

Saturday, 8 January

Presidential Address
Jewett ABCDE
5:30 - 7:00 PM

The Impact of Usage on Representation: Grammar Is Usage and Usage Is Grammar

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Grammar is the cognitive organization of one's experience with language, and facets of that experience, for instance, the frequency of use of certain constructions or particular instances of constructions, have an impact on representation that we can see evidenced in various ways, but primarily in language change.

The discussion takes constructions to constitute an important level of grammatical organization (Fillmore et al., Goldberg). Constructions are usually represented as partially schematic and generalized, with particular slots that take certain semantic categories of elements. However, there is considerable evidence for the importance of particular exemplars of constructions (that is, the construction with particular lexical items in it) both synchronically and diachronically; this evidence indicates that cognitive representations contain considerable detail about usage and the experience the speaker has had with the language.

The importance of particular instances of constructions is evident in idioms and formulaic language which must have cognitive storage. In addition, particular instances of constructions give rise to new constructions, as shown, for example, by the 'What's X doing in Y' construction that has its own set of implications (Kay & Fillmore, Johnson). In cases of extreme frequency increase (as in grammaticization), a particular instance of construction (such as *be going to V* as an instance of a purpose construction) changes to create a new construction which may have very little in common with its construction of origin.

Other evidence that the cognitive system registers particular instances of language use and their frequency will also be presented: High frequency instances of syntactic constructions can be shown to be the center of categories formed for their open slots (illustrated with the categories of adjectives used with verbs of becoming in Spanish). High frequency instances of older constructions resist replacement by newer constructions (illustrated with the use of an older negative construction in English with high frequency verbs, e.g. *I saw no one; that proves nothing* [Tottie 1991]).

These phenomena point strongly to cognitive representations that contain much specific and detailed information about what particular instances of constructions have been encountered before and under what conditions.

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- Goldberg, Adele E. 2003. 'Constructions: A new theoretical approach to language'. *Trends in Cognitive Science* 7. 219-24.
- Johnson, Christopher. 1997. 'The acquisition of the 'What's X doing Y?' construction'. In *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Vol. 2, 343-53. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
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- Tottie, Gunnel. 1991. 'Lexical diffusion in syntactic change: Frequency as a determinant of linguistic conservatism in the development of negation in English'. In *Historical English syntax*, ed. by D. Kastovsky, 439-67. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Joan Bybee (PhD UCLA, 1973). Dr. Bybee was on the faculty at SUNY-Buffalo from 1973-1989. She is now Regents' Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of New Mexico, where she served as department chair from 1999-2002. In the LSA she has served on the Program Committee (chair in 1983), the Executive Committee (1989-1991) and was the director of the 1995 LSA Linguistic Institute. She taught at the 1976, 1980, 1995, and 2001 Linguistic Institutes. Bybee's research interests include theoretical issues in phonology and morphology, language universals, and linguistic change. Her books include *Morphology* (1985), *The evolution of grammar* (with Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca, 1994), and *Phonology and language use* (2001). Edited volumes include *Modality in grammar and discourse* (with Suzanne Fleischman, 1995) and *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure* (with Paul Hopper, 2001).