Legalese, meet linguistics

Janet Randall, Leah Butz, Abbie Macneal, Rachel Smith, Samantha Bonnin, Ryan Semple, Julien Cherry, Sam Laureano, Yian Xu, Marisa Snelson



Linguistics & Law Lab, Northeastern University Boston, MA, USA randall@neu.edu







Northeastern University

Linguistics & Law Lab

Home About History Research In the Press Blog Team Join Contact

LAW, MEET LINGUISTICS HOW JUST IS JUSTICE?



Photo by Mikhail Paystyuk on Unsplash

Our Principal Investigator



Professor Janet Randall Linguistics, Northeastern U.









Plain English Jury Instruction Task Force

Failure of recollection is common.
 Innocent misrecollection is not uncommon.

 People often forget things or make mistakes in what they remember.

California Book of Approved Jury Instructions (BAJI), 2.21.

Judicial Council of California Civil Jury Instruction (CACI, 2003)

Northeastern University

Linguistics & Law Lab

Home About History Research In the Press Blog Team Join Contact

LAW, MEET LINGUISTICS HOW JUST IS JUSTICE?

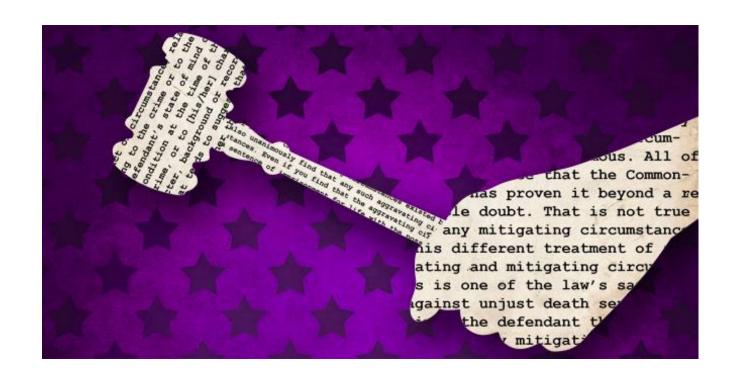


Photo by Mikhail Paystyuk on Unsplash

Today's Roadmap

- Jury instructions: some background
- A study: Which linguistic factors matter?
- More studies from the Linguistics & Law lab
- Our newest study
- Take-aways & next steps

Jury instructions: some background



```
Diamond (2003)
        Marder (2006)
        Tiersma (2006)
          Shuy (2007)
        Tiersma (2009)
         Dumas (2012)
Diamond, Murphy & Rose (2012)
     Randall & Graf (2014)
      Broda-Bahm (2015)
L. Cheng, W. Cheng, & J. Li (2015)
         Randall (2015)
         Pollack (2017)
      Broda-Bahm (2018)
```

In one study of jurors who had served on a trial:

Tiersma (1993)

more than 25% couldn't define

admissible evidence impeach burden of proof inference

more than 50% thought that

evidence

a preponderance of the

meant either

"a slow, careful, pondering of the evidence"

or

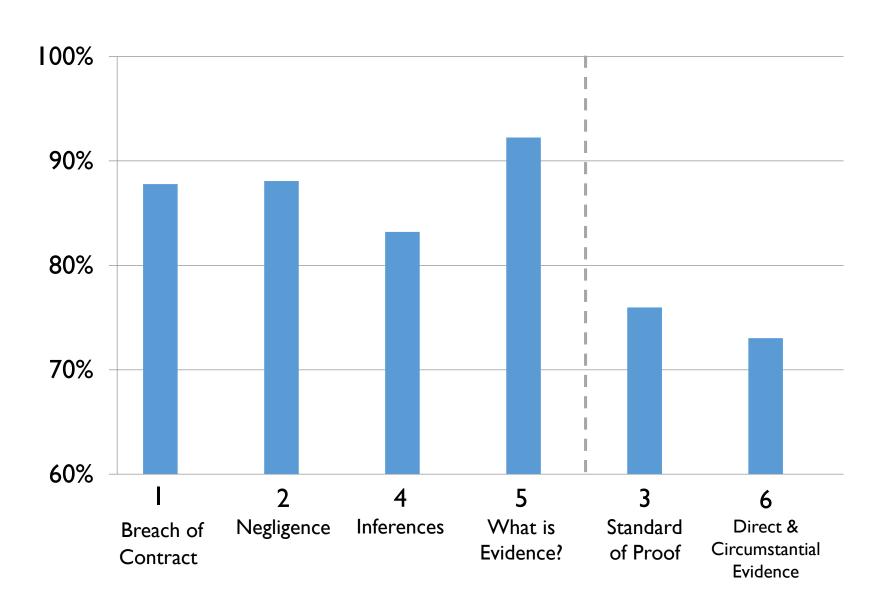
"looking at the exhibits in the jury room"

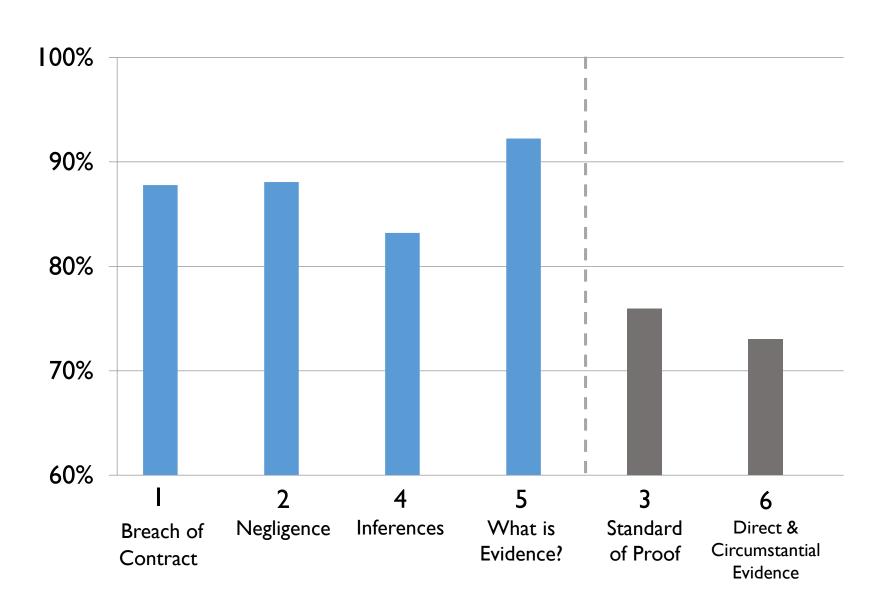
Barriers to revising jury instructions

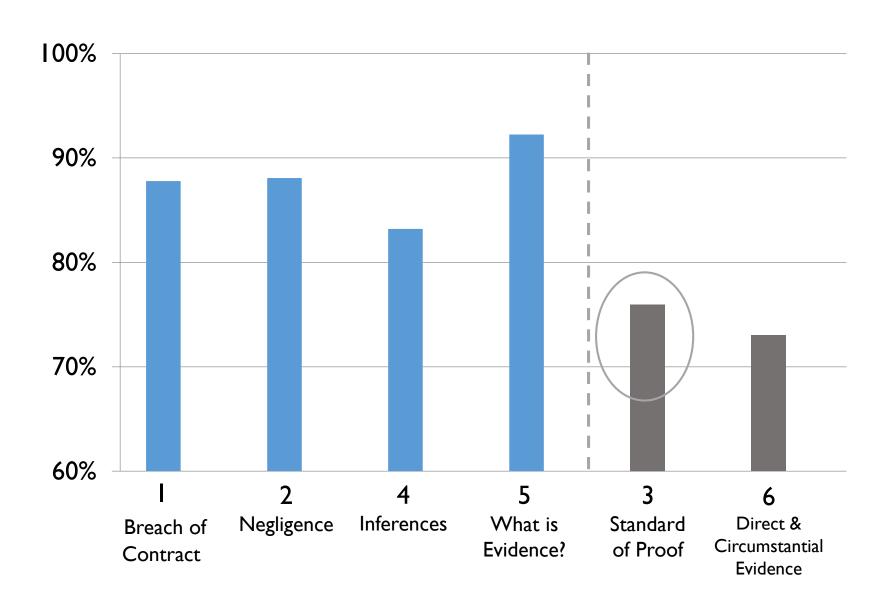
- inertia
- jury instructions are "sacred texts"
- jury instructions should inspire awe & respect for the court
- the empirical studies were wrong
- revising the instructions won't get jurors to listen anyway
- past decisions will be challenged
- there's really no problem with them

Standard of Proof









A study:
Which
linguistic factors
matter?



Standard of Proof

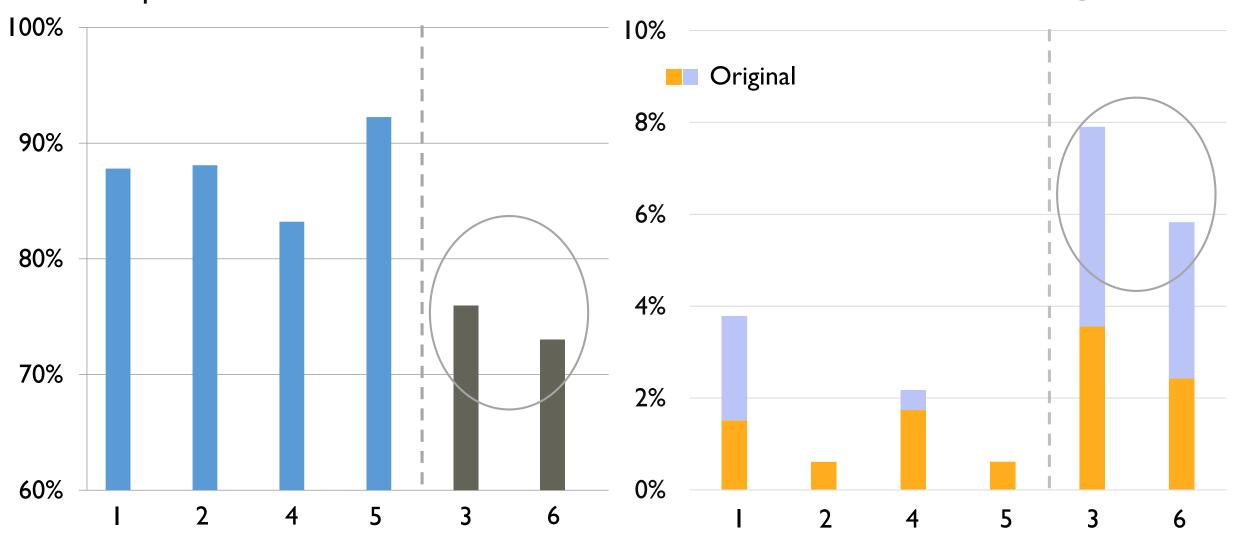
The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Rates of Passive verbs & Legalese



Standard of Proof

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Standard of Proof Syntax

- Negatives
- Nominals
- Multiple embeddings
- Interjected phrases
- Passives

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than **is applied** in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the **is not** required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the evidence means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, **considered** and **compared** with any **opposed** to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what **is sought to be proved** is more probably true than not true.

A proposition **is proved** by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition **is made** to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition **derived** from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Passives

Active: [The jury] must consider [all of the evidence].

Passive: [All of the evidence] must be considered

by [the jury].

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the evidence means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

• Low-frequency words stringent, such evidence, sought, notwithstanding, The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less **stringent** standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the evidence means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is **such evidence** which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is **sought** to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, **notwithstanding** any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

- Low-frequency words
 stringent, such evidence,
 sought, notwithstanding,
- Legal terms, not defined
 civil v. criminal case
 plaintiff
 beyond a reasonable doubt
 party, bearing, burden, meets

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the evidence means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

- Low-frequency words
 stringent, such evidence,
 sought, notwithstanding,
- Legal terms, not defined
 civil v. criminal case
 plaintiff
 beyond a reasonable doubt
 party, bearing, burden, meets
- Legal terms, defined too late preponderance of the evidence

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by **a preponderance of the evidence.** This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by **a preponderance of the evidence.**

The standard of **a preponderance of the evidence** means the greater weight of the evidence. **A**

preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

- Low-frequency words

 stringent, such evidence,
 sought, notwithstanding
- Legal terms, not defined
 civil v. criminal case
 plaintiff
 beyond a reasonable doubt
 party, bearing, burden, meets
- Legal terms, defined too late preponderance of the evidence

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent Standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of **a preponderance of the evidence** means the greater weight of the evidence. **A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence** which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is **sought** to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by **a preponderance of the evidence** if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, **notwithstanding** any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

- Low-frequency words stringent, such evidence, sought, notwithstanding
- Legal terms, not defined
 civil v. criminal case
 plaintiff
 beyond a reasonable doubt
 party, bearing, burden, meets
- Legal terms, defined too late preponderance of the evidence

Syntax

Passives

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent Standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the plaintiff is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the evidence means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition **is proved** by **a preponderance of the evidence** if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition **is made** to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition **derived** from the evidence, **notwithstanding** any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Original

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Original

The standard of proof in a civil case is that a plaintiff must prove (his/her) case by a preponderance of the evidence. This is a less stringent standard than is applied in a criminal case, where the prosecution must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt.

By contrast, in a civil case such as this one, the is not required to prove (his/her) case beyond a reasonable doubt. In a civil case, the party bearing the burden of proof meets the burden when (he/she) shows it to be true by a preponderance of the evidence.

The standard of a preponderance of the means the greater weight of the evidence. A preponderance of the evidence is such evidence which, when considered and compared with any opposed to it, has more convincing force and produces in your minds a belief that what is sought to be proved is more probably true than not true.

A proposition is proved by a preponderance of the evidence if, after you have weighed the evidence, that proposition is made to appear more likely or probable in the sense that there exists in your minds an actual belief in the truth of that proposition derived from the evidence, notwithstanding any doubts that may still linger in your minds.

Simply stated, a matter has been proved by a preponderance of the evidence if you determine, after you have weighed all of the evidence, that that matter is more probably true than not true.

Plain English

This is a civil case. In a civil case, there are two parties, the "plaintiff", and the "defendant". The plaintiff is the one who brings the case against the defendant. And it is the plaintiff who must convince you of his case with stronger, more believable evidence. In other words, it is the plaintiff who bears the "burden of proof".

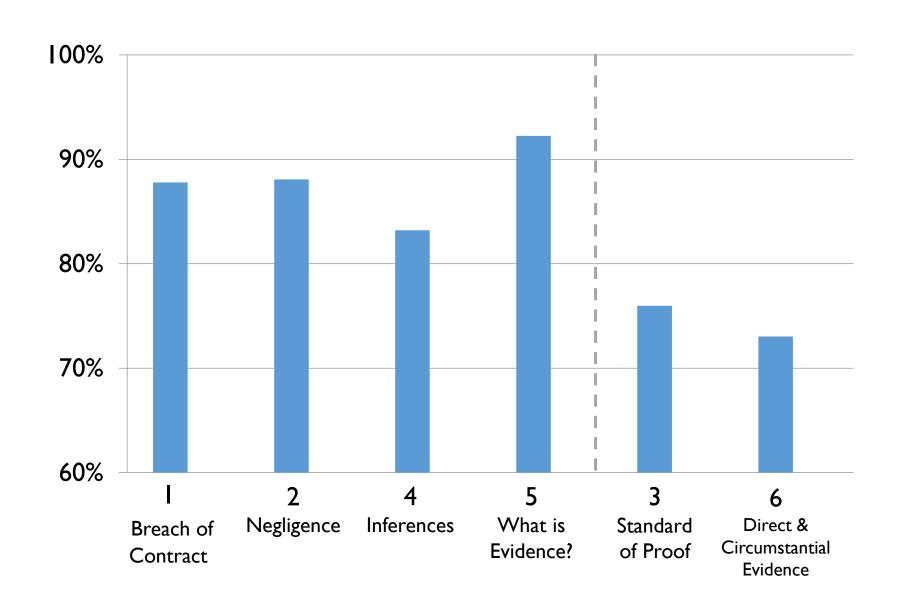
After you hear all the evidence on both sides, if you find that the greater weight of the evidence -- also **called** "the preponderance of the evidence" -- is on the plaintiff's side, then you should decide in favor of the plaintiff.

But if you find that the evidence is stronger on the defendant's side, or the evidence on the two sides is equal, 50/50, then you must decide in favor of the defendant.

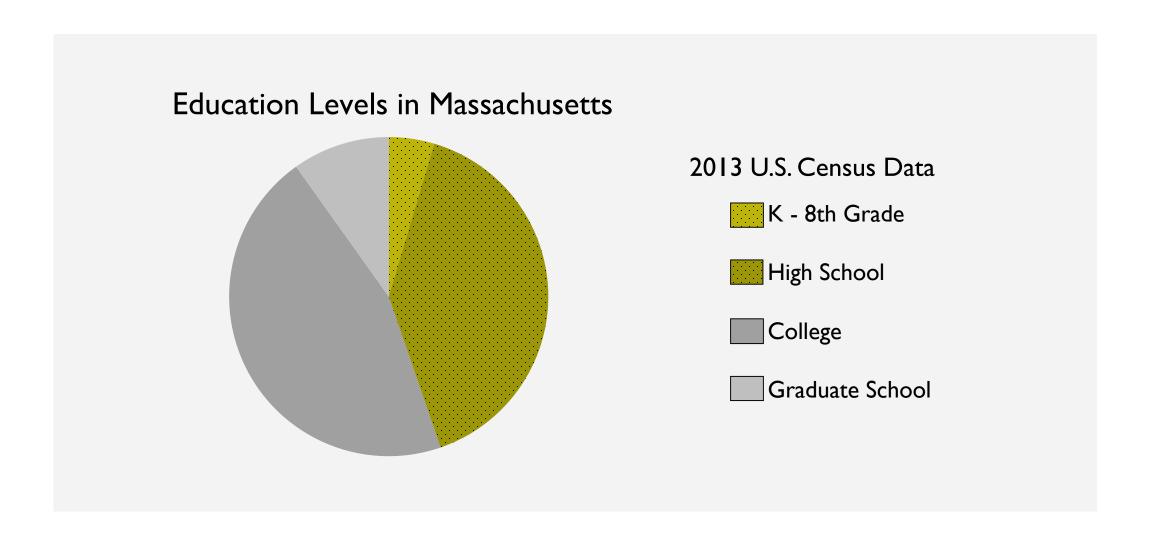
Now, you may have heard that in some cases, the evidence must convince you "beyond a reasonable doubt". That's only true for criminal cases.

For civil cases like this one, you might still have some doubts after hearing the evidence, but even if you do, as long as one side's evidence is stronger -- even slightly stronger -- than the other's, you must decide in favor of that side.

Stronger evidence does not mean more evidence. It is the quality or strength of the evidence, not the quantity or amount, that matters.



Consider this:

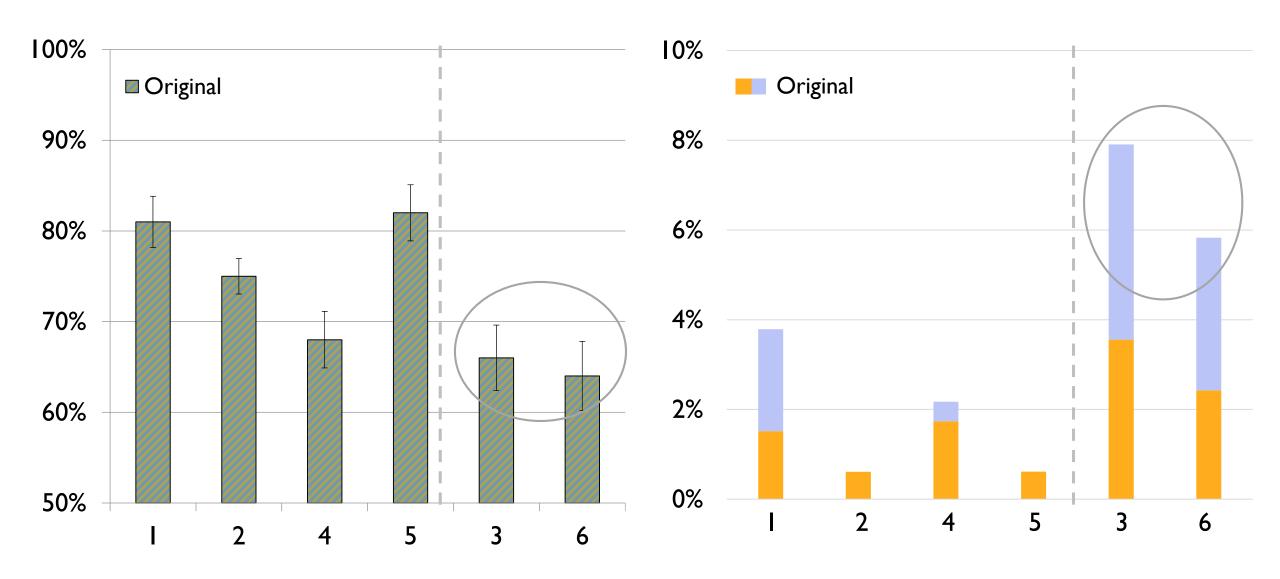


More studies from the Linguistics & Law Lab

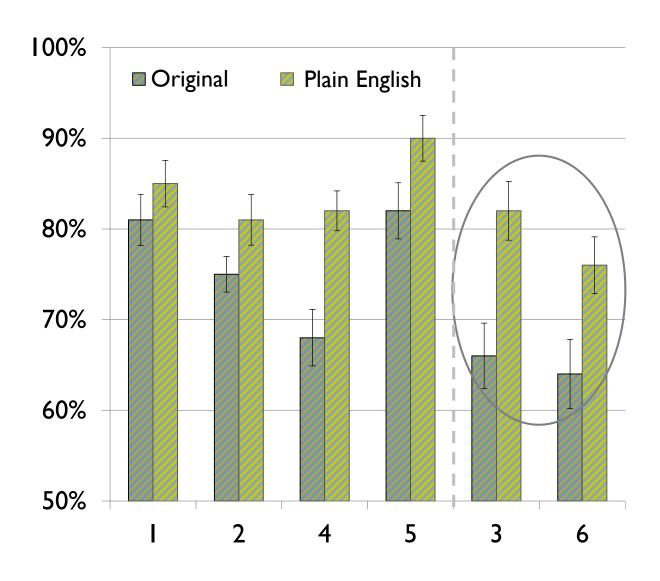


A new subject pool



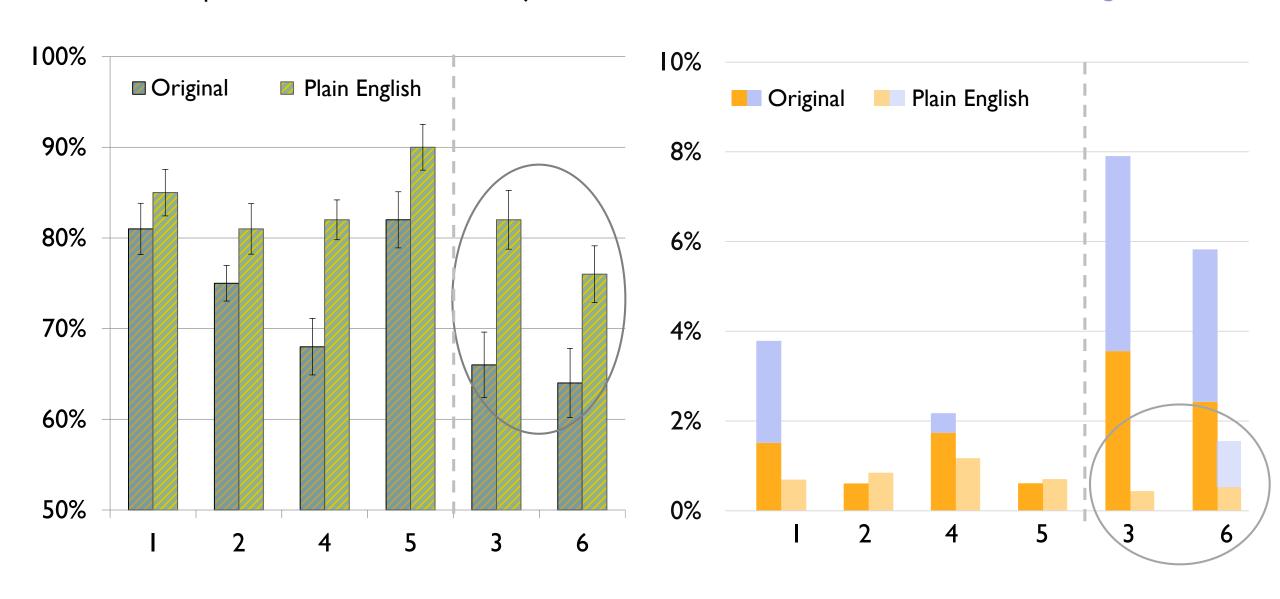


Comprehension Rates: MTurk Subjects



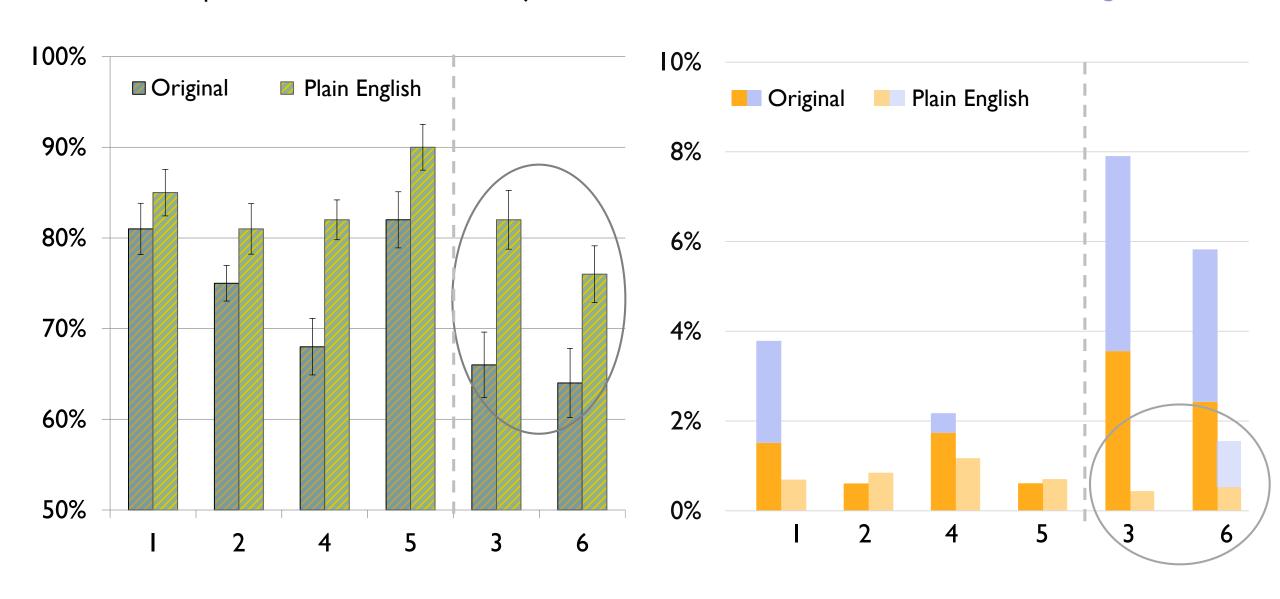
Comprehension Rates: MTurk Subjects

Rates of Passive verbs & Legalese

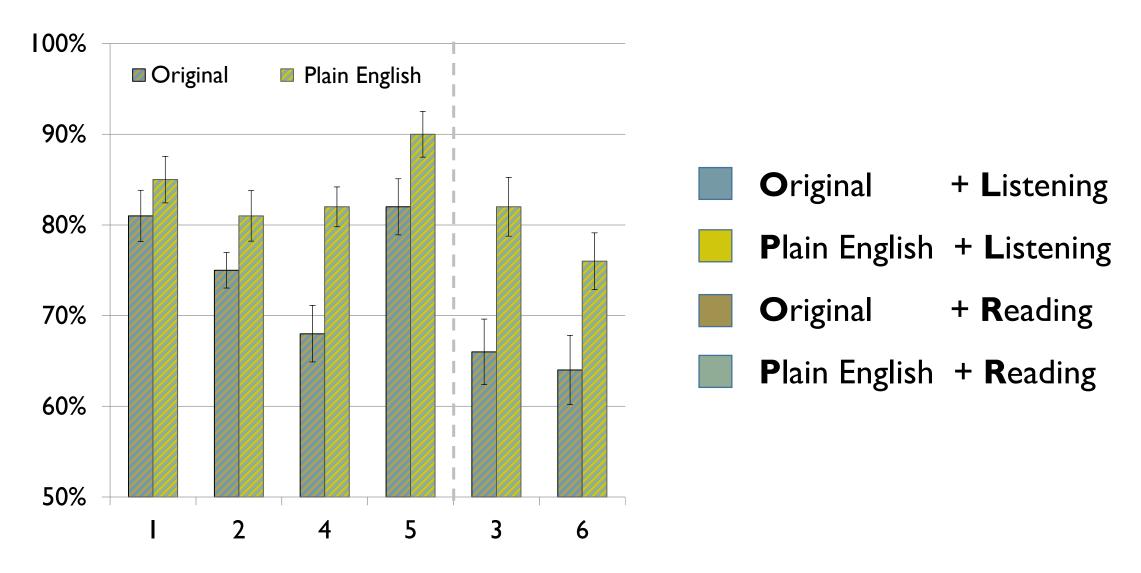


Comprehension Rates: MTurk Subjects

Rates of Passive verbs & Legalese

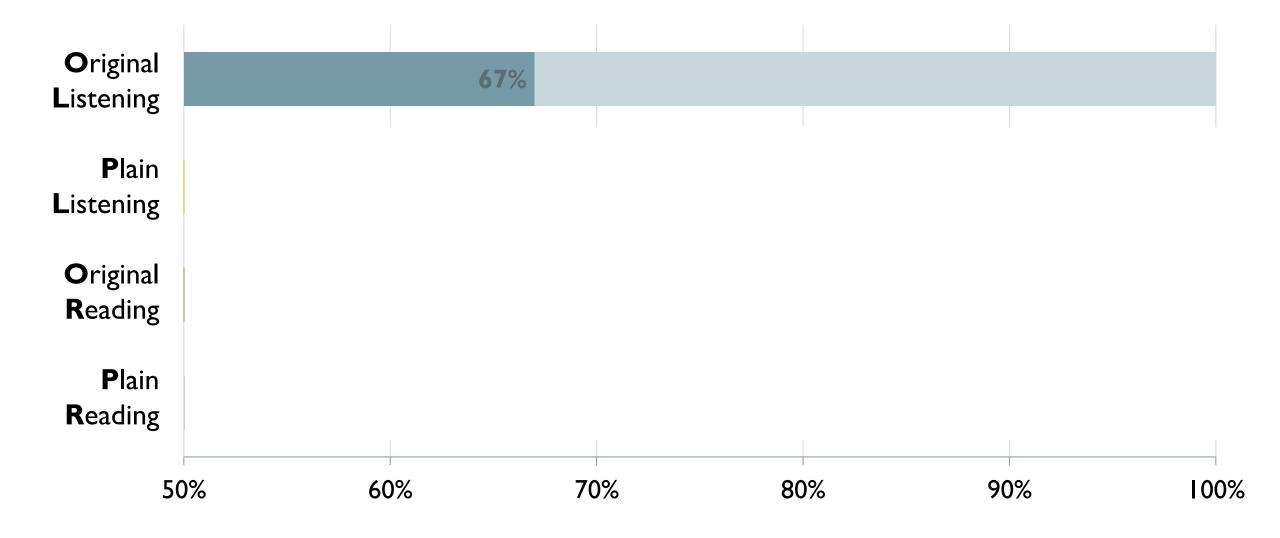


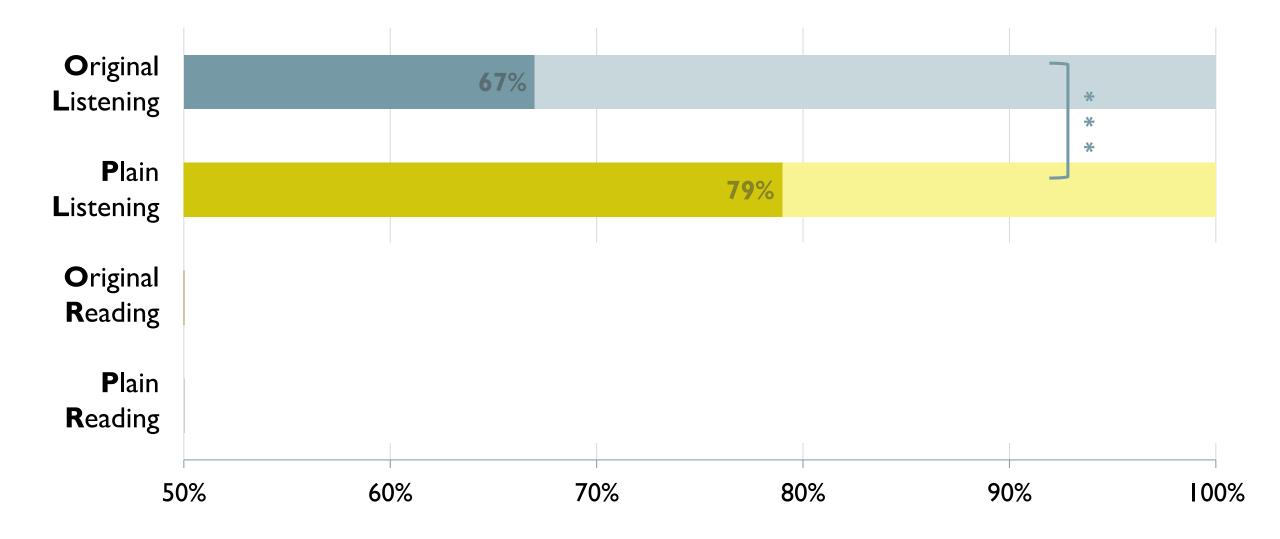
One more factor: Reading

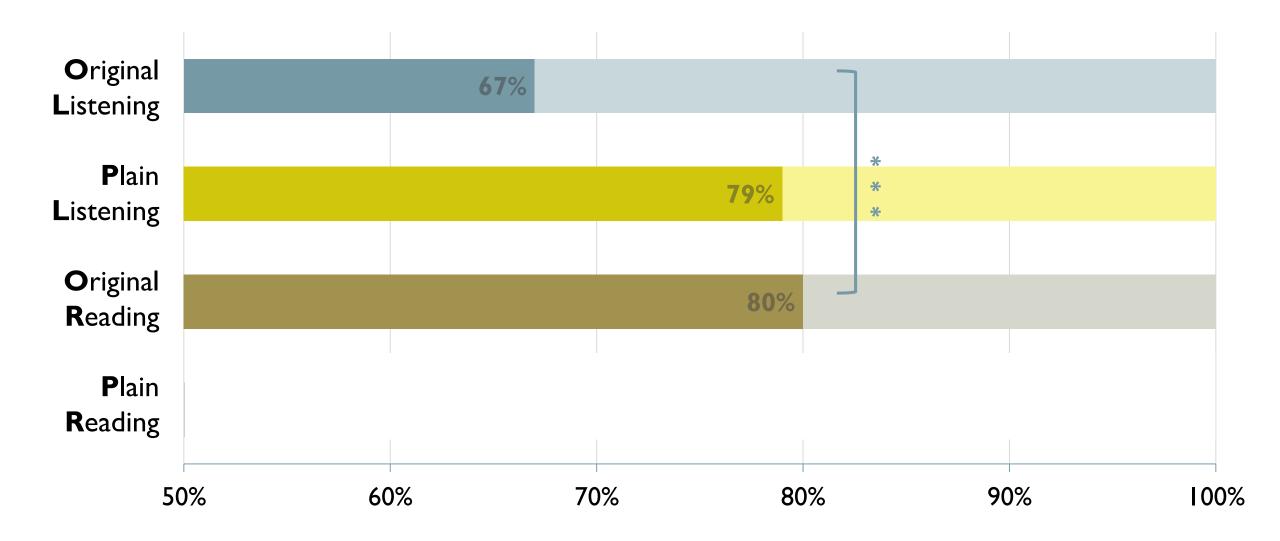


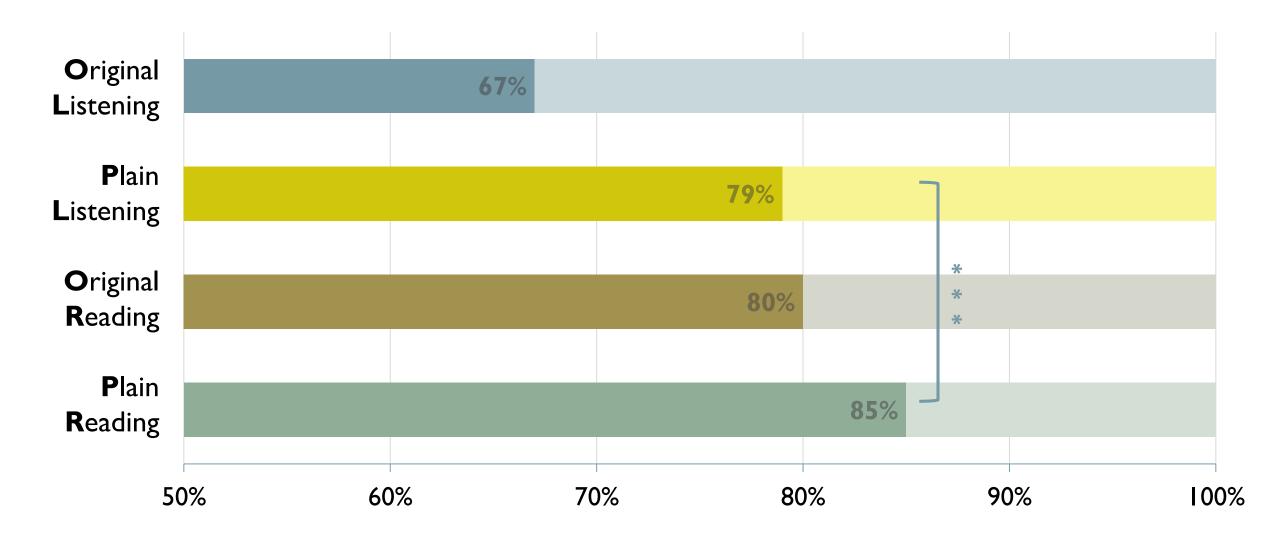
Method & Design

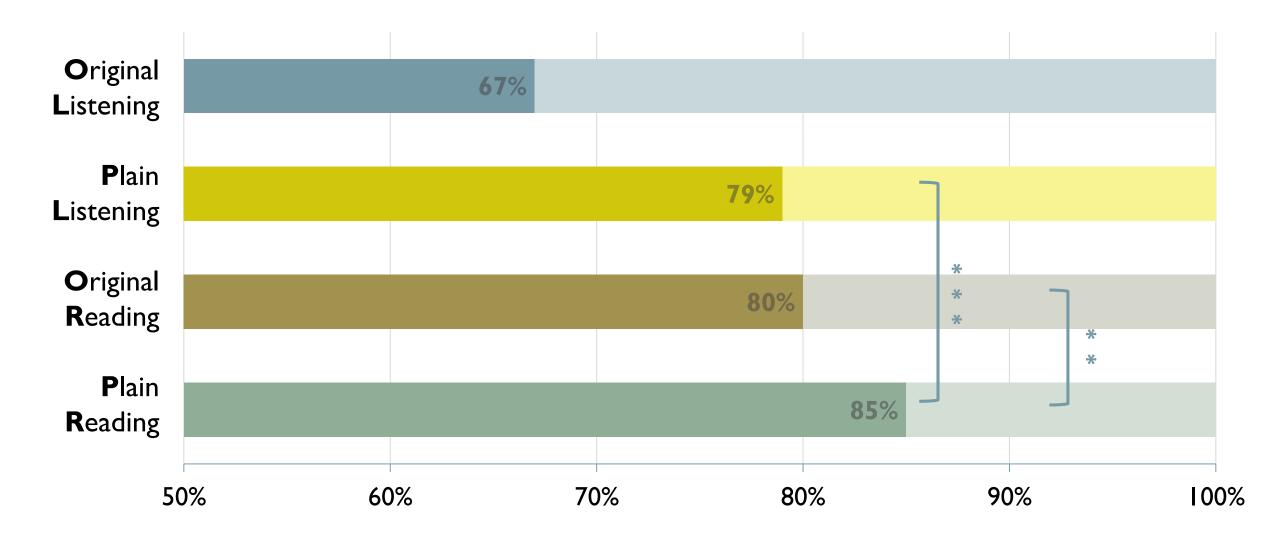
| MTurk subjects n=389 | Original | P lain English |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| L istening Only | 125 | 99 |
| Listening + R eading | 66 | 99 |

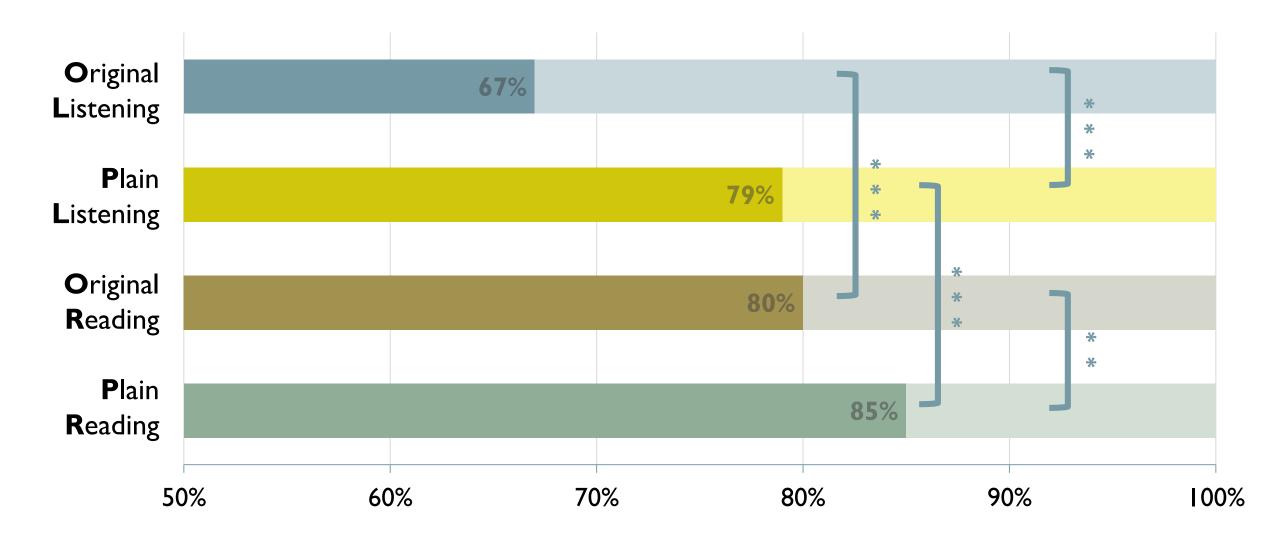












Consider this:

Instruction 1

Questions

Instruction 2

Questions

Instruction 3

Questions

etc ...

Instruction 1

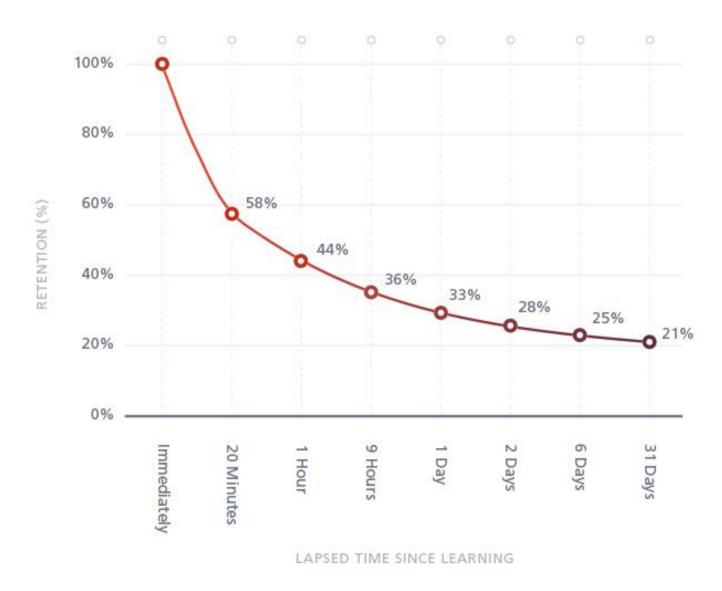
Instruction 2

Instruction 3

etc ...

Questions

The Ebbinghaus Forgetting Curve

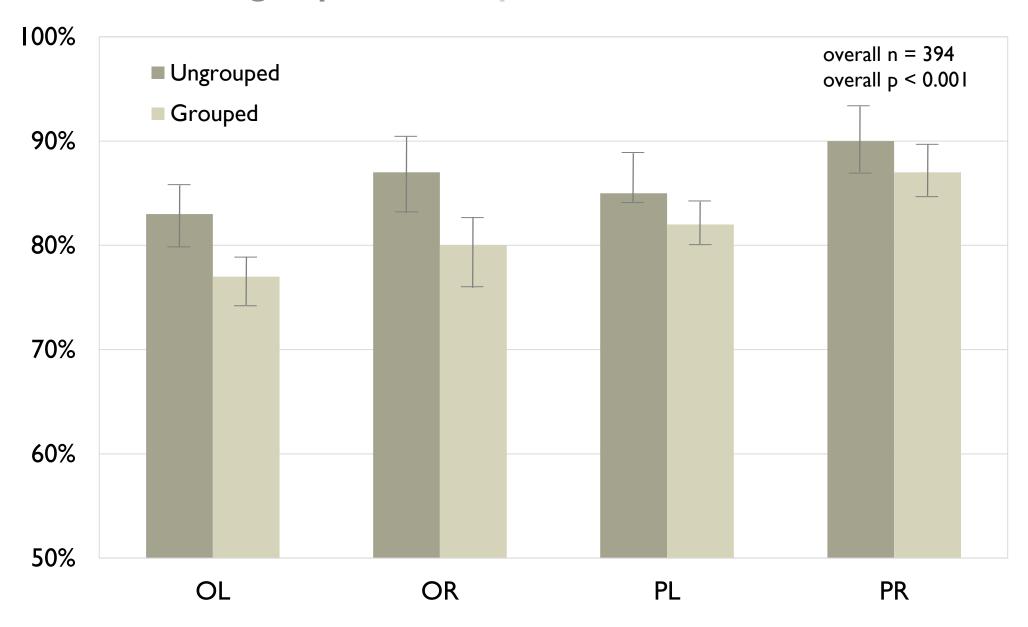


- Retention declines over time
- Even within 20 minutes, retention is down to 58%.
- Prediction: presenting the instructions in a group, and asking questions about all of them at the end should lead to lower comprehension scores

Our newest study

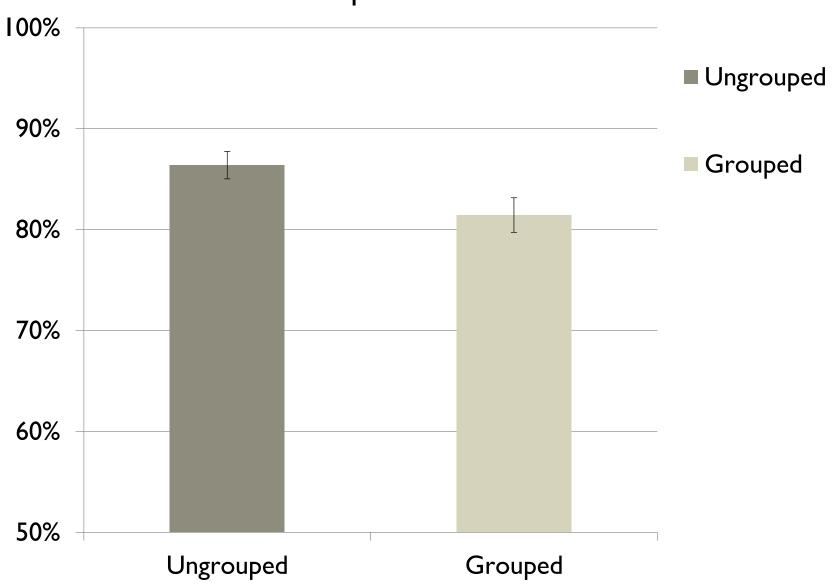


Ungrouped vs. Grouped Instructions - Students



Ungrouped vs. Grouped

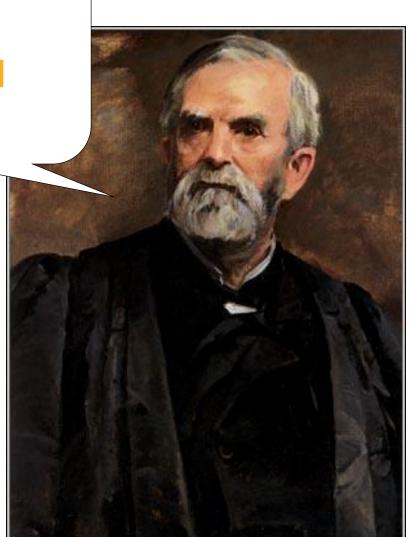
Overall Comprehension: students



Take-aways & next steps



All of the evidence must by considered by the ury





The moral of the story:

wherever there is legal language

aimed at an audience of non-experts, like jurors

look at the language from a linguistic point of view.

The End

Thank you.



Janet Randall
Principal Investigator
Linguistics

Our Team



Leah Butz Research Assistant B.S. Linguistics, 2019



Samantha Bonnin Research Assistant B.S. English & History, 2022



Yian Xu Statistician Ed.M 2013, Juris Master 2012 Ph.D Psych. 2019



Abbie MacNeal
Project Manager
B.S. Linguistics, 2019



Rachel Smith
Research Assistant
B.S. Linguistics &
Anthropology, 2019



Ryan Semple Research Assistant B.S. Physics, 2021



Jullien Cherry Research Assistant B.S. Computer Science & Linguistics, 2020



Samantha Laureano Project Manager B.S. Business & Psychology, 2020



Marisa Snelson Research Assistant B.S. Linguistics, 2020

- Abbott, Walter F. & John Batt (1999) *Handbook of Jury Research* American Law Institute. California Civil Jury Instructions Retrieved online on December 31 2012 via http://www.courts.ca.gov/partners/juryinstructions.htm
- Averell, L. & Heathcote, A. (2011). The Form of the Forgetting Curve and the Fate of Memories, Journal of Mathematical Psychology 55, No. 1, 25–35.
- Benson, R.W. (1984). The end of legalese: The game is over. Review of Law and Social Change 13 (3), 519-573.
- Brady, P. F., J. D. Lipchitz, & S. D. Anderson, eds. (2008). Massachusetts Superior Court Civil Practice Jury Instructions. Boston: MCLE.
- Broda-Bahm, Ken. (March 23, 2015) "Embrace Plain English Jury Instructions." The Persuasive Litigator. Accessed June 7, 2018 via https://www.persuasivelitigator.com/2015/03/embrace-plain-english-instructions-and-plain-english-persuasion.html
- Broda-Bahm, Ken. (January 11, 2018) "Let the Judge Teach (and Not Just Recite) the Instructions" The Persuasive Litigator. Accessed June 7, 2018 via https://www.persuasivelitigator.com/2018/01/let-the-judge-teach-and-not-just-recite-the-instructions.html
- Brown, D. (2000) Regulating decision effects of legally sufficient jury instructions. Southern California Law Review 73(5): 1105–1131. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.246498
- Chang, Anna C. (2009) Gains to L2 listeners from reading while listening vs. listening only in comprehending short stories. Applied English Department, Hsing-Wu College.
- Charrow, Robert P. & Veda R. Charrow (1979) Making Legal Language Understandable: A Psycholinguistic Study of Jury Instructions. Columbia Law Review 79, 1306-1374.
- Cheng, L., Cheng, W., & Li, J. (2015). Jury instructions in Hong Kong: a Gricean perspective. *International Journal of Speech, Language & the Law*, 22(1).

- Diamond, Shari, B. Murphy & M.R. Rose (2012) The "Kettleful of Law" in Real Jury Deliberations: Success, Failures and Next Steps, Northwestern Law Review vol. 106, no. 4. 1573-1608.
- Diamond, Shari (2003) "Truth, Justice and the Jury, Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy 26, 143-155.
- Diamond, Shari & Judith Levi (1996) Improving Decisions on Death by Revising and Testing Jury Instructions, Judicature, 79, 224-231.
- Diana, R.A. & L.M. Reder (2006) The Low-Frequency Encoding Disadvantage: Word Frequency Affects Processing Demands. Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory & Cognition 32, 805–815.
- DuBay, W. H. (2004) The principles of readability. Costa Mesa, CA: Impact Information. Retrieved online on December 31 2012 via http://www.nald.ca/library/research/readab/readab.pdf
- Duffelmeyer, F.A. (1979). The effect of rewriting prose material on reading comprehension, Reading World, 19(1), 1–16.
- Dumas, B.K. (2000) Jury trials: lay jurors, pattern jury instructions, and comprehension issues. The Tennessee Law Review 67:701—742.
- Dumas, B (2006) Jury Instructions in Brown, K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (Second Edition), Elsevier Pergamon, Oxford, 143-148.
- Dumas, B. K. (2012) Improving the comprehensibility of US pattern jury instructions. In Proceedings of The International Association of Forensic Linguists' Tenth Biennial Conference. 49-57.
- Ebbinghaus, H. (1885). Memory: A contribution to experimental psychology. Annals of neurosciences, 20(4), 155. Translated by Ruger, H.A. & Bussenius, C. E. (1913). Originally published by Teachers College, Columbia University New York.
- Educational Attainment of the Population 18 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2013, All Races. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2013 Annual Social and Economic Supplement. Accessed electronically on March 21, 2014. https://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/cps/2013/tables.html

Elwork, A, B. Sales & J. Alfini (1982) Making Jury Instructions Understandable. Charlottesville, VA: Michie.

Ferreira, F. (2003) The misinterpretation of noncanonical sentences. Cognitive Psychology 47, 164–203.

Gibbons, J. (2003) Forensic Linguistics: An Introduction to Language in the Justice System. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gough, Philip B. (1966) "The verification of sentences: The effects of delay of evidence and sentence length." Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior 5.5, 492-496.

Just, M.A., & Carpenter, P.A. (1976) Eye fixations and cognitive processes. Cognitive Psychology, 8, 441–480.

Just, M.A., & Clark, H. H. (1973) Drawing inferences from the presuppositions and implications of affirmative and negative sentences. Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior, 12, 21–31.

Kimble, J. (2001) How to mangle court rules and jury instructions. The Scribes Journal of Legal Writing 8: 39–52.

Kincaid, J. P., R. P. Fishburne, R. L. Rogers, and B. S. Chissom (1975) Derivation of new readability formulas (Automated Readability Index, Fog Count and Flesch Reading Ease Formula) for Navy enlisted personnel. CNTECHTRA Research Branch Report 8-75.

Klare, G. R. (1976) A second look at the validity of the readability formulas. Journal of reading behavior 8, 159-152.

Levi, J. N. (1993) Evaluating jury comprehension of Illinois capital-sentencing instructions. American Speech, 68(1), 20-49.

Marder, N.S. (2006) Bringing jury instructions into the twenty-first century, Notre Dame Law Review 81, 449-512.

Marder, N.S. (2009) Answering jurors' questions: next steps in Illinois, Loyola University of Chicago Law Journal, 41, 727-752.

Ng, E. (2016) Do They Understand? Language and Law / Linguagem e Direito, 3,2. 172-191.

Olson, David R. & Nikola Filby. (1972): "On the comprehension of active and passive sentences." Cognitive Psychology 3.3 361-381.

- Pollack, Jeffrey M. (December 18, 2017) "Helping Juries Succeed." New Jersey Law Journal. Accessed June 7, 2018 via https://www.law.com/njlawjournal/sites/njlawjournal/2017/12/18/helping-juries-succeed/?slreturn=20180507173148.
- Randall, J. & L. Graf (2014) Linguistics meets "legalese": syntax, semantics, and jury instruction reform. Proceedings of the Linguistics Society of America Annual Meeting. Minneapolis. https://www.northeastern.edu/cssh/english/linguistics-meets-legalese
- Randall, J. (2014) Tackling "legalese": how linguistics can simplify legal language and increase access to justice. In Emonds, Joseph & Marketa Janebova (eds.) Language Use and Linguistic Structure. Olomouc Modern Language Series Vol.3. Univerzita Palackeho, Olomouc, 239-254.
- Randall, J. (2015) Improving juror comprehension: reading while listening. Proceedings of the Linguistics Society of America Annual Meeting. Portland. (pp. 1-5)
- Randall, J., L. Graf & N. Clarke (2015) Improving juror comprehension: reading while listening. Presented at the Linguistics Society of America Annual Meeting, Portland, OR.
- Randall, J. (2017) Improving Jury Instructions: The Effect of Linguistic and Procedural Factors. (with Yian Xu, Katherine Fiallo, & Haley Emerson). Proceedings of the America Psychology-Law Society Annual Meeting. Seattle.
- Randall, J. (in press) How Just is Justice? Ask a psycholinguist. In Carlson, Katy, Charles Clifton Jr. & Janet Dean Fodor, Grammatical Approaches to Language Processing Essays in Honor of Lyn Frazier. Studies in Theoretical Psycholinguistics, Springer, NY.
- Reifman, A. S.M. Gusick & P.C. Ellsworth (1992) Real Jurors' Understanding of the Law in Real Cases. Law and Human Behavior 16, 539-554.
- Saxton, Bradley (1998) How Well Do Jurors Understand Jury Instructions? A Field Test Using Real Juries and Real Trials in Wyoming. Land & Water Law Review 33, 59-189.

- Schane, S. (2006) Language and the Law. London: Continuum.
- Shuy, Roger W. (2007) Language in the American courtroom. Language and Linguistics Compass 1: 100–114. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2007.00002.x
- Slobin, D. I. (1966). Grammatical transformations and sentence comprehension in childhood and adulthood. Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior, 5, 219–227.
- Solan, Lawrence M. (1999) Refocusing the Burden of Proof in Criminal Cases: Some Doubt About Reasonable Doubt, Texas Law Review 78, 105-147.
- Smith, S.M., & Rothkopf, E.Z. (1984). Contextual enrichment and distribution of practice in the classroom. *Cognition and Instruction*, 1(3), 341-358.
- Spyridakis, J.H. & Isakson, C.S. (1998). Nominalizations vs denominalizations: do they influence what readers recall? Journal of Technical Writing & Communication 28(2), 163-188.
- Steele, W.W. & Thornburg, E. G. (1988) Jury instructions: a persistent failure to communicate. North Carolina Law Review 67: 77–119.
- Tiersma, Peter M. (2009) Communicating with Juries: How to Draft More Understandable Jury Instructions. Loyola-LA Legal Studies Paper No. 2009-44. Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1507298 and through National Center for State Courts http://www.ncsconline.org/d_research/publications.html

Tiersma, Peter M. (2001) The Rocky Road to Legal Reform: Improving the Language of Jury Instructions. Brooklyn Law Review 66, 1081-1118.

Tiersma, Peter M. (1993) Reforming the Language of Jury Instructions. Hofstra Law Review 22, 37-78.

Tiersma, Peter M. (1999) Jury Instructions in the New Millennium. Court Review 36, 28-36.

Wason, P. C. (1959). The processing of positive and negative information. Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, 11, 92–107.

.

Questions?

Comments?

Thank you.

randall@neu.edu