

A pragmatic analysis of errors in University students' writings in English

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Abstract: The Communicative Approach, mainstream method in the teaching of foreign languages in the past forty years, is recommended by the Council of Europe by means of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CE 2001: 1): "It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop". As a result, language teaching is understood as the teaching of language as communication, based on three pillars; linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence and pragmatic competence. Depending on their level of proficiency, students are expected to have developed their pragmatic competence through their learning process. This paper analyses the types of pragmatic errors students incur on when they write in English as a second language at Higher Education Level in order to determine if pragmatic competence develops at the same pace as second language learning.

Keywords: pragmatic errors, competence, learning process, writing.

INTRODUCTION

Due to the new legislation affecting all European Universities following the Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education, students must face a new situation, in which their learning is compared to that of their equals throughout all European Universities. The European Council recommends the use of the Communicative Approach in the language classroom to ensure the teaching from the point of view of communication.

Language is no longer conceived as a set of rules to be learned, but as a global system understood as communication. Additionally, the concept of communication is increasingly related to the pairing of speakers with different cultural backgrounds. Thus, language teaching is based on three different skills; linguistic competence, discourse competence and pragmatic competence. If focus is set on the performance of language in use, this need of multicultural communication in international settings entails the combination of several disciplines; Second Language Acquisition, Communicative Approach and Pragmatics.

In order to analyse the texts produced by students, Pragmatic issues have been analysed from two different perspectives. First, Grice's theory and his maxims have been taken into account. Then, to a lesser extent, the principles established by Sperber and Wilson (1986) in their Relevance Theory have been considered. Focus is set on second language acquisition and the identification of issues particularly problematic in the language classroom.

This paper is organised as follows: first, there is an explanation of the state of the art and the theoretical background including Grice's cooperation principle, the most

outstanding aspects of the relevance theory and the writing skills necessary at Higher Education level. Afterwards, the objectives of the study are explained, as well as the methodology followed in this study. Finally, the results obtained are explained and analysed and some conclusions are drawn from them.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Grice's Cooperation Principle and Conversational Maxims

As it is well known, Grice is acknowledged as the scholar responsible for redefining Pragmatics. In order to establish how people select the right interpretation of meanings, Grice (1975) proposed an approach to conversation stating the interpretation of utterances is guided by a *cooperative principle* whereby both speaker and hearer share a common goal: comprehension. Thus, a number of maxims, adhered to by speakers are responsible for arranging this *cooperative enterprise*. These are the *maxim of quality* (do not say what you believe to be false or cannot support), the *maxim of relevance* (be relevant in your speech), the *maxim of quantity* (be as informative as required, but no more), the *maxim of manner* (be clear, concise, and orderly).

Thus, the *cooperative principle* read (Grice 1975:45): “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.” The conversational maxims complete the principle (Grice 1975:46):

- 1) Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
 - a. Do not say what you believe to be false.
 - b. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
- 2) Quantity
 - a. Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange.
 - b. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- 3) Relation: Be relevant.
- 4) Manner: Be perspicuous.
 - a. Avoid obscurity of expression.
 - b. Avoid ambiguity.
 - c. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
 - d. Be orderly.

This author also introduced the concept of *implicature*, which refers to the additional pieces of information that are implied but unspoken and which help us gain an accurate understanding of an utterance. This method of retrieving interpretation through a process of reasoning is a crucial aspect for conversation (communication). Conversational implicatures are derived from the rules of conversation, whereas non-conversational implicatures are derived from other kinds of causes (social, moral, or aesthetic).

When the maxims are disregarded in communication (what Grice refers to as flouting), implicatures are produced. Grice establishes the following classification for the neglect of these maxims:

- (1) Violating the cooperative principle (aimed at deceiving the listener),
- (2) Signalling a violation (openly explaining that a maxim is being violated and the reason for this),
- (3) Maxim clashing (ignoring one maxim to preserve another)
- (4) Flouting a maxim to create a conversational implicature, (making it obvious that something else was implied in the utterance).

Grice's theory appealed to linguists in that it underlined the existence of a clear separation between grammar-internal processes, which "characterise sentence structures, and arguably also a specification of their meanings, and the interpretation of utterances" (Kempson, 2001:405). However, Grice's maxims were often considered unclear, vague or difficult to interpret, due to the fact that some introduce subjective concepts (relevance, for instance) or ideas (manner) that are difficult to quantify.

The Relevance Theory

In the Anglo-Saxon context, Sperber and Wilson's *Relevance Theory* returned re-examined Grice's approach and expanded this (Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Wilson & Sperber, 1998, 2002, 2004). According to these authors, communication does not simply consist of *packing* thoughts or ideas in the form of words so that the listener can unpack and understand them. In other words, it cannot be assumed that communication equals the coding and decoding of information. Hence, it follows that language cannot be treated as a code. Yus Ramos (1998:317), citing Sperber and Wilson (1986: 32), states that the general objective of the relevance Theory is "to identify underlying mechanisms, rooted in human psychology, which explain how human communicate with one another".

Additionally, Sperber and Wilson affirm that the environment and the context enrich abstract representations are linked to thought processes. As a consequence of this, the Relevance Theory is an attempt at characterising pragmatic phenomena taking into consideration the cognitive concept of relevance, and thereby replaces Grice's cooperative principle, focusing exclusively on the speaker. Departing from the idea that it is necessary for an utterance to be relevant if comprehension is the aim, Wilson and Sperber (2004:251) launch their theory around the definition of an input relevance, and conclude that:

"[something] is relevant to an individual when it connects with background information [...] to yield conclusions that matter to him [...] when its processing in a context of available assumptions yields a POSITIVE COGNITIVE EFFECT"¹.

In so doing, they are proposing that an utterance, sound, memory, etc. in order to reach a addressee, in order to grasp the addressee's attention, needs to connect her or him with whatever background information they may possess. They continue by describing the most important type of cognitive effect, which they refer to as contextual implication and propose several laws to assess relevance in terms of cognitive effects and processing effort. For instance, the relevance of an input may represent to an individual (Wilson & Sperber, 2004:252):

¹ Authors' capitalisation.

- (1) Relevance of an input to an individual
 - a. Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.
 - b. Other things being equal, the greater the processing effort expended, the lower the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.

The principle of relevance constrains human cognition in the sense that not everything is deserving of effort. In other words, humans measure the effort required to communicate and the results they obtain from this. Thus, individuals strike a balance between effort and effect when producing discourse, which is the constraint of maximising relevance. This assessment will therefore determine their decision-making in communication matters, both in terms of the actual speech act and its direct implications and in terms of what deductions can be made from these, both intended and implied. In line with Kempson's explanation (2001:410-411):

[...] the principle of balancing cognitive effort and inferential effect can be seen to underpin both the deduction of so-called implicatures and the fixing of context-dependent aspects of the proposition expressed. [...] Indeed it purports to explain why deduction of additional information is an unvarying consequence of interpreting an utterance, [...] Moreover it provides a natural distinction between implications which the hearer believes the speaker intended to convey (= implicatures), and those which she recovers from the utterance [...] (= contextual implications). (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Carston 1988).

Hereby, word meaning is understood as a set of procedures for interpretation, and the definition of interpretation is proposed in terms of structured representations (and the updating of these representations) of content. This same view is also expressed by Wilson and Sperber (2004:254-255); if word meaning is built through interpretation, then new concepts are created online from the presented word by means of interpretation processes: “[...] inferential communication is not just a matter of intending to affect the thoughts of an audience; it is a matter of getting them to recognise that one has this intention”. This is in line with the theories emphasizing the link between language and mind (Proudfoot, 2009). In this line, Strassheim (2010: 1439) contrasts the relevance theories of communication (Schultz vs. Sperber and Wilson) and states “According to both models, a communicator must, in her own interest, align her communicative means and ends in a way consistent with what she thinks is or will be relevant to her individual addressee”.

The existence of implicatures conveys the role of the hearer in any communication act, for which the hearer is partially responsible. With this in mind, as outlined above, pragmatists believe words should be regarded as procedures for interpretation, instead of having a predetermined and fixed given meaning. In Kempson's words (2001:423):

The encoded specifications intrinsic to language are defined explicitly as the driving force in this incremental process of building up interpretations from a natural language sequence of words. Linguistic and non-linguistic processes of interpretation [...] freely interact.

The suggested viewpoint that the hearer's willingness to understand should not be taken for granted, nor assumed to be long lasting is an interesting one. Consequently, rising to meet this challenge, those encoded specifications uttered by the speaker should become

the driving force that guarantees the attention of the hearer. Rephrasing this in the form of a recommendation, Kempson emphasises the need to uphold the principle of minimal effort. In this manner, the rule applicable to the hearer can be formulated as (2001:259)

- a. Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility.
- b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied

Sperber and Wilson also refute the Gricean theory that truthfulness governs communication. Grice considered anything which did not conform to the maxim of Quality to be a deviation. The Relevance Theory does not comply with this: “[...] where hearers are interested in truth. [...] even in these cases, hearers do not expect what is said to be strictly and literally true [...]”, and explains metaphor, hyperbole, etc. in the light of expectations of relevance. The theory rates these according to the relevance-effort balance by which communication is understood (Wilson & Sperber, 2002:231):

Given the characterisation of relevance in (1), aiming to maximise the relevance of the inputs one processes is simply a matter of making the most efficient use of the available processing resources. No doubt this is something we would all want to do, given a choice. Relevance theory claims that humans do have an automatic tendency to maximise relevance, not because we have a choice in the matter we rarely do but because of the way our cognitive systems have evolved.

This directly implies that the addressee expects the speaker to employ the best possible choice in terms of relevance in her or his utterances, and to facilitate the addressee’s job at the other end of the communication act, thus producing the message which best suits the principle of economy of effort. In this sense, it falls within the responsibility of the speaker, and not the hearer, to make communication valid (Wilson & Sperber, 2002:234):

What makes it reasonable for the hearer to follow a path of least effort is that the speaker is expected (within the limits of her abilities and preferences) to formulate her utterance in such a way as to diminish the hearer’s effort.

The theory also dedicates significant attention to other items left unsolved by Grice’s maxims, such as time, and the ways in which this governs the construction of discourse. Depending on whether it is respected or not, time has a direct consequence on the Relevance attached to a specific utterance. This time issue is referred to as *the sequencing problem*, *the interval problem*, and *the cause-consequence problem* (Wilson & Sperber, 1998).

Although the Relevance Theory covers some (testimonial) work on the relationship with the social sciences, it mainly focuses on intra-dialogue relationship. It does not pay attention to language use based on external conventions or customs. Consequently, this model has been criticised because it omits the social aspects of communication. To cite an example, Mey & Talbot (1988:747-48) explicitly state that:

Intentionalist models of human agency are looking at only half the picture of language. A theory of social action, whether for language or any other form of behaviour, needs an account of both creative and conventional elements. (...) In an intentionalist model such as SW’s an actor is a spontaneous individual consciously working on unique

problems, rather than a social agent working on pre-existing conventions with resources available to him/her which s/he cannot be aware of. (...). SW disregard the perspective on the language use from which such use perpetuates historically constituted ways of saying and doing, a perspective from which types of interaction are predetermined.

This theory has also been applied to different aspects of language studies, as for example, grammar, discourse, humour, media, literature, education, political language, (Yus Ramos, 1998), etc. In this study we consider its implementation in the second language classroom at higher education level, taking into consideration the Common European Framework of Reference applied to second language teaching and language proficiency leveraging.

If we consider the relevance theory applied to language learning, we should point out several aspects. Since the publication of the book “Relevance. Communication and cognition” written by Sperber and Wilson (1986) many different applications of the concept of relevance have been used to analyse language (Yus Ramos, 1998; Moreira Orengo and Huyck, 2006; Verbuck and Shultz, 2010; Strassheim, 2010). Since the first edition of the book, different researchers have been reflecting on the principles of relevance, the conceptual and procedural meaning, the notion truth and the presumption of relevance (Mey and Talbot, 1988; Blakemore, 1992; Mey, 1993; Grundy, 1995; Jucker, 1997). However, ways for it to be included in second language acquisition are yet to be explored. In this paper, we try to apply its principles to the assessment of writings produced by students with a B1 level of proficiency at Higher Education level.

Writing at Higher Education Level

As explained, all syllabi and teaching approaches in Higher Education must be based on the CEF by law. The pragmatic competences as defined in the CEF are linked to the specific functional use of the language; especially language performances (speech acts, language functions production, etc.) and include (CEF, 2001:13) “the mastery of discourse, cohesion and coherence, the identification of text types and forms, irony, and parody”. In the outset, pragmatic competence also includes the need to work the contexts, the environments and the cultures in which the language is produced, also related to the sociolinguistic competence.

The CEF specifies that completing the language learning process implies obtaining certain skills at the different levels of proficiency which are concomitant to language communication. These skills guarantee that the language has been learnt, and that the learner is able to improve his or her language expertise by working on these skills to a further degree (CE, 2001:123):

Pragmatic competences are concerned with the functional use of linguistic resources (production of language functions, speech acts), drawing on scenarios or scripts of interactional exchanges. It also concerns the mastery of discourse, cohesion and coherence, the identification of text types and forms, irony, and parody. For this component even more than the linguistic component, it is hardly necessary to stress the major impact of interactions and cultural environments in which such abilities are constructed.

The competences that fall in the pragmatic perspective considered in the document (CE, 2001:123) are three: discourse competence, functional competence and design

competence. The first one relates to the structure and organisation of the text, the second to the execution of communicative functions, and the third to the sequencing of the texts taking into account interaction.

Writing is a considerably difficult skill to acquire; it “is more institutionalised than talk and less contextualised too” (Grundy, 2002:2). Indeed, norms are more enduring in written than in speaking; learning to write in an L2 is difficult. With regard the type of contexts considered useful for practice and language proficiency, four possible domains are established: personal, public, occupational and educational. Seven different groups are proposed for each, including locations, institutions, persons, objects, events, operations and texts.

In Spain, the level of proficiency for university students in their first year is established as B1, according to the levels of proficiency proposed in the CEF. In the self-assessment grid provided to this aim, as mentioned above, the specifications for this group of learners are that they must be able to “write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest”, as well as “write personal letters describing experiences and impressions”.

Scales are provided in the text for three types of activities, the general, overall written production, creative writing, and reports and essays. Any B1 proficient student should be able to write connected texts on familiar subjects and subjects of interest, and have the ability to describe feelings and reactions. Students are expected to describe, narrate, summarise, report and justify in quite simple texts and contexts.

In order to guarantee the greatest possible contact with real language, all texts presented to the students must be authentic, untreated, and produced for communicative purposes without the language teaching filtering.

OBJECTIVES

The general objective of the present study is to analyse the writings produced by students with a B1 level of proficiency at higher education level. The perspective of analysis is pragmatics. Thus, the specific objectives would be first to analyse the texts following Grice’s maxims and Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance Theory in order to see their applicability as tools for analysis in the second language classroom. Secondly, to assess the types of errors incurred by students. Thirdly, to establish a classification of these errors and establish the most and least common pragmatic errors produced by students at this level of proficiency and in this teaching context.

METHODOLOGY

As explained, the study has focused on English writing at Higher Education. The writing competences developed by students at Universitat Politècnica de València have been analysed. Based on the recommendations offered by the CEF, an analysis grid has been elaborated to help tutors analyse different pragmatic aspects in the second language classroom. An example of a recommendation as established in the CEF is detailed below (Table 1).

B1	THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT
	Can reasonably fluently relate a straightforward narrative or description as a linear sequence of points.

Table 1. Pragmatic competences. Discourse: Thematic development. B1 level.

Thus, based on the items referred to the Gricean principles in the CEF, an analysis grid has been elaborated. The different items related to rhetorical effectiveness as they appear in the document of reference can be observed in Table 2. This grid can be used by teachers as a tool to correct writings or by students to be conscious of the implications of second language writing. We can observe in the first column in the table the item considered, whereas the second column displays the descriptors that should be taken into account by both teachers and students in order to evaluate or produce a written text. In the third and fourth columns are specified the errors produced when the descriptors are not taken into account and the tags used to identify these errors.

GRICE'S PRINCIPLES				
ITEM	DESCRIPTORS		ERROR	TAG
RHETORICAL EFFECTIVENESS	Quality (try to make your contribution one that is true)	Tries new combinations to get message through	• Rhetorical effectiveness: • Get message through	RHQ
		Explains main points	• Main points	DSFOCUS
		Be precise	• Precision	RHP
		Sufficient vocabulary		
	Quantity (make your contribution as informative as necessary, but not more)	Circumlocution and paraphrases	• Accuracy	RHAC
		Explain in own words		
	Relevance (do not say what is not relevant)		• Focus	RHF
	Manner (be brief and orderly, avoid obscurity and ambiguity)	Confine message to what s/he can say	• Adequacy to own limitations	RHA
		Correct own discourse		
		Feedback: ask for confirmation		

Table 2. Analysis grid based on the pragmatic aspects proposed for analysis in the CEF.

However, although significant weight is allocated to Pragmatics in the Communicative Approach, the CEF only includes Grice's principles. In our study, an extra item has been added to the analysis grid to include the Relevance Theory. In particular, the item chosen to include was the Relevance of an input to an individual at a given time, was thought to be clear and applicable in the analysis of written texts. It has been phrased as can be seen in Table 3, and was identified in the analysis with the tag REL.

ITEM	DESCRIPTORS	ERROR	TAG
RELEVANCE	<p>Relevance of an input to an individual at a given time.</p> <p>Everything else being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved in an individual by processing an input at a given time, the greater the relevance of the input to that individual at that time.</p>	<p>Relationship amount effort/benefit</p> <p>(adaptation text complexity)</p>	REL

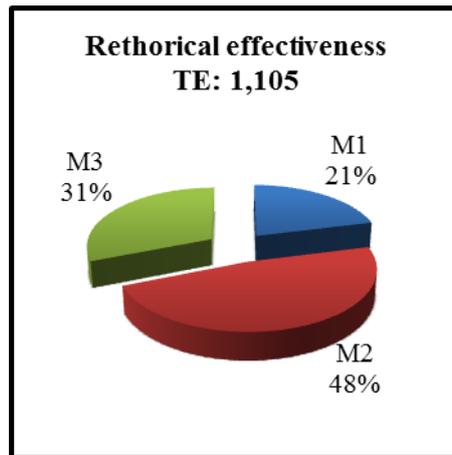
Table 3. Inclusion of the Relevance theory in the analysis grid.

In order to see the effectiveness and reliability of the analysis grids, they were used to assess 206 texts produced by 90 first year University students between 2008 and 2011. Three different raters (M1, M2 and M3) completed the correction and assessment of the texts, which comprised summaries, opinions and letters. All three markers have a similar educational and professional background. They are currently employed as English language instructors at the Universitat Politècnica de València.

The analysis grids were provided to the raters, who were required to identify errors related to the pragmatic issues specified within and were referred to the CEF or to Sperber and Wilson's texts in case of doubt. Their assessment was not influenced by any type of training. Here, we must recall Eckes' (2005) insistence on the facets of rater variability, which, according to him, is not significantly reduced by rater training. He points out that, despite the experience of raters, a certain degree of variability is involved, and is associated with characteristics of the raters (severity or leniency) and not with the actual performance of examinees. Hence, a component of unwanted variability is introduced.

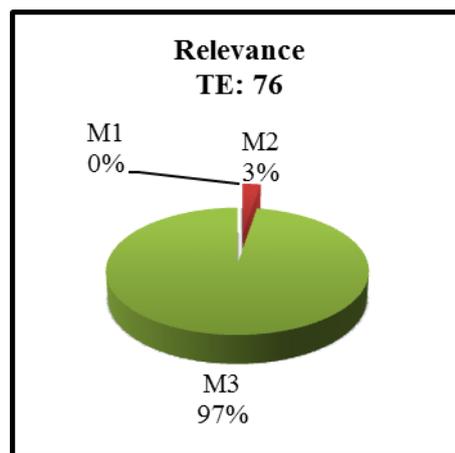
RESULTS

Once the texts had been corrected by the markers, the data was collected and analysed depending on the issue considered, and the number of errors obtained for each issue and each of the markers. The results obtained are displayed in the following graphs. A total of 1,105 errors were found under the category of Rhetorical effectiveness, which includes all aspects related to Grice's maxims analysed in the texts. Graph 1 shows the proportion of errors spotted by each rater. It can be seen that, although rater 1 spotted a lower amount of errors, it can be said that all the markers identified a significant and comparable amount of errors.



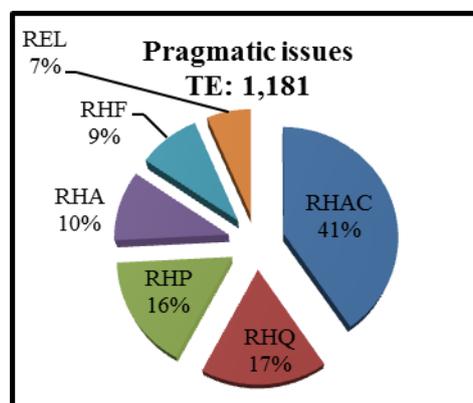
Graph 1. Rethorical effectiveness per marker.

However, if we take a look at the results obtained for the number of errors related with the Relevance Theory as displayed in Graph 2, it can be seen that they are significantly different for the three markers. Only two of them identified errors related to the Relevance theory, and furthermore, more than 90% of those errors were marked by the same marker.



Graph 2. Relevance per marker.

In Graph 3 can be seen all the pragmatic errors found in the texts grouped according to the type of error incurred. Significant differences can be seen as to the amounts of errors found in each category.



Graph 3. Relevance per marker.

If we look at the results per item analysed, it can be seen that the most common errors students with a B1 level of proficiency produce in writing are those related to the maxim of Quantity, that is, the ability of students of explaining in their own words appropriately, and finding correct circumlocutions to express their minds. A total of 478 errors were found for this category, which account for 41% of all errors found. Next, errors related to the maxim of Quality, which include two groups of errors. First, errors related to the ability of the students of transmitting their message, with 205 errors, accounting for 17% of all errors found. And secondly in this group, in very similar amounts, errors related to the ability of students to use the appropriate vocabulary, as required by the contexts of use are found. Fourthly come errors related to the maxim of Manner—the adequacy to the student’s own limitations—, with 10% of all errors, and a total of 122 errors. In the fifth place, errors related to the maxim of Relevance, and the ability of students to focus, with 107 errors, and 95% of all errors related to pragmatic issues. Finally, and in smaller numbers (only 76 errors) are found errors related to the Relevance Theory, only accounting for 7% of all pragmatic errors.

CONCLUSIONS

In the results obtained from the study, several issues have been brought up. First of all, with reference to the legal framework proposed for use in Higher Education, only the Gricean principles have been included for instruction in the CEF. Secondly, these principles are merely mentioned in the manual of reference, and there is a need for greater concretion in order to be of use in the language classroom. For instance, an analysis grid or a similar tool needs to be elaborated and provided to teachers for classroom implementation. With regards the data analysed, there is a significant degree of disparity in the results obtained by the three different markers when assessing the work of students in terms of pragmatics, mainly with regards the Relevance Theory.

Students have considerable amount of difficulties in their writing when they have to find ways to express themselves in their own words, which is related to Grice’s maxim of Quantity. Also, a considerable amount of errors has been found in relation to the maxim of Quality, in particular the ability of students to transmit their message and to use the appropriate vocabulary. Errors related to the maxims of manner—the student’s awareness of their own capabilities in writing— and relevance, which was evaluated as the ability of students to focus on the issue proposed in the text.

Very few errors were found related to the Relevance Theory. In addition, all these errors were identified by only one marker. This can be seen as proof that certain degree of difficulty exists on the side of the markers (teachers) to identify and mark this type of errors. It could also be related to the level of proficiency of students, who might not have sufficient mastery of the language to be able to produce texts in which there is the greatest degree of communication achieved with the lowest amount of effort (the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved in an individual by processing an input at a given time, the greater the relevance of the input to that individual at that time), implying that students are much more worried in their communication than in the effect this communication produces.

Additionally, this also seems to imply that some sort of training should be provided to teachers in order to be able to use and effectively pragmatics, and in particular the Relevance theory in the second language classroom, given its importance in the mastery of a foreign language. Indeed, we have to remember that relevance is much more than a derived significance or salience of independent facts or assumptions. As communicators, we should teach our students to anticipate their addressee's interpretation of the linguistic resources being used. This is not only a question of using communication in a correct way; but using communication in an effective way to succeed in whatever intentions one has.

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