

Frawley

Linguistics and Literacy

Linguistics and Literacy

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Linguistics and Literacy

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Edited by William Frawley

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INTRODUCTION

William Frawley

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Several years ago, I performed a kind of perverse experiment. I showed, to several linguistic colleagues, the following comment made by Walker Percy (in The Message in the Bottle): language is too important a problem to be left only to linguists. The linguists' responses were peculiarly predictable: "What does Percy know? He's a mercenary outsider, a novelist, a psychiatrist! How can he say something like that?" Now, it should be known that the linguists who said such things in response were ardent followers of the linguistic vogue: to cross disciplines at whim for the sake of explanation---any explanation. It was odd, to say the least: Percy was damned by the very people who agreed with him!

Fortunately, the papers in this book, though radically interdisciplinary, do not fall prey to the kind of hypocrisy described above. The papers (from the Third Delaware Symposium on Language Studies) address the question of literacy---a linguistic problem too important to be left only to linguists---but many of the authors are not linguists at all, and those who are linguists have taken the care to see beyond the parochialism of a single discipline. The subsequent papers have been written by psychologists, linguists, anthropologists, computer scientists, and language teachers to explain the problem of how humans develop, comprehend, and produce extended pieces of information (discourses and texts).

Of course, whenever researchers from various disciplines assemble to discuss such a topic, there is the inevitable

risk of more opinions than arguers. This was not the case, it seems to me, in the Symposium and in the papers which this book contains. Some clear statements have emerged from the conference:

1. There is a close connection between oral discourse and written discourse: two forms of language normally thought of as extremely divergent.
2. The comprehension and production of discourse can be predicted and understood if tools outside the mainstream of text analysis are employed.
3. The computer is a useful (but often unused) tool for attacking traditional literacy problems.
4. The computer, itself, poses a new kind of literacy problem.
5. Reading is not as simple as linguists often make it out to be, especially if one considers the processes involved in verbal reasoning and in the acquisition of standard written English by speakers of non-standard English.
6. The ontogenesis of reading skills is connected both to drawing skills and to early parent/child interactions.
7. The acquisition of a second language is a peculiar literacy problem: the structure, comprehension, and production of discourses and texts are critical not only for explaining second language performance but also for the development of new methodologies for second language instruction.

These seven statements should, however, be understood as statements only, not as final answers; they are the threads which hold the book together. If final answers to the problem of literacy could be spelled out in a book of this length, we would have the eighth wonder of the

world on our hands. This book is a compendium of approaches, innovations, and some answers. Perhaps, given these findings, linguists and their non-linguist colleagues can finally come to understand what it means for a human to be literate.

* * *

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LINGUISTICS AND WRITING

THE LITERATE WRITES AND THE NONLITERATE CHANTS: WRITTEN
LANGUAGE AND RITUAL COMMUNICATION IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC
PERSPECTIVE¹

F. Niyi Akinnaso

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INTRODUCTION

Recent research by discourse analysts and students of literacy has shown a major consequence of literacy to be the dichotomization of language into two relatively distinct varieties: oral and written (see, for example, Goody and Watt, 1963; Greenfield, 1972; Goody, 1977, 1980; Olson, 1977a, 1977b; Ochs, 1979; Tannen, 1979, 1980a).² For more than half a century, the lexical and structural differences between the two varieties have been the subject of rigorous study by linguists and language teachers (Woolbert 1922; Harrell 1957; Drieman 1962; DeVito 1964, 1967; Golub 1969; O'Donnell 1974; Poole and Field 1976; Ochs 1979; Chafe 1979). The two varieties can be distinguished according to several criteria, including (1) modes of acquisition and transmission; (2) mechanisms and contexts of production; (3) the kinds and degree of planning required; (4) language structure and degree of complexity; and (5) the social and cognitive functions specific to each modality. When these criteria are applied to written language, we find a preponderance of the following: conscious learning (often through special schooling); modality-specific processes of production; the detachment of the writer from his/her audience; conscious planning and systematic organization; permanency of text and accurate reproduction of knowledge; the elevation of text through decontextualization and depersonalization; lexical elaboration and syntactico-semantic complexities (see Akinnaso, 1981, for a review).

Drawing on resources from anthropology, folklore, and linguistics, this paper demonstrates that these features are not peculiar to writing, so that it is not only in literate societies that language can be dichotomized according to them. In nonliterate (traditional) societies, ritual communication (for example, ritual chants and divination verses) is different from everyday talk in much the same way that written language differs from ordinary conversational language in literate societies. Using data from sixteen-cowry divination in Yoruba and applying the defining characteristics of written language to ritual communication, we find that the differences between the two modes of communication are more matters of degree than of kind.³ It is argued that if we examined their socio-historical functions within the broader context of language evolution, we would find that oral ritual communication and written language are more similar than they are different.

THREE TYPES OF LINGUISTIC SITUATION

In developing the argument of this paper, it is useful to distinguish three major types of linguistic situation.⁴ I shall characterize them as (1) the "oral language" situation, (2) the "written language" situation, and (3) the "classical language" situation. Ordinarily, these represent three chronological stages in the evolution of language.

The first situation is where language takes a purely oral form, and that is where writing has not been introduced. This can be regarded as the primitive stage in the evolution of language since all natural languages were originally of this form. Swadesh (1971) and Kay (1975) characterize purely oral languages as "local languages," while Ong (1980) describes the local language situation as one of "primary orality." According to Kay (1977), local languages are characterized by restricted vocabulary and nonautonomous (context-bound) usage (cf. Greenfield, 1972).

The second situation, which corresponds to Swadesh's and Kay's "world languages," is where language exists in two relatively distinct and modality-specific varieties, oral and written, for some or all of the population. The written variety is usually considered somewhat "elevated"

and more complex than the spoken. It is assumed to be characterized by what Bernstein and Kay respectively call "elaborated code" and "autonomous speech style." And because it is often based on the dialect of the upper or ruling class, the written variety is normally accorded higher prestige than the spoken. With the spread of literacy within a given population, such elevated forms often spread across the population to the extent that (some) speakers begin to "speak a written language" (Greenfield, 1972), causing or perpetuating such distinctions as those between "oral" and "literate" speech style (Collins and Michaels, 1980) or between "standard" or "supralocal" and "non-standard" or "local" varieties. According to Ong (1980), this kind of linguistic situation often gives rise to what he describes as "secondary orality."

The third kind of linguistic situation corresponds to Swadesh's "classical language" situation, where language exists only in written form, either because of the death of the oral form, as with Latin (Ong, 1971), or because it never existed in oral form, as with classical Chinese (Rosemont, 1974). Ferguson's (1959) "high" form in a diglossic situation corresponds to the minimal stage of the classical language situation.

Considerable attention has been given to situations of the second and third kind especially by students of literacy and classical philology, respectively. The written language situation has been extensively studied by Goody (Goody and Watt, 1963; Goody, 1968, 1977, 1980) and Olson (1977a, 1977b, 1980a, 1980b), especially with respect to the cognitive and linguistic consequences of writing. Although these workers continue to make interesting references to the oral language situation, major work on the subject has been done by folklorists and "oral theorists" (Lord, 1960; Finnegan, 1973, 1977, 1981) and by sociolinguists using folkloristic material (Bauman 1977; Sherzer, 1977a, 1977b; Fox, 1981; Peek, 1981). But while students of the oral language situation have highlighted many interesting aspects of ritual communication in non-literate societies, none has systematically examined the effects of such communicative processes on language structure, nor the social functions of ritual communication vis-à-vis those of written language. As such is the goal of this paper, a sample of Yoruba ritual communication is