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熊学亮 曲卫国 主 编



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前 言

由中国语用学研究会主办、复旦大学外文学院和复旦大学现代英语研究所承办的第九届全国语用学研讨会，于2005年7月26日—28日在复旦大学逸夫科技馆隆重召开。除了国内众多著名学者到会外，还有来自美国、波兰、日本和新加坡的境外学者。开幕式后，美国耶鲁大学的L. Horn教授、美国纽约州立大学的I. Kecskes教授和美国加利福尼亚州立大学的R. Chen教授分别做了 Speaker and hearer in neo-Gricean pragmatics、Contextual meaning and word meaning in language use 和 Grice, his critics and pragmatics 的主题演讲。

本届语用学研讨会围绕语用学的基本理论、言语行为、礼貌原则、语用推理、认知语用学、语篇语用学、实用语用研究、跨文化语用学、法律语用学、语用学与教学、历史语用学等若干主题进行，发言和讨论在一个主会场和六个分会场内同时或交替展开，发言顺序按发言人姓名的拼音排列。第一场大会发言的题目有：理性：Grice 思想的核心（西南师范大学陈治安），模因·语言·交际（广东外语外贸大学何自然、谢朝群），国际交流语用学研究的新进展（清华大学胡庚生），Cooperation and purpose: Grice, Habermas, and beyond（福建师范大学刘亚猛），语篇回指（北京大学姜望骐），当代语用学的发展趋势（广东外语外贸大学冉永平），词语的使用频率与语法发展之关系（新加坡国立大学/湖南师范大学石毓智），对关联理论中逻辑的思考（复旦大学熊学亮），语用推理的认知研究（河南大学徐盛桓），原型理论与认知语用学说略（上海外国语大学俞东明）。第二场大会发言的题目有：A Comparative study of two data-collecting methods: discourse completion tasks and role plays（浙江师范大学洪岗），文化行为的语用学解释（华东师范大学何刚），法庭互动话语中 formulation 现象研究（华中师范大学廖美珍），宾语隐形时的语义与语用特征（湖南大学刘正光），因果复句的认知语法研究（河南大学牛保义），一般含义的再研究（东北师范大学张绍杰），Please 的再研究（复旦大学曲卫国），运动动词“来、去”的语用意义及其指示条件（西南师范大学文旭），认知语言学与关联理论的互补性（中国人民解放军国际关系学院张辉），对称结构的认知语用解释（河南大学张克定）等。十二场分会发言分别围绕语用学的基本理论、含义理论、关联理论、言语行为理论、礼貌原则、语用推理理论、实用语用学研究、法律语用学、教学语用学等展开。会场的花絮之一是：新格赖斯语用学家Horn开辟了第十三分会场，与对霍恩阶列和词汇语用学等方面感兴趣的学者进行了对话和交流。

本次研讨会会有200多人参加，无论是大会发言还是分组讨论，与会者发言踊跃，气氛热烈，讨论深入，给会议增加了色彩。参会的论文在语用推理、

言语行为、外语教学、礼貌等方面的研究，已一反以往老调重弹的颓势，扛起了创新的大旗。更有相当一批青年学者，思路活跃、学问扎实、敢打敢闯。如有青年学者运用数学方程式尝试计算最佳关联度，颇有新意。虽然关联理论的倡导者，早就说过关联仅是相对的比较概念，精确度量肯定做不到，但后生有如此胆略，令人刮目相看。在此提起此事的目的是：其他人也提出过与语言事实实际上有距离的形式语用学理论，这在我们评价语用学和其他语言学理论的理论精致度和语言现实度之间的能量守恒关系时很有些意义。

会议期间，还举行了语用学研究会常务理事会，讨论了论文集的出版事宜。高等教育出版社的贾巍先生，代表出版社承诺论文集的出版。确定复旦大学外文学院的有关人员负责论文集稿件的编选事务。经网上公告后，编选人员在收稿截止期限内，共收到稿件51篇，通过筛选后，确定其中的36篇收入本论文集。

语用学博大精深，涉及面广，且新理论新方法层出不穷。本论文集收入的研究型论文，仅代表了一次语用学研讨会的部分内容，不敢说是语用学研究的精萃和最新，因此我们认为把书名定为《语用学采撷》比较符合语用的适宜原则和文集的初衷。现在有一种现象，出版社比较注重经济效益，一般都不愿出版不能带来经济效益的学术论文集，但是高等教育出版社乐意出版这类学术书籍，这是对我们的莫大支持。因此，对于贾巍先生以及高等教育出版社对本论文集出版的大力支持，对于入选论文作者在文集编辑期间给予的配合，我们表示由衷的感谢。

编者

2006年8月21日

目 录

| | |
|--|-----|
| 格赖斯研究 | 1 |
| Speaker and Hearer in Neo-Gricean Pragmatics Laurence R. Horn | 1 |
| 常规推理与“格赖斯循环”的消解 徐盛桓 | 41 |
| 理性: Grice 思想的核心 陈治安 马军军 | 55 |
| Cooperation and Purpose: Grice, Habermas, and Beyond Liu Yameng ... | 67 |
| 关联理论研究 | 75 |
| 再议关联推理 熊学亮 | 75 |
| 认知语言学与关联理论的互补性 张辉 蔡辉 | 90 |
| 关联与预设 魏在江 | 104 |
| 语境研究 | 117 |
| Contextual Meaning and Word Meaning Istvan Kecskes | 117 |
| 运动动词“来、去”的语用意义及其指示条件 文旭 | 139 |
| “X 不是 Y”句式的语用研究 陈新仁 | 149 |
| 指称突兀的情景模型解析 许宁云 | 157 |
| 第一人称复数与有定描述语的语义和语用研究 刘东虹 | 168 |
| 综述 | 177 |
| 模因·语言·交际 何自然 谢朝群 | 177 |
| 语用认知模块性问题 曾衍桃 | 187 |
| 当代语用学的发展趋势 冉永平 | 201 |
| “国际交流语用学”的学科特征 胡庚申 | 219 |
| 语用推理 | 231 |
| 英语因果复句的认知语法研究 牛保义 | 231 |
| Ordinary Logic vs. Propositional Logic Yunqing Lin | 242 |
| 话语分析 | 253 |
| 篇章与回指 姜望琪 | 253 |
| 小泉参拜靖国神社被判违宪新闻报道的倾向性分析 宗世海 刘文辉 | 267 |
| 中国法庭互动话语 formulation 现象研究 廖美珍 | 282 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 预设法庭询问中的使用 陆少兵 | 300 |
| A Comparative Study of Two Data-Collecting Methods: Discourse Completion Tasks and Role Plays Hong Gang, Luo Mingfei | 309 |
| 认知研究 | 327 |
| 原型理论与认知语用学说略 俞东明 曲政 | 327 |
| 话语经济性的典型与非典型性 梁晓波 | 334 |
| 对称结构的认知语用解释 张克定 | 344 |
| 隐喻意象感悟的语用分析 张维鼎 | 355 |
| 转喻的概念本质及其语用学意义 李勇忠 | 363 |
| 误解与言语行为转喻 孙亚 | 373 |
| 礼貌研究 | 383 |
| Please 的再研究 曲卫国 | 383 |
| 英语 have something done 结构的社会语用分析 张 权 李 娟 | 398 |
| 从信息界域理论看礼貌行为 彭建武 | 408 |
| 大学英语教师课堂提问之言语行为研究 陈玉红 柯细香 | 416 |
| 调控转类-串类语用含糊的策略 侯国金 | 423 |
| 关系语用学的三元关系在口译中的互动研究 莫爱屏 蒋清风 | 432 |

Speaker and Hearer in Neo-Gricean Pragmatics

■ Laurence R. Horn
Yale University

■ ABSTRACT

The modern field of lexical pragmatics can be traced to Jim McCawley's classic 1978 paper, "Conversational Implicature and the Lexicon." But a century before McCawley's insightful investigation of the ways in which Gricean inference informs the structure and use of lexical items, Hermann Paul (1880) had surveyed a range of constructions whose form and distribution reflect the interplay of two functional principles governing conversation, the first being the (speaker-motivated) tendency to reduce expression—later formulated by G. K. Zipf as the linguistic correlate of a general Principle of Least Effort—and the second being the (hearer-motivated) communicative requirements on sufficiency of information. The descendants of this functional dialectic include the speaker's vs. hearer's economies of Zipf and Martinet and the opposed halves of Grice's Maxim of Quantity ("Make your contribution {as informative as is required/no more informative than is required} for the current purpose of the exchange") grounded within a general theory of rationality and co-operation. From these Gricean submaxims in turn derive the Q and R Principles of Horn 1984 (essentially = "Say enough" / "Don't say too much") and the interplay of effort and effect within Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986, Carston 2002). While the interaction of the Paul/Grice principles pervades the entire linguistic system,

as emerges notably in the trade-off between articulatory “laziness” and perceptual distinctness in functional phonetics, it is the consequences of this interaction for the mental lexicon that provide the focus for this presentation.

Since McCawley’s seminal paper, it has become gradually evident that choices among lexical alternatives is guided to a large extent by pragmatic principles; work by Elizabeth Traugott and others has examined the role of neo-Gricean inference in semantic change. In addition to motivating a pragmatic (Q-based) constraint on lexicalization, I survey the role of speaker- and hearer-based economy principles in motivating syntagmatic reduction, broadening and narrowing, euphemism and negative strengthening, and the lexical clone construction (*No, I wanted a SALAD salad*) and its cross-linguistic counterparts. Finally, drawing on the complementary (speaker-based) Avoid Synonymy and (hearer-based) Avoid Homonymy principles, I argue that synchronic, diachronic, and developmental aspects of lexical pragmatics provide support for a dualistic neo-Gricean picture of meaning in natural language.

Key words: broadening, semantic, clones, lexical division of pragmatic labor, homonymy avoidance, mutual exclusivity narrowing, semantic neg-raising, synonymy avoidance

The great Confucianist and Taoist traditions of China see the universe as governed through the interaction of the two opposed macro-principles *YIN* and *YANG*, as reflected in the classic pairs in (1):



1

YANG**YIN**

male

female

positive

negative

light

dark

heaven

earth

sun

moon

high

low

creative/active

receptive/passive

gods

ghosts

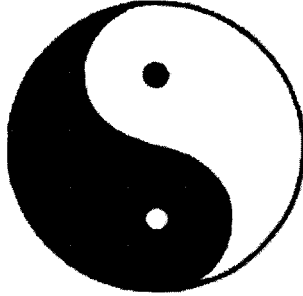
large

small

hard

soft

Given the eternal cyclical interplay of yin and yang, every phenomenon contains the seed of its complementary and inevitably changes into its opposite over time: yin flows into yang and yang into yin. Indeed, each of the two principles is contained and defined by the other, as we are reminded by the familiar symbol:



The followers of Manichaeus, adherents of a fiercely dualistic spiritual movement originating in Persia in the third century of the Common Era, introduced a decidedly moral dimension to the universal dichotomies reflected in both nature and society:

The Manicheans account for the mixture of good and evil in the universe, by the opposite agencies of two co-eternal and independent principles.

[1793 D. STEWART *Outl. Moral Philos.* II. ii. § 293, cited in *OED*, s.v. **Manichaean**]

But, as with the yin/yang diagram, the opposed principles of the Manichaeans, however “co-eternal”, are in fact less “independent” than co-dependent.

I received my graduate training in California in the 60s, so I prefer to operate with a no-fault version of Manichaeism, beyond good and evil. After all, one woman’s yin is another man’s yang. In the pragmatics of communication, the heirs of the dualists are legion, but two emerge from the pack under the entry of (.] Grice). While the philosopher Herbert Paul Grice (1913-1988) was not named for the philologist Hermann Paul (1846-1921), the theory of conversational implicature (Grice [1967]1989) can be seen as one of several milestones on the journey initiated by H. Paul toward an understanding of the

role of pragmatics in lexical acquisition, lexical choice, and semantic change.

In his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* — whose English translation appeared in 1889, precisely a century before Grice's posthumous collection saw the light of day — Paul surveys a range of phenomena whose form and distribution reflect the interplay of two functional principles, the tendency to reduce expression (later formulated by George Kingsley Zipf as the linguistic correlate of the more general Principle of Least Effort) and the contextually determined communicative requirements on sufficiency of information:

The more economical or more abundant use of linguistic means of expressing a thought is determined by the *need*... Everywhere we find modes of expression forced into existence which contain only just so much as is requisite to their being understood. The amount of linguistic material employed varies in each case with the situation, with the previous conversation, with the relative approximation of the speakers to a common state of mind.

(Paul 1889: 351)

The lineal descendants of Paul's dualism include the two opposed communicative economies of Zipf and Martinet and the two halves of Grice's Maxim of Quantity.

Zipf's framework (1935, 1949: 20ff.), while generally associated with the (speaker-based) principle of least effort, in fact distinguished a *SPEAKER's ECONOMY*, which would tend toward “a vocabulary of one word which will refer to all the *m* distinct meanings,” from an *AUDITOR's ECONOMY*, tending toward “a vocabulary of *m* different words with one distinct meaning for each word.” The Speaker's Economy places an upper bound on the form of the message, while the Hearer's Economy places a lower bound on its informational content. By Zipf's *LAW OF ABBREVIATION*, the relative frequency of a word is inversely correlated with its length; the more frequent a word's tokens, the shorter its form. But in his work and that of his followers, relative frequency, and its effect on utterance length and phonological reduction, is related to the speaker's assumptions about the hearer and their shared common ground:

High frequency is the cause of small magnitude... A longer word

may be truncated if it enjoys a high relative frequency [either] throughout the entire speech community [or] if its use is frequent within any special group.

(Zipf 1935: 31-32)

Whence such global and local (context-dependent) reductions as *movies*, *gas*, *OSU*, and so on.

Zipf's two mutually constraining mirror-image forces are periodically invoked (or rediscovered) in the diachronic and psycholinguistic literature:

The linguist must keep in mind two ever-present and antinomic factors: first, the requirements of communication, the need for the speaker to convey his message, and second, the principle of least effort, which makes him restrict his output of energy, both mental and physical, to the minimum compatible with achieving his ends.

(Martinet 1962: 139)

The speaker always tries to optimally minimize the surface complexity of his utterances while maximizing the amount of information he effectively communicates to the listener.

(Carroll and Tanenhaus 1975: 51, the MINIMAX PRINCIPLE)

This minimax of effort or complexity on the one hand and informative content or distinctness on the other is directly reflected in phonetic form, as emerges in work over the last quarter century demonstrating that motor economy in phonetics “occurs only insofar as communicative listener-oriented goals permit” (Lindblom 1983: 232). More recently, Hayes (1999) has observed that “virtually all of segmental phonology is driven by considerations of articulatory ease and perceptual distinctness.” (Cf. also Flemming 2001, 2004 for much more on the dialectic of perceptual salience vs. articulatory cost.)

The Zipfian parameter of familiarity is part of the phonological picture as well: vowel reduction and palatalization are characteristic of familiar or frequent items, while unfamiliar or unpredictable words are assigned (or retain) extra stress or pitch. This tendency, which I have elsewhere character-

ized under the slogan “Familiarity breeds CNTNT”² is seen in the minimal pairs pointed out by Fidelholtz (1975: 205-6), where the degree of stress reduction on a lax vowel in an initial strong pretonic syllable correlates with the frequency or predictability (global or local) of the item, e.g.



| | | |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| 2 | astronomy | gà stronomy |
| | mistake | mistook |
| | abstain | à bstention |

Similarly, least effort reductions will occur in local (and hence frequent) pronunciations of place names. Examples include the pronunciations of American city names as *Loo-uh-ville*, *T'ronno*, *Clumps* [= Columbus], *Amerst*, *'Sconsin*, *Newpert News*, or *Swigga* [= Oswego], while outlanders maintain the unreduced pronunciations. (See papers in Bybee & Hopper 2001 for an extensive survey of recent work on frequency effects and see also Haspelmath 2005 for related commentary.)

More apposite for our purposes is the recognition of the trade-off between brevity and clarity within classical rhetoric, as captured in Horace's dictum *Brevis esse laboro; obscurus fio* (‘I strive to be brief; I become obscure’: *Ars Poetica*, line 25). Similar sentiments appear elsewhere, often as a statement of the Golden Mean (or Goldilocks?) Principle:

If it is prolix, it will not be clear, nor if it is too brief. It is plain that the middle way is appropriate..., saying just enough to make the facts plain.
(Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 3.12-3.16)

Personally, when I use the term brevity [*brevitas*], I mean not saying less, but not saying more than the occasion demands.
(Quintilian, *Institutio Oratio*, IV.ii.41-43)

The speaker aims for ease and brevity, correlates of least effort; the hearer requires sufficiency of content and discriminability of form. Speaker

² The standard version of the English adage is of course “Familiarity breeds contempt”, but its more cheerful counterpart, “Familiarity breeds content”, is not unknown; there are 547 google hits for that version. My own take-off, “Familiarity breeds CNTNT”, is intended to signal that the more familiar an expression is, the more reduced its form can be without any concomitant loss of content.

and hearer are aware of their own and each other's desiderata, a mutual awareness that generates a variety of effects based on what was said and what was not. It is this interaction that led me to propose folding the maxims (Grice 1989: 26ff.) into two general principles, dubbed Q and R in deference to Grice's (first) Quantity maxim and Relation maxim respectively.

In the dualistic model I have been campaigning for over the last two decades (Horn 1984, 1989, 1993, 2004), implicatures may be generated by either the Q Principle (essentially "Say enough," a generalization of Grice's first maxim of Quantity) or the R Principle ("Don't say too much," subsuming the second Quantity maxim, Relation, and Brevity). The hearer-oriented Q Principle is a lower-bounding guarantee of the sufficiency of informative content; collecting the first Quantity maxim along with the first two "clarity" submaxims of Manner, it is systematically exploited to generate upper-bounding (typically scalar) implicata. The R Principle, by contrast, is an upper-bounding correlate of Zipf's principle of least effort dictating minimization of form; it collects the Relation maxim, the second Quantity maxim, and the last two submaxims of Manner, and is exploited to induce strengthening implicata.³

The functioning of Q-based upper-bounding scalar implicature allows for a systematic (and Occamistic) treatment of both logical operators and ordinary non-proposition embedding predicates that can be ranked on a scale:



3 Q-scales: logical operators

<all, most, many, some>
 <always, usually, often, sometimes>
 <and, or>
 <certain, likely, possible>
 <the, a>

Q-scales: "ordinary" values

<hot, warm>
 <cold, cool, lukewarm>
 <excellent, good, OK>
 <adore, love, like>
 <thumb, finger>

³ Note the boldfaced portion of the two submaxims of 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.

—in light of the fact that (as noted in Horn 1972) an equative of the form *X is as A as Y* (e.g. *Robin is as tall as Sandy*) will tend to Q₁-implicate that (for all I know) *X is not A-er than Y* (e.g. *Robin is not taller than Sandy*), given the quantity scale <more A than, as A as>. The utterance of Q₁ as stated will thus in effect (auto-)implicate Q₂. This is another instance of Q and R incorporating each other in the manner of yin and yang.

In each case, given a stronger value **S** and a weaker value **W** plotted on the same (positive or negative) scale $\langle S, W \rangle$, as determined canonically by unilateral entailment, in asserting [...**W**...] I implicate, *ceteris paribus*, that I was not in an epistemic position to have asserted [...**S**...] *salva veritate*, i.e. that I don't know that **S**, and hence, all things being equal, that I know that @AC[...**S**...] holds. We thus predict that in general scalar predications will be ascribed a one-sided (lower-bounded) linguistic meaning pragmatically enriched to a two-sided communication:



4 1-SIDED

MEANING

→2-SIDED UNDER-
STANDING

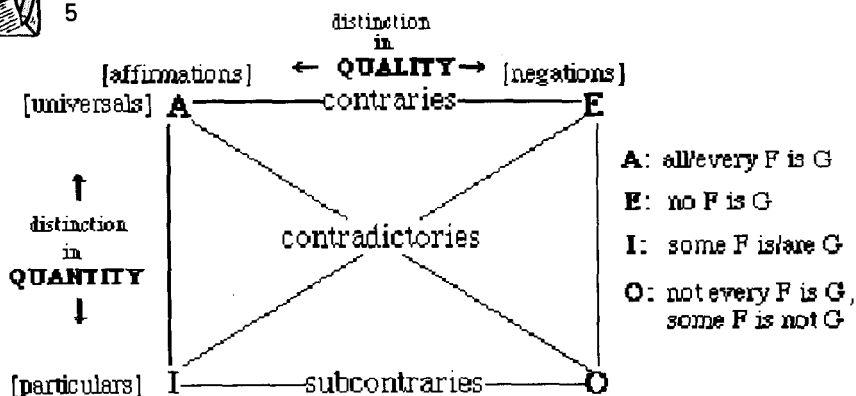
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. You ate some of the cake. | '...some if not all...' | '...some but not all...' |
| b. It's possible she'll win. | '...at least possible...' | '...possible but not certain...' |
| c. He's a knave or a fool. | '...and perhaps both' | '...but not both' |
| d. It's warm . | '...at least warm' | '...but not hot' |

(Contra Horn 1972, however, I do not see cardinals as working in the same way, for reasons noted in Horn 1992, 2006a, 2006b.)

This model allows us to provide a satisfactory ending to the story of ***O**, i.e. to predict the non-occurrence of values corresponding to the **O** or southeast vertex of the Square of Opposition:



5



| DETERMINERS/ QUANTIFIERS | QUANTIF. ADVERBS | BINARY QUANTIFIERS | CORRELATIVE CONJUNCTIONS | BINARY CONNECTIVES |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| A: all a, everyone | always | both (of them) | both...and | and |
| I: some a, someone | sometimes | one (of them) | either...or | or |
| E: no a, no one | never | neither (of them) | neither...nor | nor |
| (=all~/~some) | (=always~) | (=both~/~either) | (=[both...and]~) | (=and~) |
| O: *nall a, *neveryone | *nalways | *noth (of them) | *noth...nand | *nand |
| (=some~/~all) | (=~always) | (=either~/~both) | (=[either...or]~) | (=and~/~or) |

This asymmetry extends to modal operators and other values that can be plotted on the Square of Opposition (Horn 1972: Chapter 4), as well to “O → E drift”, the tendency for sequences that might be expected to express O meanings to take on strengthened, E interpretations, as when French *Il ne faut pas que tu meures* (lit., ‘it is not necessary that you die’) is understood as ‘you must not-die’ (cf. Tobler 1882, Horn 1989: § 4.5). The fact that values mapping onto the O vertex are systematically restricted in a wide variety of languages in their potential for lexicalization or direct expression can be attributed to the Q-based implicature relation obtaining between the two subcontraries (cf. Horn 2006a: § 5 for a critique of competing but less general explanations and Jaspers 2005 for an important recent study of the question).

Unlike the upper-bounding associated with Q-based implicature, R-based effects involve articulatory reduction and pragmatic strengthening: the speaker makes her contribution relatively brief or uninformative and counts on the hearer counting to recognize the operation of least effort and fill in the missing material. One obvious place to look for R-based effects in the lexicon is in processes like acronymy, blending, and clipping, affecting relatively long or complex descriptors for frequently invoked referents, as attested in the English examples in (6):



6 Reductions R Us: Least effort in langue & parole

a. Acronyms

radar, sonar, laser, CAT/PET [scans], NATO, NASA

INITIALISMS: *U.S., G.I., U.N., M.I.T., UCLA, MSU, T.N.T., DDT, OK, TV*

“CLIPRONYMS”: *Pakistan, Gestapo, hazmat*

b. **Blends**

mOTor **hOTel** > *motel*; **smoke** + **fog** > *smog*

cREMated + **REMain**s > *cremains*; cf. *corpsicle*

televangelist, *vidiot*, *metrosexual*, *sexile*

c. **Clipping (Truncation)**

bus, *van*, *bike*, *cab* (or *taxi*), *plane*, *gas*, *math*, *phone*, *fax* (< *facsimile*),
telly (cf. *TV*)

exam, *math*, *poli*, *sci*, *Soc.* (“*soash*”); *doc*, *prof. piano* (< *pianoforte*),
cello (< *violoncello*)

• Reduction of compounds and phrases to one member

express [train] (cf. *espresso*), [motor] *car private* [soldier], *general*
[officer]

chemical [substance], *vegetable*, *criminal*, *mortal* *substance-free*
[floors/dorms]

zoo[logical gardens], *narc*[otics agent], *mob*, *movies*,...

The processes in question, direct reflexes of Zipf’s Law of Abbreviation cannot operate unchecked. As Stern (1931: 257) puts it, “The demands of the speech functions must set a limit to the economic tendency”. That is to say, the Q Principle constrains the R Principle.

R-based effects are a robust factor in semantic change, but here it is largely information rather than articulatory complexity that is economized. In R-based broadening, a term denoting a culturally salient member of a given category comes to denote the superordinate category itself, typically through the loss of a specifying feature, as in (7).

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| (5) arrive | (originally ‘to come to shore, reach port’) |
| bird | (originally an immature feathered vertebrate, i.e. a young bird) |
| dog | (originally a particular breed of dog) |
| guy(s) | (orig. restricted to male referents, now increasingly gender-neutral) |
| oil | (originally = olive oil) |
| uncle | (originally restricted to one’s mother’s brother) |