pronunciation study: "the preliminary data show that syntagmatic phonetic errors are even more frequent than paradigmantic errors. ...most contrastive analyses...are mainly based on paradigmatic phonetic characteristics ...without taking the aspects of phonosyntagmatic structure into consideration."

source of error is interference from similarly formed letter,[1] but such considerations are outside the scope of this study. (In Table 1, 'X' marks an item which has been corrected in the pupil's examination script. It is assumed that corrections may indicate a potential source of error.)

In (i) and (ii), exactly the same errors have been made by the two groups (ii) seems to be a case of not recognizing a syllable boundary in this Latin derived word. There is an instance of a similar word misspelt in Naucler's (1980) study of Swedish: rekomenderar --> rekommenderar (=recommend).

(iii) represents an error in the same consonant group. (iv) is the double pro single misspelling, which is typical in English, especially at the end of a word. (v) is normally regarded as a typical Finnish error which this particular Finnish population has not produced. The U.K. instance is corrected in the script and the medial P has been overwritten as B. For both groups the proximity of other /p/ and /b/ sounds is a contributing factor.

Research on speech errors shows /p/ for /b/ and /b/ for /p/ occurring in English, German and Dutch. This is the tabulation on the speech error instances[2] across the data of Shattuck-Hufnagel and Klatt (1980) and van den Broecke and Goldstein (1980):

	/p/ for /b/	/b/ for /p/
English	6	7
German	5	1
Dutch	2	1

The German instances present the clearest case of an asymmetrical relationship, with /p/ for /b/ the more frequent type. The Dutch[3] instances show the same trend, but are so few that they could equally well conform to Shattuck-Hufnagel and Klatt's category of symmetrical relationships differing by one instance of error, and in their instances from English speech, the /b/ for /p/ type is marginally more frequent.

[1] See, e.g. van Nes 1971.

[2] The number of errors and/or the restrictions on error inclusion and classification vary across Shattuck-Hufnagel and Klatt (1980) and van den Broecke and Goldstein (1980), so the figures given above are not directly comparable.

[3] The Dutch material used by van den Broecke and Goldstein (1980) was obtained from S.G: Nooteboom, Instituut Voor Perceptie Onderzoek. Eindhoven.

In th. Finnish/English written material there are no instances of b for p in the two main populations, nor are there any instances in the subpopulations.

Spelling error (vi) seems to be more English as this error occurs in corrected form in two other U.K. scripts. I have encountered it once in a Finnish examination script on King Lear, but, in this case the overall spelling was rather wild. (vii) is a fairly typical English error. There are no Finnish instances in the present material but in Granfors and Palmberg's (1976) comparative study of the errors made by Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns there is one Swedish-Finnish instance of wether --> weather. The Finns also have an instance of this same error, and, in another test format, there is also an instance of whether --> weather.

Both populations provide a variety of spellings for soliloquy, which is a frequent item in the play of 'To be or not to be'. A heavier focus from teachers and lecturers should eliminate this error.

The Finns make far fewer spelling errors than the U.K. group.[1] This enviable ability of the Finns to spell in English is attested elsewhere: they are better English spellers than the Swedish-speaking Finns (Ringbom 1977). Sjöholm (1979) confirms this superiority in a selected spelling error area. She further points out (p.158):

> It should also be remembered that English spelling might prove more difficult for the Finn. But the Finnish learner will pay more attention to English spelling because he is aware that he will have more difficulties than the Swedish learner.

A similar observation on the relationship between difference and difficulty was made by Buteau (1970) when she noted the relative lack of difficulty caused by French gender-distinguished articles for English learners of French. Difficulties can be offset by the sheer salience of the difference.

Johansson (1978:71) in his study of native English assessment of error gravity in the English of Swedish L1 writers is surprised at the leniency with which native speakers judged spelling errors:

[1] Finnish spelling is phonemic, and to the exasperation of foreigners endeavouring to learn Finnish, Finns hardly ever spell out words. If the foreign learner asks for a word to be identified, i.e. spelt, the Finn simply repeats the item, presumably somewhat more distinctly.

... although they included errors such as hear for here and their for there.

From these examples it would appear that Swedish speakers of English also make typically English mistakes. Their --> there[1] is one that I occasionally make myself, and the U.K. population of this study provides a reverse example of the hear --> here. The example occurs in a quotation[2] from the play:

"So shall you here SIC of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts..." Johansson (1978:191) cites Nickel (1972:19f.), who attributes the greater tolerance of native speakers to their greater knowledge of the language, and a positive attitude towards foreign learners. But as far as spelling is concerned, this greater tolerance is more probably due to the fact that English speakers are only too aware of their own fragile spelling, and to meet with exactly their own errors most certainly kindles a glow of fellow feeling that promotes tolerance.

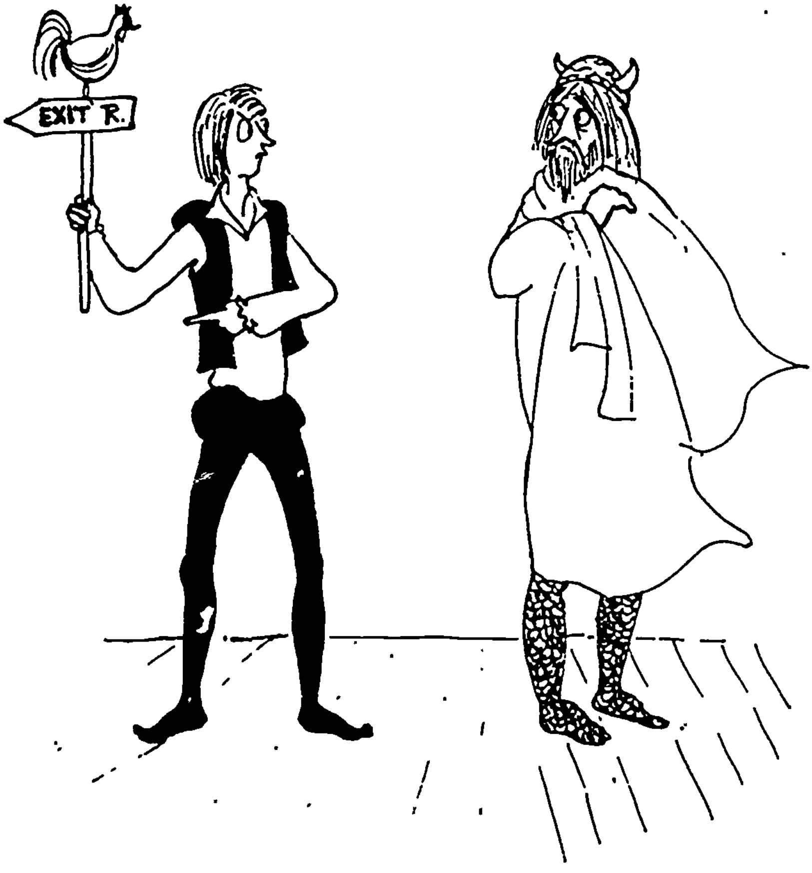
LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION (1)

Their/there and hear/here could also be considered a type of lexical substitution specific to the written mode. The two main categories of lexical substitution in speech involve (i) similarity of phonological form, as in a malapropism, e.g. ambiguous --> ambitious, or (ii) similarity in meaning or associative relationship, e.g. Vienna --> Paris, brother --> father.

It is an extension of the first category that I would like to consider for the moment. Their/there, hear/here are typical examples of items in which the virtually identical pronunciation is reflected in spelling similarities in both items. Typical native English headaches from primary school ever onward are spellings varying by one letter only, e.g. the practise/ practice type though, here, regular difference in from class helps to reduce error in written production. Another type is represented by principal/principle which can require scanning or subvocalization before production.

[1] Cf. Granfors and Palmberg (1976). In the guided composition, Swedish-speaking Finns have 5 instances of there for their. There are no Finnish instances. In the translation, both groups have one instance each of there for their. No examples are given of the reverse order. Johansson (1978: 74-76) lists three instances of their for there and two instances of hear for here.

[2] Errors in direct quotations are used for incidental comparisons as I have not yet fully evaluated or categorized errors in direct and indirect quotations. Direct quotation items are always given in double inverted commas.



CAPTION: ... OR SHOULD HE FORGET ABOUT THE GHOST AND RIGHT HIS FATHER OFF ...

Ref p.28 Further examples of identical lexical substitution.

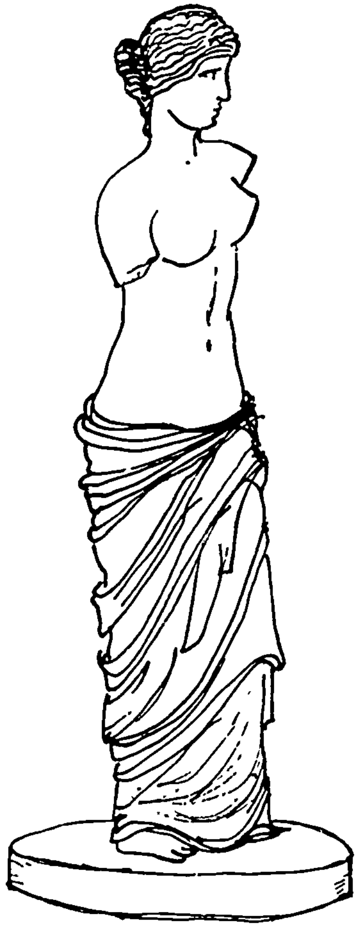
Pairs which consist of graphemically similar and phonologically identical components may be particularly sensitive to error through substitution. Although they are technically considered spelling errors, they are not in the same class of spelling error as, e.g., comit --> commit. This pair type might be classified as idertical lexical substitution. In Finnish, with its phonemic spelling, identical lexical substitutions are defined here is inconceivable. Whether identical lexical substitution as symmetrically reversible and the componets of a pair substitute for each other with equal freguency might deserve investigation but, intuitively, with some pairs it would seem that in English the relationship is asymmetrical; factors of frequency and markedness also influence this. There are four further examples of identical lexical substitution from the U.K. population, one from the main Finnish group and two from a subpopulation; they are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Further examples of identical lexical substitution.

L1				L2			
UK	SOLE	-->	SOUL	NO	-->	KNOW	FIN
UK	DUAL	-->	DUEL	DUAL	-->	DUEL	FIN/H
UK	SCENE	-->	SEEN	"SEE"	-->	"SEA"	FIN/H
UK	RIGHT	-->	WRITE[1]				

The constant problem with slips or occasional incidental errors is that, by definition, people do not naturally make many of them. Procedures have been evolved to elicit native language slips in fair quantities (Baars, 1980), but in L2 written production conclusively extricating slips from errors is difficult. It might, however, be an interesting extension of both traditional error analysis and research on slip phenomena to study L2 slips made by populations with different L1 backgrounds. In identical lexical substitution, both Finns and Swedes seem to err on common ground, although the common ground is admittedly minuscule. The Finnish and U.K. instances of dual --> duel substitution are directionally the same and, again, L2 see --> sea seems the 'native direction rather than vice versa, but I not aware of any research on this point. Other L2 backgrounds might show a difference in directional preference.

[1] This example occurs within a purely colloquial phrase: right off --> write off.



Caption : A FOSSILIZED SLIP ?

? perhaps she is a little too far off the academic line ??

Ref. p. 28

Infrequent slip phenomena are not always welcome data in foreign language learning studies. Tarone (1983:153) includes on regular IL behaviour in her adaptation of Labov's (1969) continuum of attention to language defining a range of styles from careful to vernacular:

> Note that it is only regular IL behavior which is accounted for here; slips of the tongue, and irregular occurrences of language behavior, are not to be accounted for by the underlying continuum.

Since slips seem to occur across all styles, frozen to informal, Tarone has some justification for excluding them but, on the other hand, slips and irregular occurences of language behaviour might show different frequencies and distributions within the phases of the proposed continuum.

Tarone primarily deals with speech; she gives some definitions of regular behavior, but this does not automatically generate a definition of what is irregular. Moreover the evidence that Tarone presents for the existence of "structures truly unique to the IL-- that is, traceable neither to TL nor to NL" (1983:149) is hardly conclusive. For example, citing a study by Felix (1980) on German learners, Tarone (1983:146) reports:

> 9 It's no my comb
> 10 Britta no this...no have...this...
> Utterance (9) and (10) cannot be due to influence from either the NL or the TL. These patterns do not occur in German, and the students had never heard them in English...

By default (10) is typically child language, (9) is high frequency Standard Scots, it is not 'wrong' English or uniquely German IL English; it is a viable structure in the total potential of at least the target language.[1] Outwith a narrow pedagogical context, can such items be categorically defined as erroneous or unique? Tarone (1983:146) continues to diminish her unique IL status:

[1] Nagucka (1984:5) justifiably deplores "this rather unwelcome tendency to tolerate anomalies and erroneous expressions in contrastive analyses," and comments on a selection of Polish sentences. "It should be noted right now that despite a possible occurrence of these structures in colloquial, spontaneous, and very often careless speech, or stylistically marked utterances, they all go far beyond the limits of the standard grammatical language." (p.11) I am not suggesting that the whole range of English can be used as an excuse for acceptability, but I would tentatively suggest that a potential structure or formation occurring within that range and used by learners is evidence of a language potential other than an IL construct. IL theories seem to regard nonexistence within an undefined standard of undefined modernity as evidence of IL.

CAPTION: THE GHOSHT OF HAMLET'S FATHER

> These structures,... seem to be similar to simple structures which occur in many pidgin languages, in early child language acquisition, and in early untutored second language acquisition.[1]

Language structures, and L1 or LX strategies and modes of perception are not infinite. What is IL, and what is uniquely IL deserves study if IL can be defined more rigorously.

LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION (2)

Proper name, related item, and pronominal substitution are types of substitution to be considered under this heading.

The U.K. group produces a simple proper name substitution, but the pupil has noticed it and corrected it:

UK ... should he do what he is expected to and expects himself
Claudius
to do ani kill ~~HAMLET~~ or should he...

There are two other examples of this in corrections.

The U.K. subpopulation has a substitution of the hyponym type (see Lyons 1977:291-305), also self-corrected:

my father
UK/2 ..."play something like the murber of ~~mine uncle~~ before mine uncle"

A quotation occupies an interesting borderland in that it is ready created for the writer who, in cases like these, is aiming to reproduce the original wording verbatim; especially in drama and poetry quotations there is a strong oral element, which is, however, common to all rote reproduction. In Hotopf's (1980) data on slips of the tongue, approximately hyponymous relationships of the <u>uncle</u> --> <u>father</u> type accounted for 24.2% of the 244 examples of semantic group errors. In his written text data there were only ten examples of possible semantic group errors as such.

[1] Wode (1982:10) also notes "...the relationships observed between learner languages proper and language typology carry over to pidginization," but he is not concerned with postulating unique IL structures.

The source of the above error is probably the nature of the examination question, and the focal positions of Claudius, the uncle, and Hamlet in the play, combined with writing speed. There is also a Finnish example where the slip occurs within a converse relationship (see Lyous 1977:280) mother/father:

FIN Hamlet's situation is made more difficult when his mother gets murdered and his mother marries the brother of his father.

This overintricate family relationship in the actual play produces a slip in a U.K. script albeit it has been corrected:

UK Hamlet as a result of his mother's marriage to his uncle felt better towards ~~him~~, her and felt...

Another instance of incipient he --> she occurs in another correction. However consoling it may be to note that native English users can, and do, mix pronominal sex, three Finnish populations have examples of either his --> her, her --> his, or he --> she, reflecting the fact that Finnish has a single pronoun form hän for both he and she, and a similar lack of gender distinction in the possessive form of the pronoun. This is, however something that Finns are 100% aware of and there are only few instances and few users in the three populations, FIN, FIN/H, FIN/M. It is in all cases an accidental slip and not a systematic error and might well qualify for some degree of Selinker's (1972) fossilization nomenclature, perhaps a fossilized slip. The L2 is also an influential factor as Finns make similar slips with Swedish (hon, han) but not with the more distint pronouns of French or German.

WORD INVENTION AND WORD COINAGE

Since there is only one example of word invention from the main Finnish population, supplementary examples are included from the subpopulations as this is a particularly interesting area of 'deviant' English.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century Angel Day[1] expresses his disapproval of "this errour of old improper and new coyned tearmes" while the ever practical Mulcaster solves the Elizabethan 'home help' problem by advocating foreign sources of supply:

[1] Angel Day, The English Secretorie (1595, 1596) as quoted in R.F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language, Stanford, 1966, p. 106.

For when the minde is fraught with matter to deliuer...it seketh both home helps where theit be sufficient, and significant, and where the owne home yeildeth nothing at all, or not pithie enough, it craueth help of that tung, from whence it receiued the matter of deliuerie.[1]

Word coinage in the Varadi (1973) sense of a learner's invention to bridge a deficiency is primarily used in assessing or defining he communication strategies of L2 learners. The L2 speaker is typically presented (Corder 1973) as reaching via vacillating interlanguages towards the stability of the target language. Therefore it is interesting to note that the Finns produce more acceptable 'normal' English forms:

FIN	inactiveness	(inertia/lack of taking action)
FIN/M	cowardness	(cowardice)
FIN/H/X	guiltness	(guilt)
FIN/H/X	guiltiness	(")
FIN/M/X	revolter	(rebel)
UK	cruelness	(cruelty)
UK	mergeance	(merger/union)
UK	referral	(reference/referring)

There is an instance of prefix switching producing new vocabulary in both L1 and L2 populations:

UK	unloyal	(disloyal/unfaithful)
FIN/H	inable	(unable)

The Finnish word inventions have also used the -ness suffix which is particularly productive in English and has an impeccable Germanic ancestry. In a comparison of the translations of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae by Alfred, Chaucer and Queen Elizabeth, Romaine (1984) comparing instances of -ness formations with -ity formations records for the former type: Alfred 87, Chaucer 59, Queen Elizabeth 50. This suffix can be attached to several word classes. The one U.K. instance is adjective + suffix, and the Finnish examples have noun + suffix and adjective + suffix.

[1] Richard Mulcaster, The First Part of the Elementarie (1582, 1582), as quoted by Jones, p. 70.

If enough examples could be collected, L2 word inventions would be an interesting area of study across writers/speakers with different mother tongues. On the hypothesis that a formation in -ness is a simpler type than, for example, formation in -ity[1] or -ion, L2 speakers might show a preference for it, or simplicity might assimilate with native language resources and speakers of Romance languages might show a preference for coinages in -ity. Finnish has no word formation patterns that are phonologically similar to -ness or -ity patterns. The Finnish type represented by

syyllinen 'guilty', syyllisyys 'guilt'

uskollinen 'faithful', uskollisuus 'faithfulness'

has a sibilant echo, but the non-matching features somewhat stifle the echo.

The main U.K. and Finnish populations have almost the same occurrences of forms in -ness:

UK 9 types 15 instances (inc. cruelness= 1 instance)

FIN 9 types 13 instances (inc. inactiveness= 1 instance)

Madness and weakness occur in both populations.

Three of the Finnish forms in -ness come from subpopulations. Guiltness has an awkward consonant cluster, but guiltiness and cowardness are perfectly natural formations. Inactiveness is not, strictly speaking, a coined term; both inactiveness and activeness exist in large standard dictionaries on both sides of the Atlantic. The shorter standard English

1 Formations in -ity are more complex than the -ness type requiring, for example, changes in stress and spelling, e.g. noble/nobility, brutal/-brutality. The number of the correct -ity formations is: UK 14 types, 21 instances; FIN 11 types, 27 instances. Two items are common to UK and FIN:

no. of instances	UK	FIN
opportunity (sing.+plural)	3	10
possibility (sing.)	1	3

The high Finnish proportion of opportunity is an example of a virtually undetectable type of overindulgence (Levenston 1971) reflecting two Finnish words, tilaisuus and mahdollisuus, which overlap on the English semantic areas of opportunity/chance/possibility. Only one Finn and one UK pupil (a very good writer) use opportunity twice. All recorded instances from both groups are correct English usage.

dictionaries do not have these entries, nor do standard two-way foreign language dictionaries English or Finnish --> Swedish, German, French, Russian, Latin. Native English informants were prepared to accept both forms, with a slight preference for the negative word, but no one admitted to using either word themselves.[1] It might then be assumed that it represents an invented word in the Finnish examination script. Although one U.K. word, cruelness, has existed in the language (listed as obsolete in the OED), the other two items are less normal. Mergeance has a decidedly James Joycean flavour (cf. reamalgamerge); the meaning of the word is fairly transparent even out of context, but referral is not immediately clear out of context though it has Joycean possibilities: ? referral 'the return-of-the-iron-age' (cf. ferrous).

Both in modern Finnish and English new terms, linguistic, political etc., use the derivational potential of the Latin which echoes in mergeance and referral, however consciously or unconsciously from the pupils' viewpoint. As already noted, -ness is still productive, even with prepositions e.g. togetherness but it is not a flourishing component of new terminology as it was in its Anglo-Saxon heyday. The Finnish -ness coinages could be assigned to one or any combination of the following: analogy with Modern English; simplicity of word-formation type: some ressemblance to NL forms. But there is a form of language awareness, which does not exclude any of these derivations, but which might deserve consideration; it is the apprehension of language potential, including the existence of potential in history. Labov (1971:449), giving examples of Negro children's non-systematic linguistic behaviour, refers to information given by William A. Stewart:

> There are children who say he for both he and him, and there are children who say her for both she and her... As Stewart has pointed out (personal communication) there have been fluctuations in the history of American Creoles as to which of the two forms would be chosen.

Labov also cites Valdman (1971):

> ... too often analysts attribute abberrant features of languages existing in a contact situation to bilingual interference, and fail to consider the alternative possibility of retention from an older stage.

[1] This was my own feeling about in/activeness, but when you are conscious of an item you will find it. Two years ago I had noted down the following: Hymes (1979) refers to a study on the Wolf of Senegal, where "activeness is associated with lowness of status..."

These examples show Non-Standard languages making use of historically established forms that are no longer used by the modern standard languages with which they are compared. Linguistic and extra-linguistic factors have contributed to differences in perception and use of potential language resources; areas of deviance or non-standard usage can equally be abandoned or dormant potentials of the standard languages.

It would admittedly be stretching the point to snapping to suggest that the Finnish students' (1983) support for "structures truly unique to the IL" would need to be coinages reflect a former high word-formation potential, but modified, as would many IL assumptions, in relation to a wider consideration of language potential and language change.[1] The Finnish coinages do not exist in NL or TL; they are also words not technically 'structures', but their realm of existence is hardly a theoretical and unique IL, and remarks to the effect that language learners as they progress increasingly show the effects of the TL, are scarcely purely linguistic consolation.

PERSEVERATION AND ANTICIPATION

In both the U.K. and Finnish populations there are slips of perseveration and anticipation. Perseveration means errors influenced or caused by a preceding item or items, while anticipation means error, influenced or caused by a subsequent item or items.

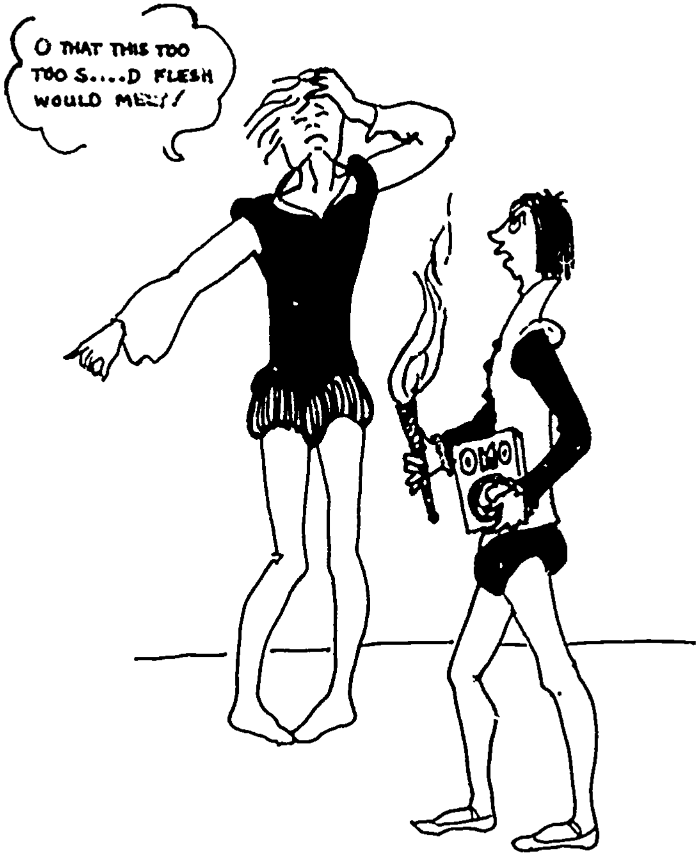
In most cases it is difficult to determine which category to assign the error to, and cases of double classification are not infrequent.

The Finns provide two clear 'English' perseveration and/or anticipation slips[2] of the type that shows the influence of a subsequent or preceding letter or phonetic feature. There is also a third type of mixed origins:

[1] Wode (1982:14) in a much wider context suggests: "Parallels between language learning and language change, therefore, are due to the superimposed universal constraints on the structure of natural languages." His data on negation indicate that L1 learners do not recapitulate historical language change but that the relationship between language learning and language change is that they are both constrained by the same set of restrictions.

[2] As stated elsewhere, quotations from the text of the play have not yet been classified, but there is at least one Finnish example of perseveration/anticipation in a quotation:

"O that this too, too, solit [SIC] flesh would melt..."



CAPTION: "IF YOU'D SPEAK A LITTLE MORE CLEARLY, I'D KNOW WHICH OF THESE TO GIVE YOU!"

Ref. p.39, footnote

THIS IS AN INDIRECT ∴ possibly irrelevant illustration on the famous controversy as to whether Shakespeare wrote SULLIED OR SOLID [ACT I, ii, 129]. The student has SOILT.

(1) There is a mood of an unwillingness [SIC] , Hamlent does not want to take any violent actions. [SIC].

(2) If he had not delayed he would have had a good change to survive and to become a good king.

(3) ... the Queen after having drank a poisoned drunk that the King has fixed for Hamlet.

(1) and (2) could both be classified as perseverations:

(1) an unwillingness, Hamlent

(2) good change

However, depending on what is considered as the processing unit and what is an acceptable interval between influencing factor and error, these might be classified as anticipations:

(1) Hamlent does not want...

(2) ... change to survive and to become a good king.

Example (3) borders on a Spoonerism, but it only transposes one element within normal English usage. The most likely explanation for (3) is the widespread habit amongst almost all non-native speakers to rehearse the principal parts of L2 strong verbs, here drink/drank/drunk. The Spoonerism, even the near-Spoonerism, is the most memorable type of slip, but unless induced by special elicitation formats it is extremely rare even in speech.

The main U.K. group do not have clear examples of perseveration or anticipation with single letters unless occurring within a change-of-mind, a switch to a different construction.[1] There are possible instances of this type in misspellings, and one instance of perseveration in a correction:

However Hamlet puns on the world SIC "kind", and implies he...

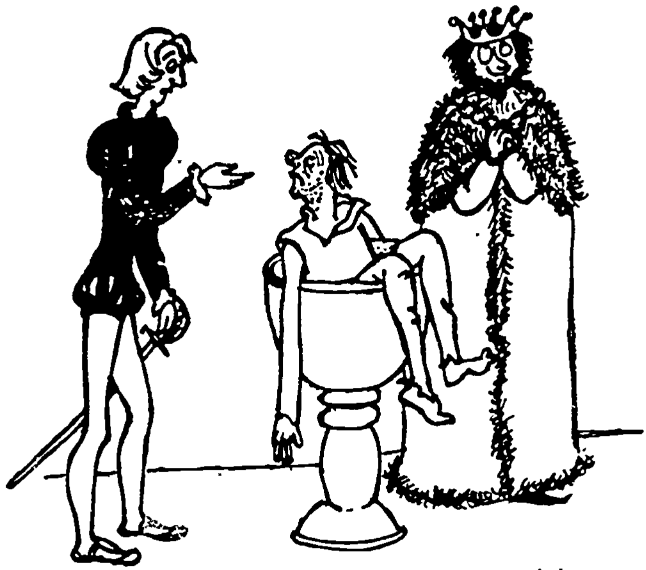
The U.K. group also have two instances of a type of processing anticipation in whole items, but again in corrections:

UK This warps his views on sex, as he her sees her eager to jump between 'incestuous sheets'...

UK We also notice that [indecipherable deletion; approximately = 7 - 8 letter space] he killed ~~with~~ Polonius with a joke,...

[1] The following example rather indicates a construction switch: the ubiquitous English s-sounds in both left and right environments are difficult to assess:

... while condemning Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to death. Hamlet's returns SIC to Denmark with full justification for his revenge act.



CAPTION: ... A POISONED DRUNK THAT THE KING HAS FIXED FOR HAMLET.

Ref. p.39.

These deletions are a fascinating study in themselves, but there is not equivalent material a‾ailable from a Finnish population as the Finns write with pencil and rubber. (See Appendix for UK/2 perseverations and anticipations.)

THE SUBJECT - VERB CONCORD

Since omitting the s a third person singular verbs is an error that is generally attributed to L2 speakers of widely varying origins, and since this form is conscientiously drilled in an infinite number of classrooms around the world, some English examples might be salutary and consoling:

Hamlet is convinced that he should kill Claudius but find his morals stop him.
He is excited by his revenge and say that he will undertake it immediately.
... thinking he has killed the king, but on finding it is Polonius he still show no emotion.
... he is also at a weakness [SIC] because he sometimes act too quickly.

The Finns have 8 instances for 5 users of s-omission on a third person singular verb. The U.K. provides 6 instances for 4 users.

In Finnish, even though the 3rd person singular of the present tense often has no ending (Karlsson 1983:59), each Finnish ending clearly indicates grammatical person and, accordingly, the 3rd person singular is distinct from the other endings.

There is also one Finnish instance of a superfluous s on a verb, and there is a similar instance in a correction from one of the U.K. subpopulations:

FIN ... he wants to acts according to his emotions.
UK/2 ... He sees an actor weeps for someone ...

ARTICLES

L1 writers have errors of article omission, though these are presumably caused by writing against the clock:

UK Hamlet throughout the play is caught up in / / morality of the revenge.
UK This shows us the two different sides of Hamlets [SIC] attitudes to / / death of other people,...

There is, however, one instance of a superfluous indefinite article:

UK ...saying that she deceived him and his love turns into a hatred.

Finnish errors of omission also appear to be caused by speed of writing.

FIN Hamlet is / / melancholy and confused young man.
FIN Hamlet recommends that Ophelia should go to / / nunnery...

There is an instance of a superfluous indefinite article, and also of a definite article:

FIN There is a mood of an unwillingness, Hamlent [SIC] does not want...
FIN The death is no real solution. (= final sentence).

A typically Finnish error made by two students is 'commit a suicide'--presumably influenced by commit a crime, this error, as any teacher will tell you, is not interference or even fossilisation, it derives from sheer cussedness.[1]

PREPOSITIONS

As might be expected, the L2 population has many more preposition errors, e.g. confirmation to / proof to / mistrust to --> of.

The L1 group has two preposition omissions:

... caused by the many conflicts going / / externally and internally. The second omission comes from a long, good paper and is obviously caused by sheer pressure of time:

The position /?/ which Hamlet finds himself /?/ is that of being able to consider the justice of the proposed action.

[1] But there is one example above of a native speaker inserting an unnecessary indefinite article, and one of my U.K. friends teaching 12 year olds in a slum area reported the following. She had lent her pencil to a boy who eventually returned it in two shattered bits and when she inquired after the reason he blithely replied: "Please, miss, my wee brother committed a karate on it."

There are also two instances of the typical error which occurs when two items requiring different prepositions are linked as a pair:

UK ... his contempt and disgust at his mother's remarriage...

UK ... seen to affect his whole outlook and attitude on women and sex.

Finns can also make this type of mistake but there are no instances from the main population.

The U.K. sub-population has one clear instance of preposition error:

UK/2 Hamlet is still pondering of his fathers SIC murder ...

A further error is U.K. alienated to --> alienated from. In this case the error is presumably derived from alien to. Alienated seems to be a teacher-item, i.e. used by the teacher in class commentary: it occurs in other examination scripts, though it can hardly be a high frequency item in the pupils' normal vocabulary.

MISASSIMILATION / INCOMPLETE UNDERSTANDING

This is more likely to occur with L2 populations as they have a limited exposure to the target language, and misunderstandings may persist because correction situations are infrequent. A native speaking encironment clears misunderstandings fairly quickly, although even native speakers can misunderstand or misassimilate words.[1] In the example of the erroneous 'alienated to', above, the pupil has assimilated the semantic content of the word but not all the formal restrictions. A similar situation obtains with the use of the verb revenge by the Finns. They obviously understand the semantic content of the verb but not its syntactical ramifications. There are several instances of this verb used without an object complement:

[1] I know one elderly English lady, who, after a trip to the U.S.A., come back with a fund of new stories and words. For about a year or so she used the word frugal ("The Americans are very frugal.") to mean generous. It took most people some time to work this out, but at some point she herself noticed the error of her ways and deleted frugal from her speech repertoire. Moreover, whole populations can adopt erroneous forms, e.g. in the Orkney Islands, as a legacy of World Was II, they still talk about indentity cards (= identity) and runaways (= airfield runways): these are the standard items for certain age groups.

When Hamlet is ready to revenge it is not the King he happens to kill.
... tells him to revenge, but not to harm his mother.
... his father has told him to revenge but Hamlet keeps on delaying.

There are no examples of this error in the L1 population or sub-population of this study, but I have found an instance of this same error in a smaller U.K. population (= 13) from another secondary school, and in a very weak paper.

PUNCTUATION

Along with their more careless spelling, the U.K. population has a somewhat cavalier attitude to punctuation. The Finns make the same punctuation mistakes - omission of genitive apostrophe; haphazard use of commas with relative clauses, normally considered a typically interference error from Finnish, but overall the students are much more careful. Only two Finns have instances of genitive apostrophe omission; two others who are other- wise correct have two unfortunate slips: Claudiu's, and the ghos't demand for revenge. The Claudiu's writer had used this name in the genitive form four times previously, and correctly; this slip occurs in the penultimate sentence.

Five U.K. pupils have instances of genitive apostrophe omission, and a further two pupils (one instance each) have omitted the genitive s. Perhaps the genitive apostrophe + s is accident prone because the lack of the awkward apostrophe does not detract from meaning.[1] The two U.K. pupils who dispensed with even the s of the genitive have friends, however false, in Sweden. In Nauclér's (1980) study, there are three instances of Swedes omitting the genitive s in their native language; Swedish has no apostrophe marker, and the s is theoretically redundant.[2]

[1] In an informal lecture at Helsinki University some years ago, Professor Bruce Mitchell mentioned the almost extinct function of the apostrophe signalling the genitive case, but he had managed to find one instance where the retention of the apostrophe would have been essential: Our turkey did not arrive in time for Christmas so we ate one of our friends instead.

[2] "In Swedish, the only remaining case-ending is the genitive /+s/ which serves the purpose of encoding the A relation ('genitive attribute'), and 'redundantly' so, because, in principle, this relation could be encoded by means of word order which is relationally determined, cf. Åbo domkyrka 'the cathedral of Turku'" (Nyman 1983:142).

barnet far_ (barnets); Åkesson_dikt (Åkessons)
frågan om äktenskapet_försvinnande (äktenskapets)

Related to punctuation, typographically, is a technical style error - the use of abbreviated verb forms[1] in expository text. This is heavily frowned upon in U.K. classrooms, and, as a result there are only three L1 users and instances.[2] Just over one third of the Finns use abbreviated verb forms. The present heavy focus on L2 oral skills in Finland emphasizes these forms, and the more liberal use of them by the students reflects this school training.

STILE MIX

Style faults are not generally classified as errors, but there is one particular type that is easily defined and common to both populations, i.e. the change to colloquial or speech-type items. What is or is not colloquial is sometimes difficult to assess as degrees of tolerance vary from person to person. The intrusion of the speech-type items is presumably a sign of immaturity in writing, and more characteristic of a school-age L1 group, whereas with L2 users, in addition to youth and immaturity there are probably other factors involved.

(i) He turns Ophelia down, "Get thee to a nunnery"
(ii) ... in the "nunnery scene" where Ophelia is set up to find out his true feelings.
(iii) He sees Ophelia dead in the grave and realizes he has done her wrong.
(iv) ... destroying perhaps Hamlet's only way out of the mess he has found himself in.
(v) (cannot kill Claudius)... because he would just do him a favour by murdering him.
(vi) The ending is very moral, nobody gets away with anything...

The odd numbers are the Finnish examples.

[1] E.g., he's, they've, etc. Shortened negatives, e.g. can't, doesn't are classified here with abbreviated verb forms as stylistically they are equally inappropriate.

[2] doesn't (2); cant (1).

Related in effect to the use of colloquial items is the type of style slip (style crash?) where the word or phrase is too weak for the context, a type of bathos. There are only two clear examples, one from each group:-

UK	The old king is upset that now he has to spend eternity in hell.
FIN	(people are puzzled by Hamlet's -) bad mood. (This is a reference to Hamlet's feigned madness, referred to previously as 'madness.')

Again, in the case of L1 writers, this is more likely to occur with younger subjects. Mature writers can indeed descend to bathos, but generally not in such simple syntactical contexts.

ODD COMBINATIONS

Both populations have examples of non-sequiturs, and non-sentences, and what I have, to date, simply classified as 'odd combinations' or 'oddities' until such time as I can devise parameters to distinguish among them:

This one-two-residue effects is not unusual in L2 studies. Sources of error can be assigned to L1, any L2s, or none of these. Duskova (1969:15) comments on Czech errors:

In the process of classification it appeared that a considerable number of errors could not be classified at all... of the 48 errors made in word order ... the remaining 17...defied all attempts at classification, being unique in character, nonrecurrent, and not readily traceable to their sources.

Dulay and Burt (1974), Wode (1972) Tarone (1983) and others comment on this residue, which is not amenable to derivation from specific language sources. With the Shakespeare examinations the residue of oddities seems to present slightly different problems. The U.K. examples apparently defy cl...fication, though (v) is obviously an attempt at stylistic parallelism:

(i) Eventually his thoughts and feelings turn to consider the whole point of life...

(ii) It is where the conflicts have finally bound together to produce...

(iii) He would willingly like to kill Claudius...

(iv) ... he and Hamlet enter conflict first in Ophelia's grave

(v) Although Hamlet can be said to be at falt [SIC] because...he is also at a weakness.

Here, too, the Finns can hold their own, but at a superficial glance many of the Finnish oddities seem to be traceable to native lenguage effects, e.g. '...cannot discuss trustfully about family matters,' i.e. the 'odd' bits back-translate easily into Finnish.

Not all oddities do, and I wonder if the following unique example might be attributed to the influence of the language of Shakespeare:

FIN ... but Hamlet allows not himself to be fooled...

The U.K. populations, alas, show no overt signs of being influenced by their native woodnotes wild,[1] at least not syntactically, but the only clear example of deliberate metaphor is provided by the U.K.:

UK ... internal forces have removed this histrionic energy, and caused Hamlet to lose a firm grip on the path of Fortune...

This may be a form of native language interference and, fortunately, the Finns have not thought fit to produce a corresponding example. The U.K.pupil from whose paper the metaphor is taken knows his Shakespeare backwards and has a rather 'adult' but flowery style. The same 'adult' features can be traced in the Finns who are good writers, but the flowery element[2] is not in evidence in this population. Both groups, however, have this residue area where sources of error or 'oddness' are difficult to define.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

It would appear from the small sample presented here that Finns and native speakers can produce the same spelling errors and similar types of spelling error. In phonological lexical substitution slips, and in types of anticipation and perseveration slips, the Finnish instances are English in

[1] The only misspelling of the bard's name came, from the U.K., but was somewhat corrected: e
Shak∧spear

[2] I asked U.K. secondary school teachers about 'flowery' or Purple English, and they were of the opinion that the phenomenon was dying out as a result of our oral/aural culture, and that when it occurred it tended to be an early 20's phenomenon rather than, as previously, mid-teen's.

origin. In the invention of new terms, the Finns adopt clear English word formation principles; both populations coin words with a -ness suffix. The pronominal mix of forms of he/she is more frequent in the Finnish texts, but can be a potential source of error for native speakers. Both groups have several examples of s-omission with 3rd person singular verbs; both have article omissions - presumably due to sheer writing speed. There is, however, only one instance of a superfluous article in the U.K. material. Equally there is only one clear example of a preposition error.

Inadequate understanding of language items presented in the immediate learning/study situation is indicated for both groups -- though this, admittedly, is a statement that could be made about any learning situation whatsoever. Both groups exhibit the same type of style lapse by introducing colloquial or speech-type items into texts that are primarily expository. In the relatively minor area of punctuation both populations make the same mistakes.

Not all similar errors necessarily stem from similar sources. Some sources of error are linguistic, others can be non-linguistic. The frequency of pronominal he/she mix in Finnish scripts is due to L1 + English L2 interference, promoted by the extra-linguistic restrictions imposed by the topic, whereas the U.K. corrected instance can only be attributed to the restrictions imposed by topic. The style mix of formal and informal language is attributable to different types of immaturity. The frequency and infrequency of shortened verb forms is directly attributable to differences in school training. On an even wider scale, not all similar acceptable language forms even necessarily derive from similar sources or processes; a neat example is given by Labov (1971:458):

> English preserved the preterit by a constraint upon grammatical bimorphemic clusters; the Scots epenthesis rule differs from the English and the net result is the preservation of the preterit in both dialects.

Any sources that are suggested here are by nature tentative. From research on L2 errors backed by subsequent taped interviews with the test subjects, I have discovered that there are more sources of error, and of correct usage[1], than I expected.

[1] See Kellerman (1977) for a basic coverage of NI and TL relationships, areas and explanations of error.

The types of error considered here are found across a range of L1 and L2 scripts: in scripts which demostrate good style or weaker style, or which testify to a thorough knowledge or less through knowledge of the Shakespeare play. Are some of the errors language specific? Inter-or intralingual, or are there more universal elements? What is the relationship between errors in speech and errors in writing? Is the direction of errorin certain phoneme or grapheme features, and in certain types of phonological lexical substitution, reciprocal or symmetrical, or do these tend to be asymmetrical? Vastly augmented materials would be required in order to attempt to answer these questions. Meanwhile, at the everyday level of L2 acquisition with English as L2, it would seem that proficiency in English accounts for errors in writing that are 'English.' As second language learners become increasingly proficient in the target language, do they also acquire or learn[1] native error patterns. Dulay and Burt (1974) suggest that native developmental error patterns are present in the spoken language in the very early stages of L2 learning. Of the types of error presented here, misspellings, lexical substitutions, slips of perseveration and anticipation, omissions and mispunctuation are all to be found in the written English of educated adults.

Taking only the main two populations, the younger U.K. pupils have more spelling errors, more phonological lexical substitutions, more word inventions. But instances are very few and 'more' is also a very relative concept when one is considering occasional, accidental language behaviour. The Finnish overall higher use of the word <u>opportunity</u> still matches English usage in that there is only one instance per text; it is unremarkable native usage. It could be that L2 slips though similar might evince different frequencies of distributions. The number of slips made by the Finnish students and the U.K. pupils may be relatively high. On the other hand, very adult conferences are the happy hunting grounds for language error and non-well-formed sentences.

Slips in speech have been studied far more than slips of the pen; similar types occur in both modes although one would assume that writing, which is more visual and allows more time for planning and re-scanning would show different distributions, as Hotopf (1980) has indicated. The 'universality' of slips carries interesting implications for language processing theories. Even a highly inflected phonemic-spelling language such

[1] For an explication of, for example, the Krashen distinction between acquisition and learning, see Gregg 1984.

as Finnish in which puns are virtually impossible can join the slip range.[1]

Since writing is a fairly advanced skill, it would be interesting to know at what stage the type of similar errors reviewed here begin to emerge. It is a chastening fact that eventually many L2 writers produce far better language than many an informed native. It is devoutly to be hoped that such writers still 'slip' up occasionally. 'To err is human, to forgive divine' suggests that there is no particular merit assigned to error, but in the case of L2 English it would seem that some credit should be given for the ability to err in the native fashion, as to the manner born?

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[1] A favourite blend of a Helsinki student is hussu -- a combination of hassu (foolish) and hullu (mad). Blends would seem to be more likely to occur in speech.

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CAPTION: ... HE IS AWEARY OF THE SUN, A YELLOW LOAF.

Reference APPENDIX p. 56 [↑ = pro leaf]
(or possibly pp 18–20 'Perseveration'
[illegible] this is Macbeth from a subpopulation).

APPENDIX

POPULATIONS

Description of sub-populations

The two main populations are 23 Upper Form U.K. pupils and 23 Stage II students from the University of Helsinki, Finland. The test situations are exactly the same for the sub-populations, all are writing Shakespeare examination answers, but the actual examination questions are different.

Stage III Finnish students are students in their final year of English studies, but because the Finnish university system gives a fair time leeway, these students may be in their fifth, sixth or later year of university studies. Their English is not necessarily better as often they have appreciable gaps in their English studies while they concentrate on other subjects or other things.

This is the break-down of the study populations:

COUNTRY	POPULATION	PLAY	STUDY LEVEL	DESIGNATION
+ U.K.	23	Hamlet	Upper Form	UK
U.K.	11	Hamlet	Upper Form	UK/2
+Finland	23	Hamlet	Stage II	FIN
Finland	12	Hamlet	Stage II	FIN/H
Finland	17	Macbeth	Stage II	FIN/M
Finland	6	Macbeth	Stage III	FIN/M/X
Finland	6	Hamlet	Stage III	FIN/H/X

+ = main population

GOT IT? - CONCEPTIONS OF DEVIANCE BY FINNISH STUDENTS FROM LEARNING MATERIAL IN ENGLISH AND FINNISH[1]

Paula Kalaja
University of Jyväskylä/Georgetown University

1. INTRODUCTION

Most of testing and research on reading in English as a foreign language (EFL) tends to describe how much students have learnt as measured, for instance, by the number of multiple-choice items scored correctly, or by the number of idea units recalled (eg. Carrel 1983, Connor 1984). Relatively little research has ever made an attempt to describe what students have actually understood (eg. Aslanian 1985).

I will be following this latter line of research. My purpose is to look at how Finnish college students conceptualized social deviance after studying about it first from an English textbook on Sociology and four weeks later from its Finnish translation.

It turns out that on first reading, 20% of the 25 students conceptualized social deviance the way the writer of the text, a sociologist, had done. On second reading, two thirds of these students revised their conceptions. These revisions were of two kinds: from an everyday notion towards a sociologist's, but perhaps less unexpectedly also vice versa, from a sociologist's notion towards an everyday one. And even after the second reading of the text in Finnish, just under 50% of the students conceptualized social deviance the way the writer of the text had intended it to be understood.

2. THE PROCEDURE

2.1. THE SUBJECTS

I had 25 subjects. They were students from the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, majoring in Sociology, in Humanities, and in the English language and literature.

[1] I would like to thank Professor Frederick J. Bosco of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., for constructive criticism of an earlier draft of this paper.

2.2. THE LEARNING MATERIAL

As learning material I used an excerpt from an introductory textbook of Sociology, What is Sociology?, written by Alex Inkeles and published by Prentice-Hall in 1965, and its Finnish translation, Mitä on sosiologia?, published by Gummerus in 1972.

The excerpt was from Chapter 6, "Fundamental Social Processes," with the first subheading "Conformity, Variation, and Deviance," pages 78-82 in the original book, and pages 154-162 in the Finnish version.

In this excerpt, Inkeles introduces two fundamental social processes, that is, conformity and social deviance. Conformity is defined as meeting role obligations in society, eg. obeying traffic lights. Social deviance, on the other hand, is defined as violating accepted norms that society feels strongly about, so that it has to take strong measures to prevent or control such behavior, eg. committing a crime. Further, Inkeles makes a distinction between social deviance and statistical deviance, or variation, eg. holding a minority view. Inkeles not only defines these two social processes; he also provides instances of them from American society.

2.3. THE STUDY SESSIONS

I arranged two study sessions for each of the 25 students. In the first session, the text was in English, and in the second, four weeks later, it was in Finnish.

I asked the students to read the text as last-minute preparation for a Sociology examination, making it clear to the students that the examination would not have any multiple-choice questions.

No time limits were set. On both occasions, the students could spend as much time as they wished reading the texts. When reading the text in English, the students also had an English-Finnish dictionary at hand.

As soon as the students were done with their reading, we set the text aside and continued the sessions as interviews. I first asked the students to summarize the text and then to give me a definition of social deviance in their own words. To make sure that their definitions were not just a result of memorization, I also insisted on them providing instances of it from their own experience in Finland, in the city of Jyväskylä, or on the campus.

3. THE RESULTS

All the interviews were conducted in Finnish. They were taperecorded and transcribed. They are the basis for the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the learning outcome.

For the present paper, I read and reread the conceptions of social deviance by the students and compared them to one another and the original text.

3.1. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Qualitatively, the conceptions are of three types, A, B, and C.

Type C conceptions were identical with, or close to, what Inkeles in his text called statistical deviance or variation, whereas Type A conceptions were identical with, or close to, what he called social deviance. He had defined them as follows:

> Deviance, then is not necessarily inherent in every departure from a commonly accepted standard, nor in holding any minority view. This would be statistical deviance. Social deviance arises when the departure from accepted norms involves action about which the community feels strongly, so strongly as to adopt sanctions to prevent or otherwise control the deviant behavior. In other words, deviant behavior is not merely oblique to dominant or "core" values, but is antithetical to them (p. 80).

Also, the students with Type C and A conceptions were consistent with their definitions and instances of them from their own experience. In other words, the students with Type C definitions provided instances of statistical deviance, or what could be called an everyday notion of deviant behavior. These included wearing punk clothes, homosexuality, excessive drinking, living in a commune. The students with Type A definitions, on the other hand, provided instances of social deviance, or what could be referred to as a sociologist's conception of deviant behavior. These included thefts, assaults, use of drugs, sex offenses, bribing, fraud, tax evasion, cheating in an examination.

Finally, Type B conceptions were combinations of these two types, A and C, in that students either came up with a Type A definition but provided instances of Type C, or vice versa.

3.2. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Let us first look at the overall learning outcome of reading "Conformity, Variation, and Social Deviance" by the 25 Finnish college students.

On first reading, ie. reading the text in English as a foreign language, 5 came up with Type A, 15 with Type B, and another 5 with Type C conceptions. The percentages were 20, 60, and 20, respectively. See Table 1 for these totals ( ).

Table 1

Conceptions of social deviance by Finnish college students by type, A, B or C.

		Second Reading in Finnish			
		A	B	C	
First Reading in English	A	3	2	0	5
	B	7	5	3	15
	C	2	3	0	5
		12	10	3	25

On second reading, ie. reading the text in Finnish some four weeks later, 12 of the students had Type A, 10 Type B, and just 3 Type C conceptions. The percentages were 48, 40, and 12, respectively. See Table 1 above for the totals ( ).

Another way of looking at the data is to say that onlv 8 of the total of 25 students stuck to their original conceptions of social deviance even after the second reading. So as many as 17 of them revised their notions.

Thus, the second reading with the text in Finnish did therefore make qvite a difference to the conceptualizations.

Let us then look at what kind of a difference it made to read the same text a second time in Finnish. I refer to Table 1 again. Of the total of 25 students, 12 changed their conceptions of Type B or C to Types A and/or B. Less unexpectedly perhaps, 5 students changed their conceptions of Types A and B to types B and C, respectively.

So if the second reading made a difference in the conceptions of social deviance, the change was from a layman's notion towards a sociologist's one in the case of two thirds of these students but, interestingly, the change was towards the opposite direction in the case of as many as one third of them.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, after reading a text in English as a foreign language about fundamental social processes, 20% of the 25 Finnish college students understood social deviance the way it had been defined by the writer of the text, a sociologist. Four weeks later, after reading the text for the second time but now in Finnish, two thirds of them revised their conceptions. These revisions were of two types: from an everyday notion of deviance towards a sociologist's notion of it, or the other way round. However, even after the second reading, only about 50% of the students conceptualized social deviance the way it had been presented in the text.

This experiment has implications for teaching English for Academic Purposes, and perhaps more importantly for teaching content-areas, with assigned as required course reading foreign textbooks.

We saw that the conceptions acquired by the Finnish college students differed from those proposed by the author of the book, Inkeles, not only after reading the text in English as a foreign language but also after reading it another time in Finnish. So it becomes the teachers' responsibility to make sure to do away with these discrepancies. It seems to me that this is very important in the case of key concepts presented in textbooks such as the concept of social deviance among Sociology majors and minors of this study and that of price among Economics students in the study by Dahlgren (1978) along similar lines, though in his study the text was in the students' mother tongue only. Only after this does it make sense to proceed to new topics in teaching.

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TRANSLATION SCIENCE AND CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS: BOUNDARY CLEARING AND A NEIGHBOURLY HANDSHAKE

Inkeri Vehmas-Lehto
University of Helsinki
Kouvola Department of translation studies

Translation science and contrastive linguistics have the same object of interest, communication in two or more languages. Therefore they can benefit each other in many ways. But the proximity of these two disciplines has also caused mutual confusion[1], which has not yet been cleared up because of the novelty[2] of both fields. However, boundary clearing is becoming indispensable. It is especially necessary for translation scientists: even the few articles in which the relationship between translation science and contrastive linguistics is discussed have usually been written from the viewpoint of contrastive linguistics (eg. Kemppainen 1979; Markkanen 1983). In this paper the relationship will be discussed from the perspective of translation science.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRANSLATION SCIENCE AND CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

One of the fundamental differences between translation science and contrastive linguistics has been the concept of equivalence. When assessing the equivalence of the translation and the source text, translation science has not been satisfied with linguistic correspondence: various other factors, connected with linguistic and extralinguistic context, have also been taken into consideration. In other words, the requirement of equivalence has not been applied to the relationship between the source and target language

[1] Not long ago, translation science was still considered a branch of contrastive linguistics (Nida 1969:495) or even vice versa contrastive linguistics a branch of translation science (Koller 1972:37-38).

[2] The first published studies in contrastive linguistics date back to the last decade of the nineteenth century (Fisiak 1981:3), but modern contrastive analysis began only in the forties (Sajavaara 1981:34). Translation science originated in the 1960's, with the publication of the classics of translation science: Nida 1964, Carford 1965, Mounin 1967, Fēdorov 1968, and Nida and Taber 1969.

signs but to the relationship between the source language sign + context and the target language sign + context (Svejcer 1970:33). The equivalence conception of translation science has thefore been called "parole-oriented" (see Reiss 1984:82).

Extralinguistic factors have received attention in the equivalence theory of Catford (1965:49). According to him, the equivalence of source and target texts is based on their interchangeability in a given situation. Most translation scientists, however, seem to support the principles of dynamic and functional equivalence. The principle of dynamic equivalence (or 'equivalent effect'), introduced by Nida (1964:159), means the "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message". According to the principle of functional equivalence, a translation and a source text, to be equivalent, have to fulfil the same functions in their extralinguistic contexts. In fact, functional equivalence means essentially the same as dynamic equivalence; receptor reactions have merely been projected on the texts as if they were qualities of the texts (Latysev 1981; 25).

In a translation which is dynamically/functionally equivalent with the source text formal equivalence is rare. Moreover, translations can also depart from semantic correspondence.

Contrastive linguistics, by contrast, has up till now mostly dealt with 'langue'. That is why the equivalence criteria of contrastive linguistics have been more formal than those of translation science ("the langue-oriented equivalence conception of contrastive linguistics", Reiss 1984:82. It is true that also Catford's theory of equivalence, based on situational interchangeability, has been widely used as the basis of contrastive studies (Sajavaara 198:208). Situational interchangeability has, however, been regarded as problematic, because "two texts, written in different languages, can function as excellent translations of each other in some situation but be structurally so far from each other that there is nothing to be compared in their linguistic constructions" (Markkanen 1983:69).

According to the narrowest equivalence criteria of contrastive linguistics, words or phrases in two languages are equivalent only on the condition that they have the same syntactic functions in the languages under comparison (see Marton 1968:55). However, more support has been given to the ideas of Krzeszowski, who first suggested basing the equivalence of constructions on the identity of their deep structure (Krzeszowski 1971: 38) but later broadened the scope of equivalent constructions, stating that the theory of equivalence is concerned "with explicating the semantic identity of sentences which are the closest approximations to acceptable word-for-word translations and their synonymous paraphrases" (Krzeszowski 1981:123). Even though paraphrases need not be formally equivalent to L2 units, the pursuit of formal equivalence is evident even here: the relationship of word-for-word translations is called 'ideal equivalence'.

Lately, however, some contrastive linguists have come closer to the conceptions of translation science: they have become more aware of the insufficiency of contrasting mere linguistic codes without locating the codes "in their proper place in the speech communication processes across language" (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980:11-12). This suggests a change in the equivalence criteria of contrastive linguistics or at least some of its subdisciplines.

Closely connected with the different concepts of equivalence is the difference between the objects of research. As mentioned above, contrastive linguists have usually tried to find L2 equivalents which are structurally as close to L1 units as possible. The interest of translation scientists has been directed at how the units have actually been translated (translation criticism is also interested in how they should have been translated). In other words, contrastive linguistics has mostly been restricted to the study of the linguistic competence of language users, whereas translation science has been targeted at performance and consequently been compelled to deal with extralinguistic factors as well[1]. Therefore, from the very beginning, translation science has had a programmatic dimension (if this concept is understood as "the study of language from a functional perspective, that is, that it attempts to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic pressures and causes", see Levinson 1983:7).

Contrastive linguistics is also gradually advancing in the same direction: as the narrowness of linguistic thinking gives way to the study of language as a means of human interaction, linguistic competence as an object of research is being replaced by communicative competence, consisting of "grammatical competence and pragmatics" (Sajavaara 1981:47-48).

Between translation science and contrastive linguistics there has also been a difference which relates to the unit of research. In traditional

[1] Extralinguistic factors have received attention also in contrastive linguistics, and at a very early stage; according to Lado (1957:2-3), the difficulties of a foreign language learner can be predicted by comparing his native language and culture with the foreign language and culture. However, up till now, contrastive linguistics has concentrated on language.

contrastive linguistics, comparison of linguistic constructions does not go beyond the boundaries of a sentence, whereas in translation science the object of comparison is the entire text. Smaller units are naturally also examined, but their functions, importance, and also the methods of research are determined by the text in its entirety. Lately, in connection with the appearance of contrastive text linguistics (see Enkvist 1976), also this difference between translation science and contrastive linguistics has been receding.

One difference between translation science and contrastive linguistics will apparently remain permanent. This is the difference in research material: if contrastive studies are based on translated material,[1] this material is in principle bidirectional, whereas the material used in translation studies is unidirectional (see Toury 1980:24). In other words, contrastive linguistics involves the study of translations both from L1 into L2 and from L2 into L1, because "there is an objective correspondence between two languages if the same phenomenon is constantly repeated in translations made in both directions by different translators of different authors" (Gak 1979:16).[2] However, the fact that contrastive studies have often been based on unidirectional material is apparently due to practical considerations, not to principle.

Translation science does not need bidirectional material, because it does not aim at finding universally valid equivalence relations, but solely text-bound and situation-bound translation equivalents. Moreover, the principle of bidirectionality would not even be applicable to translation studies: even a 'back-translation'[3] of the target language equivalent would not necessarily share any formal features with the source text unit and there would consequently be no fixed basis for comparison. That is why translations have with good reason been described metaphorically as a one-way street (Švejcer 1973:111).

There is also the difference in starting point. If a contrastive study is based on translated material (either a corpus or translations made by an

[1] Contrastive studies are conducted not only on the basis of translated material. They can also operate with universals, ie. specify how a given universal category is realized in the languages contrasted (see eg. Fisiak 1981:2).

[2] For the sake of objectivity even multilateral contrastive studies have been called for, ie. studies embracing more than two languages (Bausch 1964, Wandruszka 1969).

[3] Back-translation has been used in translation studies, but only in the assessment of the quality of certain translations (see Brislin 1976:15).

informant), a linguistic phenomenon is first examined from the point of view of L1. The following step is to find L2 equivalents. In a study based on bidirectional material the languages simply change places.

In a translation study it is necessary not only to compare the translation with the source text, but also with authentic target language + context (linguistic and extralinguistic). That is why a translation study can start either from the source text of from the translation.

The procedure with longer standing is to start from the source text, eg. by determining its textual type (see Reiss 1971) or 'situational dimensions' (House 1977), and then ascertain whether the textual type/situational dimensions have remained unchanged in the translation.

A translation study can also start from the translation, by studying it first solely from the point of view of the target language and the communicative situation. This can be done because the purposes (functions) of a translation "are set mainly by the target, receptor pole, which serves as the 'initiator' of the inter-textual, inter-cultural and interlingual transfer" (Toury 1980:82-83).

QUASI-STUDIES

Because of the confusion between translation science and contrastive linguistics some 'translation studies' can in fact be contrastive and some 'contrastive studies' be translational.

Quasi-translation-studies comprise, firstly, studies where much time and effort has been devoted to the description of certain linguistic phenomena in the source and target languages, but where the only thing connected with translation is a mention of how interesting the phenomena are from the point of view of translation science (Komissarow 1976:11). Secondly, there are quasi-translation-studies in which a tentative 'problem' is defined through a mere analysis of the source text and then its various 'solutions' are looked for in the target text (such as German compounds of the type Noun + Adjective and their reproduction in English; Toury 1980: 85).

Quasi-contrastive are studies which are based on interferential translations (many theses written by university students fall into this category). These studies do not give information about the real differences and similarities between languages, but only about what could be called translationese, the language of translations. And this kind of language (like the language of learners) has been shown to be one type of interlanguage. Translation is apparently a kind of communication especially prone to interference (Toury 1982:66). One manifestation of this is the fact that in translation not only does the native language have an influence on foreign language performance, but also the foreign language has an influence on native language performance (see Toury 1979; 1982:68-69; Klaudi 1980; Denison 1981; Vehmas-Lehto 1984a, 1984b, 1985).

An idea especially misleading is one by Kemppainen (1979:15-16) that translations should be used as the basis of quantitative 'contrastive' studies, because, according to him, using translations is the only way to find out the frequencies of different linguistic phenomena in two languages. This idea is misleading, because translations differ from untranslated text written in the same language not only qualitatively, but also quantitatively (see Grimes 1963; Robinson 1963; Toury 1979:226; Klaudi 1980; Soini 1983; Vehmas-Lehto 1985:189-190). Consequently, reliable quantitative data about differences and similarities between two languages can only be obtained by comparing authentic texts written in the contrasted languages which resemble each other as closely as possible as to their textual type and subject matter.

The trust that contrastive linguists put in the reliability of translations and the confusion caused thereby may be traced back to Catford's theory of equivalence, which, as mentioned above, has been widely resorted to also by contrastive linguists. Catford (1965:30-31) obviously considers the impeccability of translations made by "competent bilingual informants or translators" to be beyond doubt. He even suggests a method of making "translation rules" by calculating the probabilities of different textu equivalents in a translation (a similar suggestion was made also by Lundqvist, see Tirkkonen-Condit 1982:3).

CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATION SCIENCE IN COLLABORATION

According to Faiss (1972:6), contrastive grammar is positively predestined to serve as the framework for the study and praxis of translation. However there has been no reason to take this remark seriously because, as stated above, translation equivalence is also dependent on numerous extralinguistic factors and translation science cannot therefore be based on mere linguistic criteria. But now that contrastive linguistics is turning from linguistic to communicative competence, and consequently to pragmatics and textlinguistics, it is to be hoped that in the future its results will be of importance also to people working in the field of translation science.

One of the fields of contrastive research which could be useful to translation scientists is quantitative comparison of authentic texts. To be communicatively successful, a translation has to resemble authentic target language texts (of a similar textual type and subject matter) not only in the qualitative but also in the quantitative respect.

Contrastive linguistics is no doubt better placed to benefit translation science than vice versa, and not only because it is the older and more highly developed of the two disciplines. But translation science can also be of use to contrastive linguistics, at least in the choice of translated material for analysis. The most useful type of study would again be quantitative, the comparison of translated materi with authentic texts written in the target language. This would give an objective answer to the question of how far the language of these translations is from actual target language texts and serve as a ground for rejecting translated material which clearly differs from them.

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Department of English
University of Jyväskylä
SF-40100 Jyväskylä
FINLAND

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