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## "IT'S DEJA VU ALL OVER AGAIN": ARE REDUNDANCIES SPEECH ERRORS?

The title goes in ALL CAPS. Separate the main title from a subtitle with a colon ":", **not** a hyphen or dash.

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Indent the abstract on both sides. Use margin controls, **not** by adding tabs or the spacebar to each separate line.

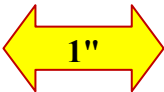
**Abstract:** Redundancies or pleonasm are ruthlessly expunged by composition teachers and editors, but it is unclear whether they are errors or just stylistically undesirable. Using examples of English and Polish redundancies, we show that redundancies reify much of a stratified relational network model of linguistic structure and are at least compatible with the mechanisms advanced to explain other speech errors we have studied. We conclude with a hypothesis that can explain the occurrence of redundancies.

**Keywords:** redundancies, pleonasm, pattern errors, relational network theory, strata

Indent (both sides) the Keywords and Languages lists and add extra blank lines in between and before the start of the main text. Do not capitalize any of the keywords unless it is normal to do so in all contexts.

**Languages:** English, Polish

Do not indent the first paragraph. Begin with the first part of the text (or a subhead such as Introduction) in small caps. NOTE: small caps are not the same as all caps. Small caps distinguish upper- and lower-case by size. Here, only "OUR" is capitalized because it starts the first sentence.



OUR PREVIOUS WORK ON SPEECH ERRORS in English and Polish (cf. Sullivan, 2011; Sullivan & Tsiang, in press; Tsiang & Sullivan, in press) is aimed at the insights errors provide on how linguistic utterances are encoded and decoded and what this allows us to deduce about the logic of the system underlying the storage and processing of linguistic communication. We have also been studying errors relative to their compatibility with neurocognitive stratificational theory, a relational network approach to linguistics. Previous work has considered timing errors (anticipation, perseveration, spoonerisms), tactic pattern errors,<sup>1</sup> and unintended blends. The results of these studies showed that the basic assumptions of the theory used. First we review the appearance of these errors and their implications for understanding the

This is an example of a main subhead. NOTE: both "Data" and "Gathering" are capitalized because this is strictly a title, not part of a sentence. Please adhere to LACUS form to number subsections.

1. DATA GATHERING. There are two methods of gathering examples of performance or speech errors: (1) forcing errors, e.g., by requiring subjects to read or speak at a rate that is faster than normal for them or under other abnormal circumstances, or (2)

<sup>1</sup> Structural errors in a broad sense, i.e., not merely errors in syntactic structure.

Footnotes are used only for comments or elaboration, not to identify sources in the References list.

serendipitously, taking down wh advantages and drawbacks, but we have chosen the serendipitous method as evincing what happens under environmentally normal circumstances.

Untitled paragraphs within a section or subsection are indented 0.25" (equal to one quarter inch, or two hash marks on the ruler bar when using appropriate measurement settings for LACUS).

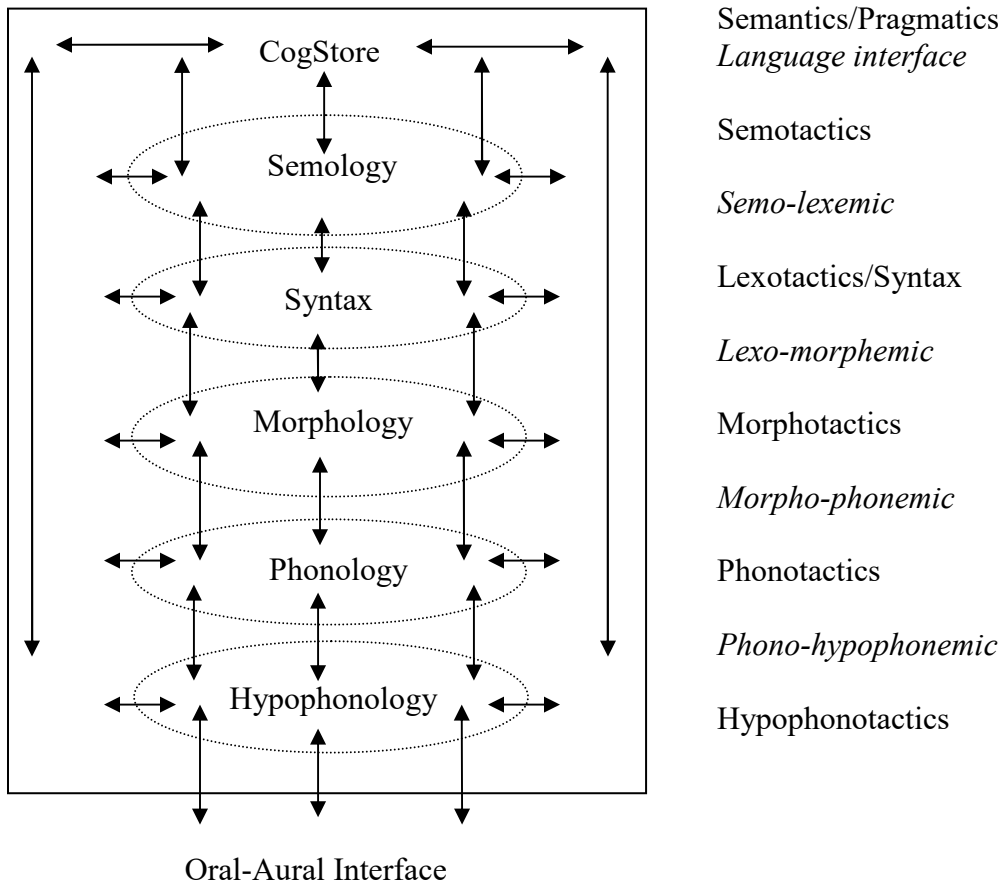
WJS first started gathering error samples in Poland and gave error gathering as part of the assigned work for classes in real language processing. The instructions were for students to submit anything they heard from a native speaker that they thought was erroneous or in any way anomalous. There were questions. What constitutes an error?

(Let's say, anything you don't l (Provide what context you can.

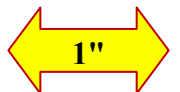
Label and number figures according to APA style. All text in figures and tables should be in a font large enough to be clearly readable. If you make a figure or table yourself, use the same 12-point Roman as the rest of the text. Orient a table and its text sideways (rotated 90 degrees) if necessary to make text fit.

Figure 1

Outline of the Linguistic System, Relative to the Cognitive Store



providing a written example.) As WJS's courses are in the English institute of a Polish university, the idea behind all research and assignments is to juxtapose findings in both English and Polish. The examples WJS and his students had first collected were heavily weighted toward Polish. ST was invited to join the project, and with help from Katarina Starčević, provided the majority of English-language examples.<sup>2</sup>



<sup>2</sup> Mary Sullivan contributed a body of errors she observed in the speech of WJS (personal communication, various dates).



At first, timing errors were the most numerous in the data set (Sullivan, 2011). Examination of the remaining errors showed a large number of tactic pattern errors (Sullivan & Tsiang, in press). The data set kept growing, and many unclassified errors turned out to be amenable to analysis as unintended blends (Tsiang & Sullivan, in press). But it was also the case that a few Polish students had been turning in examples of apparent redundancies since the beginning, probably because they are made painfully aware of redundancies (also called pleonasms) in their composition classes. As editors, the authors at first considered redundancies stylistic infelicities, rather than errors. But we were finally convinced by the persistence of the students, since redundancies fell within their instructions.

Still, it wasn't clear to us that redundancies are the same kinds of performance errors as the other types submitted or, indeed, whether they are errors at all, hence the question mark in our title. However, we decided to include a main subheading before its first subsection (2.1).

A main subheading may or may not include text immediately after it. Here, the authors did not feel they needed to include introductory material to section (2) before its first subsection (2.1).

## 2. REDUNDANCIES AND PERFORMANCE ERRORS.

2.1. THE LINGUISTIC MODEL. Our analyses relate the previously studied speech errors to a stratified relational network model like that illustrated in Figure 1. Figure 1 represents a pure relational network interconnecting a sequenced cognitive store with the physiological organs involved in the production and perception of sounds. During encoding, i.e., the production process, simultaneous input from the cognitive store is provided by spreading activation to sememes in the semology. The cognitive store, as indicated by the arrows, can provide input at other strata during the processing, though most messages that originate in the store and are communicated linguistically probably enter semology at the top. The semotactics groups active sememes into what we call predications and sequences of predications. The sememes in any given predication are not sequenced. Soon after the semotactics begins processing, the activation starts spreading to the syntax and the lexotactics starts its work. Predications are related to phrases or clauses, sememes are related to lexemes, and lexemes are sequenced across their phrase or clause. And so on through the linguistic system, until a fully sequenced set of signals is sent to the motor cortex. The decoding process we envision with regard to sequencing is very roughly the reverse, generally beginning with the auditory systems and working its way up the system, gradually eliminating sequencing until it produces a full picture to the cognitive store.

There is no reason to suppose that the spreading activation, once begun, continues uninterrupted until the output is complete. Other physiological systems, e.g., muscles, operate in complex fashion, sometimes muscles contract and relax in sequence, sometimes simultaneously. When not contracting, a muscle may rest. Similarly, we may assume that the activation process during encoding or decoding operates with random rest periods of this or that part of the network. So long as one stratum does not get out of synch with the adjacent strata, we have the production and comprehension of error-free speech. But biological systems are not machines. Rest periods occur and asynchronies and errors appear.

2.2. COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF PERFORMANCE ERRORS. We have studied three types of errors to date: timing errors, tactic pattern errors, and unintended blends. The three types of errors share some significant properties. Timing errors and unintended blends result from the interaction of two adjacent strata, where random rest periods during spreading activation may cause the strata to get out of synch. They and tactic pattern errors result from the sequencing, on a lower stratum, of emes whose sequence was not provided on the next higher stratum. Each error type provides evidence for the five strata in Figure 1 and is compatible with the hypotheses of spreading activation and random rest periods.

Note that not all questions about the material already analyzed have been answered. Some problems of classification remain. Some examples cannot be unambiguously assigned to a single type. For example, *berlio* 'Silvio Berlusconi' combines a semo-lexemic spoonerism with a phonological blend (cf. Tsiang & Sullivan, in press). Moreover, some examples must be analyzed as showing two distinct errors of the same sort. For example *a bosket of bix* 'a box of biscuits' shows a semo-lexemic spoonerism of the two nouns followed by a morpho-phonemic spoonerism of the two stressed vowels. Closer non-invasive observation of the operation of the brain may shed more light on the entire process. We have, however, already traveled some distance in our study of these speech errors. We turn now to redundancies.

2.3. WHAT REDUNDANCIES ARE (NOT). Redundancies present a number of problems, relative to the errors listed above. Explaining redundancies does not require adjacent strata, random rest periods, or partial sequencing of unsequenced material. But they are compatible with these explanations of other speech errors. There are certain related questions that can be raised. First, some redundancies might be examples of blends or perseveration. If they are perseverations, it puts these redundancies into the category of timing errors. Second, what is the difference, if any, between redundancy and simple repetition? Third, what about the interplay between semantics and form in deciding whether something is a redundancy or a repetition, a redundancy or a blend?

Before attempting to provide any answers here, we must establish the criteria by which we classify the redundancies collected, relative to Figure 1.

3. THE DATA SET. Our preliminary data set consisted of over 200 examples. Three problems with redundancies became immediately obvious: they were not clearly a consequence of and predicted by the spreading activation/random rest periods/stratum-by-stratum sequencing model that had provided insights to previously analyzed error types, they were not clearly errors in the same sense as previous error types, and we had no prior mode of classifying them. We return to the first two problems in the discussion and start with the mode of classification.

In general, a redundancy can be classified as having appeared on a particular stratum by the stratum on which the redundant parts of the utterance are emic. Thus, if the redundant elements are morphemes, e.g., an imperfectivizing suffix in Polish or a comparative suffix in English, we consider it a morphological redundancy. If the redundant parts are lexemes, we consider it a syntactic redundancy. If an entire predication must be decoded to produce the redundancy, we consider it a semological redundancy. One of the observations we made during this classification was that there



are expressions that seem to be inherently redundant, just as there are expressions that are inherently contradictory. Often enough a redundant expression requires reference to two strata to identify the redundant emic source. There are also cases with redundancies on more than one stratum.

The specifics are clarified in section 4, to which we now turn.

4. A TAXONOMY OF REDUNDANCIES. No phonological or hypophonological redundancies were gathered, a fact we return to in the discussion. Other than that, it appears that approximately the same number of redundancies were gathered relative to each of the three higher strata and possibly to the cognitive store itself. We work from the bottom, beginning with morphological redundancies, and work our way upward, according to the model in Figure 1.

#### 4.1. MORPHOLOGICAL REDUNDANCIES.

4.1.1. ENGLISH MORPHOLOGICAL REDUNDANCIES. A sample of English morphological redundancies is given in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
*English morphological redundancies*

Format tables in APA style. Refer to them in the text by number. As with figures, do **not** say "the following table," "the table above," or by simply using a colon ":" like your index finger, to point at it.

Observed form	Redundancy
There was at least one assassinization attempt	<i>iz ... at</i>
one of the most hardest hit areas	<i>most ... est</i>
I had taken the chance	<i>took ... en</i>

In *assassinization* there are two verb-forming suffixes, *ize* as in *finalize* and *ate*, as in *culminate*. With such suffixes there are dialect differences. US standard *orient* contrasts with UK standard *orientate*. However, doubling the verb formants cannot be ascribed to dialect. Dialect differences aside, examples like this are not rare.

*Most hardest* has two morphemes signaling superlative. Examples like this and the parallel comparative *more better* are numerous. Again, dialect differences may appear, as in *firstest* and *onliest*, where the stem morpheme is inherently superlative but a superlative suffix is added. But *most hardest* was spoken by a standard English speaker.

*Had taken* is difficult to analyze, because there are many problems here. In context, the simple past tense would have been appropriate here. Because of the formal, tension-filled situation (in court before Judge Judy), the speaker used the pluperfect, which is felt by some to be more elegant or more formal. Other morphologically aberrant pluperfect forms were observed with parallel or partially parallel construction (e.g., *had came*) in the speech of many native speakers. However, the existence of three morphemes that otherwise signal past time (*d*, *oo*, *en*) surely qualifies as a redundant construct.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The standard pluperfect, *had taken*, has two past time morphemes. But according to Halliday's description of English verb tenses, the best WJS has ever seen, pluperfect communicates an embedded past time: past in past. Under this analysis, two past time morphemes are required for communication.

Note that in all these cases, the morphemic forms differ, though their meanings are the same. It is the meanings that produce redundancy. The formal discrepancy is what distinguishes redundancies from simple repetition here.

4.1.2. POLISH MORPHOLOGICAL REDUNDANCIES. A sample of Polish morphological redundancies is given in Table 2.

**Table 2**  
*Polish morphological redundancies*

Observed form	Correct form	Gloss	Redundancy
<i>głupsiejszy</i>	<i>głupszy</i>	stupider	<i>siej... sz</i>
<i>zobowiązowana</i>	<i>zobowiązana</i>	obligated	<i>ow ... a</i>
<i>nie wylogowywuj mnie</i>	<i>wylogowuj</i>	log out	<i>yw ... uj</i>

While APA may not be specific in this regard, please follow the usual conventions of *italics* for cited forms and single-quotes ' ' for glosses. If you wish to contrast actual observed speech events from cited forms, please use double-quotes " " for the latter.

Again, the three examples in Table 2 represent many tokens of each type. *Głupsiejszy* 'stupider' has two comparative extensions, as indicated. There are also examples of redundant comparatives or superlatives with the appropriate form of *bardzo* 'very', e.g., *bardziej szczęśliwszy* 'more happier'. *Zobowiązowana* 'obligated' parallels *assassination* by having two verb formant suffixes. *Wylogowywuj* 'log out' has two imperfectivizing suffixes, one (*yw*) in the infinitive form and the other (*uj*) in the present tense form.<sup>4</sup>

These examples, like the English ones, display differences in form, even if the difference in *wylogowywuj* is basically morphophonemic.

These examples exhaust the morphological types of Polish redundancies. We turn now to syntactic redundancies.

4.2. SYNTACTIC REDUNDANCIES.

4.2.1. ENGLISH SYNTACTIC REDUNDANCIES. A representative sample of different types of English language syntactic redundancies is given in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
*English syntactic redundancies*

Observed form	Redundancy
instead of slamming the door closed	<i>slam ... closed</i>
I returned the book back to the library	<i>return ... back</i>
and just continued on with the concert	<i>continue ... on</i>
then the market would self-regulate itself	<i>self-regulate ... itself</i>
collectively as a group	<i>collectively as a group</i>
Is that a real, authentic fact?	<i>real, authentic, fact</i>

<sup>4</sup> Barbara Bacz (personal communication) points out to us that *wylogowywuj* is all right if intended as a frequentative, e.g., *Zawsze mnie wylogowywuje, jak chcę wysłać mail* 'it's always logging me out as I try to send an email'. She is, of course, correct. But the observed form was a simple clause in isolation, spoken to the other person in the room, as the speaker left his work station.

When referring to "personal communication," APA style normally requires an author to provide details of date and time, but we realize these may not be remembered.

The first three redundancies in Table 3, *slam ... closed*, *return ... back*, and *continue ... on*, involve a verb and some complement: an adjective, an adverb, and a preposition used adverbially. In each case the complement reifies the meaning of the verb. You can slam different things, e.g., drawers or lockers, but the prototypical situation involves a door that was open before and closed after. Similarly, returning something involves giving it back and *continuing (with) the concert* means the same as *continuing on*. In these examples the redundancy is implicit, because it only becomes clear when the verb is paraphrased or its meaning is made clear.

*Then the market would self-regulate itself* is the same kind of redundancy syntactically as the preceding three, but the redundancy is explicit. No paraphrase is necessary to see the redundancy.

*Collectively as a group* involves a different syntactic structure, an adverb with a comparative qualifier, but *as a group* in context means the same as *collectively*.

Finally, if something is a fact, it must be authentic. Facts are, logically speaking, true propositions, rather than things, so the question of reality doesn't really arise. But again, to most people, if something is a fact, it is real, making this doubly redundant.

We turn now to Polish examples.

4.2.2. POLISH SYNTACTIC REDUNDANCIES. A sample of Polish syntactic redundancies is given in Table 4.

**Table 4**  
*Polish syntactic redundancies*

Observed form	Correct form
<i>w miesiącu marcu</i> 'in the month of March'	<i>w marcu</i> 'in March'
<i>w mieście Lublinie</i> 'in the city of Lublin'	<i>w Lublinie</i> 'in Lublin'
<i>w roku A.D. 2010</i> 'in the year Anno Domini 2010'	<i>w roku 2010</i> 'in the year 2010'
<i>na wskutek</i> '?onto/into a result'	<i>wskutek</i> 'as a result'
<i>kontynuować dalej przemówienie</i> 'continue further the speech'	<i>kontynuować przemówienie</i> 'continue the speech'
<i>... oparte na faktach autentycznych</i> '... based on authentic facts'	<i>... oparte na faktach</i> '... based on facts'
<i>ostatnie dwa lata wsteczne do tyłu</i> 'the last two years ago back'	<i>ostatnie dwa lata</i> 'the last two years'

Professor Alexander Schenker (personal communication) called the first three examples hypercorrect expressions. March is a month and Lublin is a city, so the words meaning month and city are indeed unnecessary here.<sup>5</sup> *W roku* 'in the year' means the

<sup>5</sup> Barbara Bacz (personal communication) provides an interesting comment here. "Note that in the example with *miasto*, the case of the two forms is the same, which suggests that the speaker is familiar with the city. It often happens, with localities like *miasto*, *miasteczko*, *miejsowość* that the place's name is in the Nominative (when the town is smaller or possibly unknown to the interlocutor), and then, there will be no

same thing as *anno* 'in the year'. Each correct form eliminates one of the two redundant elements. *W roku* is more colloquial, *w A.D.* is more high style, but they are otherwise identical and thus the form observed is clearly redundant.<sup>6</sup>

*Na wskutek* has the accusative form of *skutek* 'result' with two goal morphemes, *w* 'into' and *na* 'onto' that govern accusative. Either one can be used with non-concrete or abstract objects, as the two acceptable expressions show, but using two is redundant.

*Kontynuować dalej przemówienie* 'continue further the speech' and *oparte na faktach autentycznych* 'based on authentic facts' could almost be translations of the corresponding English examples (cf. Table 3).

Finally, *ostatnie dwa lata wsteczne do tyłu* 'the last two years ago back' is more than a single redundancy. The last two years in such a context refers to the two years prior to the moment of speech. *Do tyłu* 'to the rear, back' refers to time prior to the moment of speech in a temporal expression, and so does *wsteczne* 'ago'. In fact, this is a sememic redundancy as well as a syntactic one.

In sum, the Polish examples parallel the English examples. We now turn to sememic redundancies.

### 4.3. SEMEMIC REDUNDANCIES.

4.3.1. ENGLISH SEMEMIC REDUNDANCIES. A sample of English sememic redundancies is given in Table 5.

**Table 5**  
*English sememic redundancies*

Observed form	Redundancy
do you need the instructions before I come back or now?	<i>before I come back ... now</i>
... between a husband and wife, who are both of the grandparent generation	<i>husband and wife ... both</i>
everyone is beginning to realize that you need the infrastructure that you need	<i>you need the infrastructure ... that you need</i>

*Do you need the instructions before I come back* a predication, the subclause *before I come back*, and *husband and wife, who are both of the grandparent generation* redundancy as being between a compound noun phrase *both*. We consider this a sememic redundancy because before you run across the redundancy.<sup>7</sup>

When referring to a work as a whole, do not include page numbers in the citation. However, when identifying the source of a quotation, paraphrase, or a specific piece of information, the citation should include a page number or page number range, as shown here. Note that this citation shows the source of material in the footnote. The footnote itself is not showing a source.

The third example is somewhat more problematic. *That you need the infrastructure that you need* could be analyzed as a cogno-sememic perseveration. But in fact the

redundancy: *Pochodzę z miasta Nieszawa(G)* 'I come from the city of Nieszawa' is fine, but *Pochodzę z miasta Warszawy(G)* 'I come from the city of Warsaw' fits with Schenker's hypercorrect forms. On the other hand, *On pochodzi z miasta Łodzi* 'He comes from the city of Łódź' is acceptable because of the rhyme (cf. Bac, 1992, pp. 260-261)."

<sup>6</sup> Barbara Bac (personal communication) also reminds us that *w Roku Pańskim 2010*, a formal Polish translation of Anno Domini 2010, is also available.

<sup>7</sup> At least, this is redundant if husband and wife are about the same age.



second *that* is a relative pronoun and the first one is a subordinating conjunction. On balance, therefore, we consider it a redundancy without ruling out the possibility of perseverative influence.

4.3.2. POLISH SEMEMIC REDUNDANCIES. A sample of Polish sememic redundancies is given in Table 6.

**Table 6**  
*Polish sememic redundancies*

Observed form	Correct form
<i>paczka papierosów podrożeje średnio o około trzydzieści groszy</i> 'a pack of cigarettes will increase by an average of exactly about 30 groszy'	<i>paczka papierosów podrożeje średnio o trzydzieści groszy</i> 'a pack of cigarettes will increase by an average of exactly 30 groszy' <b>OR</b> <i>paczka papierosów podrożeje około trzydziestu groszy</i> 'a pack of cigarettes will increase by about 30 groszy'
<i>że jej się brechtać śmieje</i> 'that she laughs a laugh'	<i>brechta się</i> <b>OR</b> <i>śmieje się</i> 'she laughs'
<i>ten gość był byłym majorem</i> 'that guest was a former major'	<i>... był majorem</i> 'was a major' <b>OR</b> <i>... jest byłym majorem</i> 'is a former major'

*Paczka papierosów podrożeje średnio o około trzydzieści groszy* 'a pack of cigarettes will become more expensive by **an average price of exactly about** 30 groszy' could be analyzed as a blend of two approximated extent expressions, but the result, when decoded, is clearly redundant. *Jej się brechtać śmieje* 'she laughs a laugh' could also be analyzed as a blend of two predications involving laughter, one personal (with *ona* as its subject) and one impersonal (with no subject and dative *jej*). *Brechtać się* is considered dialectal or non-standard, but it does mean to laugh. Thus again, the result, when decoded, is clearly redundant. Finally, *ten gość był byłym majorem* 'that guest was a former major', is also a candidate for a blend of two predications with a redundant result: *that guest was a major*<sup>8</sup> and *that guest is a former major*. We analyze all of these as sememic redundancies, because in each case the expression observed results from two complete predications.

This completes the redundancies that require appeal to the linguistic system to analyze. We turn now to expressions that are inherently redundant semantically.

4.4. COGNITIVE REDUNDANCIES. Some of the examples observed are expressions that are structurally unremarkable but are inherently redundant from a semantic point of view. They might be said to be the opposite of oxymoronic expressions, with parts which are semantically contradictory but structurally unremarkable, e.g., *monogamous polygamist* or *stara panna młoda* 'old bride', where *panna młoda* is idiomatically 'bride' but lexically

<sup>8</sup> And no longer is, the implied full meaning of *był* + instrumental.

'young maiden'. We have gathered oral and written examples in both English and Polish and provide a selection of illustrative samples here.

In English we find written on a pre-cooked pudding package: *product will be hot after heating*. The information is clearly redundant, though it may have resulted from a frivolous lawsuit. The host on a call-in radio show said, "Elaine, you're on the phone." In a weather report the news reader said, "After yesterday's *snow and blizzard ...*" Another news reader said that astronauts were "working on a *space station spacewalk*," and a politician said, "We are at *a critical juncture and a crossroads*." While many examples are inherently redundant, in many cases it seems that someone is trying to add an explanatory or clarifying expression to something already said and succeeds only in producing a synonymous word or phrase.

Both types can be seen in our Polish examples. *Mokra woda* 'wet water' and *mokre opady* 'wet precipitation' need no explanation. *Stary dziad* 'old ancestor' prompts the question, is there such a thing as a young ancestor, though *stary dziad* is not redundant if *dziad* is taken in the sense of *żebrak* 'beggar' or 'old man' (Bacz, pc). Similar examples can be seen in *okres czasu* and *spadać w dół*. *Okres* is a period of time and *czas* is time, so *okres czasu* means 'a period of time of time'. *Spadać* means to fall down and *w dół* is a goal expression communicating movement in a downward direction, so *spadać w dół* means 'fall down down'. A sign in a bakery advertised *jabłonki (sic) z jabłkiem*. *Jabłonki* are apple-filled pastries, so called because they are filled with *jabłko* 'apple'. So the sign was promoting apple-filled pastries with apple.<sup>9</sup>

Synonymous explanations (that don't really explain) are seen in *uzyskał ten awans tylko i wyłącznie dzięki pracy* 'He earned this promotion **only and exclusively** thanks to his work', though such redundant doublets are common in lawyerese.

We also have a classic example combining repetition and redundancy: *the back of the backside of the back seat could be pushed forward*. It could hardly be pushed backward.

5. DISCUSSION. As mentioned in section 2.3, redundancies differ from other speech errors considered in our series of studies. They do not appear to require spreading activation or random rest periods or the assumption of stratum-by-stratum sequencing of emes, though they are compatible with all of these. Like the other types of speech errors, they provide indications of a cognitive store and three linguistic strata: semology, syntax, and morphology. Unlike them, there are no redundancies on phonemic and hypophonemic strata, though there is no indication that such redundancies are impossible.

A major difference between redundancies and other types of speech error is that redundancies never result in misunderstanding or gibberish. They may be stylistic errors and may contribute to wordiness without improving understanding, but they are not errors in any other sense.

At this point we would like to propose a hypothesis. Suppose input from cognition to the linguistic system is stronger or continues for a longer period than necessary, producing a kind of semantic overload. That is, the semantics sends a signal to the linguistic system to communicate something (predication, phrase, aspect) but overdoes it in either time or strength of signal. The linguistic system then responds by encoding the overloaded eme(s) twice. It is also possible that the added input comes from doubled

<sup>9</sup> WJS, a regular customer at this bakery and well known to the staff, said *Proszę o jabłonki z jabłkiem* 'Apple pastries with apples, please'. Nobody could keep a straight face.

input, once at the normal place for encoding, i.e., the top of the sememic stratum, and once via the horizontal arrows at the sides of Figure 1. If this is true, it permits a further speculation, that there should be phonemic and hypophonemic redundancies. Phonemic redundancies would most likely be prosodic in nature. That is, they would take the form of extended vowel sounds (b-o-o-o-**ring**) with marked word accent on the second syllable, in this case. Hypophonemic redundancies might take the form of an extension of a manner articulation, though how we would distinguish this from a stammer in a particular case is unclear.

6. CONCLUSION. Our previous work buttresses a model that we communicate via spreading activation through a stratified network, that the activation may be interrupted on one stratum or another at random intervals, and that each stratum provides sequencing for materials not sequenced on higher strata. It is now possible to summarize the findings of the present study in relation to the questions concerning redundancies raised in section 2.3.

Our initial observation that redundancies do not require spreading activation, random rest periods, or sequencing of materials unsequenced at higher strata may need modification, if the possible overlap between redundancies and perseveration (a timing error) or unintended blends is broader than we now think. Yet our observation that redundancies are compatible with these assumptions now seems to be on firm ground. At the least, redundancies reify some previous findings and assumptions and are fully compatible with the rest.

Our next question involves the difference, if any, between redundancy and simple repetition. At first glance, we take simple repetition at face value. That is, identical forms with identical meanings must be observed. Our clear redundancies show a repetition of meaning by the use of differing forms. We need to go into this question in greater depth in further studies.

More broadly, what is the interplay between semantics and form in deciding whether something is a redundancy or a repetition, a redundancy or a blend? A account of the interplay goes well beyond our present scope. We note only that a hard and fast decision here is quite likely to be neurocognitively questionable. It may only become possible to answer when direct brain observation studies have advanced far beyond their present state.

In the end, redundancies at least reify a portion of overall significance in the system and the use of the ; possible that they are related to unintended puns (cf. other humor, as well as Freudian slips, which are also phenomena. We suspect that functional OR relations needed for an explanation here. The work continues.

Center the heading REFERENCES in all caps. Follow APA style for listing references, except (1) in the case of multi-author sources, reverse only the first author's name in surname-first name order, (2) use "&" instead of "and" in a list of multiple authors, and (3) put authors' names in small caps, as shown here.

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