Dispersed Verbal Predicates in Vernacular Written Narrative
Author(s): Paul J. Hopper
Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on The Grammar of Event Structure (1991), pp. 402-413

Dispersed Verbal Predicates in Vernacular Written Narrative

Paul J. Hopper
Carnegie Mellon University

1. Introduction

Most of the current literature on the notion of 'event' assumes some kind of *a priori* status for events, and takes it for granted that an event is a logico-semantic category that is reflected in sentences of a particular form, implicitly distinguishing between an Event and the report of that Event. Thus Parsons (1990:ix) summarizes a standard view: "The theory under investigation attributes to ordinary sentences of English (such as *Brutus stabbed Caesar*) logical forms that quantify over events." I will be concerned with the discourse uses of these 'ordinary sentences of English' in which there is a subject, an object, and a simple transitive verb, and with the problems posed by the view that a de-contextualized notion of 'event' underlies certain de-contextualized 'sentences'.

That transitive sentences with lexical nouns in subject position almost never occur has been pointed out before (e.g., Lambrecht 1987). In this paper it is suggested that the single word transitive verb that figures so prominently in logical and semantic treatments of eventhood is also relegatable to specific kinds of contexts when real linguistic data are considered.

2. Data

The document that I am examining is a representative example of a genre that is widely found in English. I refer to this genre as 'vernacular written narrative'. The adjective 'vernacular' is meant to suggest that it is the kind of narrative that does not usually find its way into print, and is not held up as a model of prose to be imitated. It is invariably told from a first-person perspective, and is the genre of personal letters, diaries, duplicated holiday newsletters, private journals, and other informal narrative intended for a limited circulation. Vernacular written narrative is neither strictly oral nor strictly written; instead it contains those features of 'involvement' and 'integration' (Tannen 1985) that cross-cut the oral/written dichotomy.

The example in focus here is a journal written by Col. Franklin H. "Pappy" Colby, USAAF, based on diaries kept by him during the spring, summer, and fall of 1943. The journal describes Colby's bombing 'missions' over Europe. It was written for circulation to family members and members of his own squadron, ostensibly to form a sort of official history of the squadron during this period of the air war. The document was typewritten by Col. Colby at some time during the 1980's, and the typescript (consisting of 40 pages) was distributed by xeroxing; there are probably a couple of dozen copies in existence. A pioneer aviator, Colby graduated from high school but had no college. His nickname "Pappy" was owed to his seniority (in 1943 he was the oldest active pilot in the Bomber Command.) He died in 1990 at the age of 89, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

3. The Language of the Text

As an initial pass, let us consider the following passage from the journal. The page reference at the end of each citation is from Colby (No Date).

<1> "With no diversion at all we head straight in to the target. At the IP (initial point) we are supposed to meet our supporting fighters, but we are twenty minutes late. Finally we see about thirty fighters at two o'clock, and I heave a sigh of relief that our friends have waited for us. Suddenly they attack, and at about the same time heavy flak starts exploding dead ahead. We take violent evasive action, and I am so busy for a few minutes that I don't see much of what is happening. Then I discover that the leading three ship element of our low squadron has drifted left out of the group formation, and I have to quickly decide whether to stay with the group or follow him. I decide to stay with the group, and it's lucky I do, because flak starts exploding right behind him where we would have been." (10)

3.1 MAVE's (Multiply Articulated Verbal Expressions).

In this passage we find examples of simple intransitive verbs, e.g., *Suddenly they attack.* In addition there are a few examples of single word transitive verbs, such as *see*, *discover*, *heave*.

Simple verbs like *attack*, *discover*, and *see* in these examples, whether transitive or intransitive, are in fact relatively rare in the text. Instead the dominant mode of narrating is through what I will call *multiply articulated verbal expressions*, MAVE's. Examples of MAVE's in the passage cited are:

head straight in
are supposed to meet
heave a sigh of relief
starts exploding (x2)
take violent evasive action
has drifted left
have to quickly decide
decide to stay

The MAVE is a persistent and dominant characteristic of English vernacular prose writing. (I suspect that it will also turn out to be a significant component of Spoken English.) Instead of presenting an account through a single, semantically rich verb form, the writer distributes verbal elements over an extended phrase or even over more than one clause, no one part of which exhaustively defines the 'verb'. MAVE's appear in numerous forms, of which only a few can be mentioned here - enough, I hope, to allow the type to be recognized.

The more obvious examples of MAVE's are characterized by a finite verb drawn from a small repertoire, such as *have*, *take*, *start*, *decide*, etc., together with amplifying elements that may be short adverbs and particles, infinitives and -ing participles. Through MAVE's, verbal meanings are dispersed over several words. This dispersal is accomplished in a variety of ways, but the net effect is always the same, an avoidance of predicates of the type V(O), where V is a single word verb and O is a direct object referent.

In what follows (3.2) I list and discuss some of the types of MAVE that I have observed in the text.

3.2 Kinds of MAVE.

3.2.1 MAVE's and Modal and Other Aspectual Auxiliaries.

The most familiar class of MAVE is that consisting of the elements of the Verb Phrase in standard descriptions. These elements include maximally: a primary tense morpheme; a modal auxiliary; *have+en*; and *be+ing*. There are numerous examples in the text:

<2> "I had noticed a big pile of waste lumber" (2)
<3> "We wondered how an enemy fighter could survive" (7)

3.2.2 Other auxiliary expressions.

It is widely recognized that in addition to these well-known auxiliary elements, English is richly endowed with complement-taking verbs that because of their frequency and partly grammaticalized structure could be called near-auxiliaries. Consider for example some typical narrative clauses such as the following:

<4> "I keep on going straight ahead" (16)
<5> "By this time some 20 or 30 enemy fighters were getting set to attack" (37)
<6> "I was just beginning to get acquainted" (2)
<7> "Our right landing wheel refuses to lower" (27)

There are numerous auxiliary expressions of this kind; some of the more commonly used ones found in the text are listed:

Group I	
try to V	manage to V
hope to V	decide to V
remember V-ing	start to V
keep V-ing	start V-ing
keep on V-ing	dare V
continue V-ing	let V
begin to V	intend to V
begin V-ing	refuse to V

The verbal element labeled V in such expressions is usually intransitive, and, as these examples suggest, the overall aspectual meaning is often a prospective or inceptive of some kind. In addition to these more obvious auxiliary-like expressions, there are hosts of other expressions, for the most part consisting of more than one word, that support a verb and look more like improvised collocations, in that many of them occur only once or twice in the text. Some examples of this second group follow:

Group II	
be surprized to V	be supposed to V
pick this time to V	take steps to V
be [so] busy V-ing	bugger around V-ing
scramble to V	hustle to V
be about to V	move to V

succeed in V-ing	hear NP V-ing
see NP V-ing	be of the assumption S
wind up V-ing	come V-ing
go to all the trouble of V-ing	have a hard time V-ing
never do V	wander around V-ing
happen to V	turn out to V

There is no sharp dividing line of a structural or a functional sort between groups I and II. Some of them are clearly favorites of Col. Colby, e.g., the ironic *pick this time to V*, which occurs several times, and *turn out to* (as in "they turned out to be the combined remains of the 94th and the Composite Group" [17]). This latter expression is a frequent strategy for narrating events or states of affairs not witnessed at the time by Colby, but learned subsequently.

3.2.3 Manipulative and Causative Expressions.

Another common class of expressions that can be counted as MAVE's is that consisting of a verb, usually passive, suggesting that the subject is not directly agentive, but is responding to some kind of coercion. The military context of course is conducive to the use of such verbs. Among them are:

be ordered to
be briefed to
be scheduled to
be talked into (also active: talk NP into)
be told to
be asked to

3.2.4 Anacrustic Coordinated Clauses.

Clauses that are coordinated with and may be of equal importance, e.g.,

<8> "I'm flying behind the high squadron with Morrill as co-pilot, and we go out over the Channel, drop our practise bombs, and let down to 8,000 ft headed for home." (31)

However, it often happens that of two coordinated clauses the first is not an independent contribution to the narrative, as it is in the above clause, but a semantically dependent preparation for the second clause. There are many examples, e.g.

<9> "I finally woke up and remembered the procedures." (6)
<10> "Shortly after crossing the French coast we took a chance and dived down to join a lower group." (23)
<11> "Nothing to do but sit around on our fannies and wait, hoping we'll get home for Christmas." (39)

Wake up and, sit around on our fannies and, and *take a chance and* are 'in anacrusis' to the second clause. ('Anacrusis', and the adjective 'anacrustic', normally refer to an anticipatory unstressed syllable preceding the main ictus in a foot; I here extend the term to full clauses.) Clauses are identified as anacrustic in this sense on several grounds: (i) No independent assertion seems to be intended, (ii) The anacrustic clause is a recognizable ('slang') collocation, and (iii) The

anacrustic clause is typically not meant literally. Thus in <9> *woke up and remembered* is a single assertion; in <10> *take a chance and* is a recognized English expression; in <11> they no doubt did many other things than 'sit around' while waiting; and so on. In the next example, however:

> <12> "so we speeded up and joined a group ahead of us for mutual protection" (19)

speeded up and was not counted as anacrustic, since (i) a separate assertion of speeding up is clearly intended, (ii) *speed up and* is not regularly collocated with a following coordinate clause, and (iii) *speed up* itself is meant literally.

3.2.5 'Basic English' verbs with nominals.

A favorite kind of MAVE is that in which a verb is combined with a nominal of some kind to form a composite verbal expression. Typical examples are: *made a rear attack*, and *made a pass over*. In such MAVE's the verb is superficially transitive, in the narrow sense of having a grammatical object. However, this object is usually non-referential and semantically cognate with the verb. Moreover the object is almost always a deverbal nominal of some kind, such as *attack*, *pass*, *decision*, etc. The object is in other words not a participant in the discourse. Quite often the entire expression is idiomatic, and should probably be regarded as lexical, e.g., *take steps to*, *make the swap*, etc.

The verb itself is one of a very small group of 'Basic English' verbs that includes *make*, *do*, *take*, *get*, *give*, *have*, and *put*. Examples of this construction occur with great frequency, often with several on one page, so many in fact that MAVE's constructed with it constitute a favored type of predicate. A selection of examples follows:

Make
made a rear attack
made a pass over
made the swap
made a fast decision to
made a turn
made every effort
made a run on

Take
take evasive action
take a chance
take steps to
take the lead
take the lead
take one horrified look

Do
do [our own] aiming
do a fine job + V-ing do a feint

Put
put in a bind

Give
give protection
give [us] a going over

Have
have the privilege of

Get
get a [brief] glimpse of

The selection is representative of the text in that the most frequent verbs are *take* and *make*.

3.2.6 Phrasal Verbs.

Perhaps the most profusely represented type of MAVE in the text is that consisting of a verb with an adverbial particle, such as *come back*, *warm up*, etc. Such 'phrasal verbs' are of course a well known phenomenon of English; but they have almost always been dealt with from the point of view of their syntax and semantic collocations, and have rarely been considered from the perspective of their discourse roles. In the 40 pages of text there are in the order of 500 such verbs, that is, more than ten per page. A number of these are clearly lexical, that is, they have a special meaning and are strictly collocated, for example *bail out* ('parachute'), *spin in* (i.e., 'spin down into the sea'), *wind up* (followed by *V+ing*); in these the verb occurs always and only with a specific particle. Other collocations occur with a common verb, e.g., *take off*, *break out*, but with specific meanings (*take off* = 'leave the ground' ; *break out* = 'come out from a cloud'). In other cases the verb and the particle are more or less freely combined, e.g., *come out*, *come in*, *come off*, *come out*, etc.

In the text a large majority of these verb + particle clauses are intransitive, and the aspect is almost always perfective. The particle in fact often supplies what might be understood as a perfective meaning to the verb (*stand* vs *stand up*, etc.) However, the particle usually does more than add perfectivity to the verb. It almost always indicates a deictic perspective on the action, and thus is implicated in the general perspectival envelopment of the action that is the most striking feature of MAVE's.

3.2.7 Adverbs.

Another way in which verbal expressions are strung out and linearized is through adverbs and adverbial phrases:

<12> "I keep on going straight ahead" (16)
<13> "I finally figure it out to be moonlight" (5)
<14> "when they dug it they just happened to throw the dirt out on the airdrome side of the ditch." (23)
<15> "Then I discover that the leading three ship element of our low squadron has drifted left out of the group formation" (10)

Although the number of such adverbs might appear to be large, it is nonetheless a closed list; all those mentioned below appear more than once. They are usually positioned adjacent to the inflected verb, adding to it one of the recognized aspectual meanings. They are included in the verbal expression by virtue of their meanings (aspectual) and their position (adjacent to the verb or otherwise embedded in the verbal expression), and they add another element to the effect of dispersal in the verbal expression. A partial list of such adverbs includes the following:

straight
at last
just
immediately
always
now
eventually
really
completely

already
home
forever
repeatedly
finally
yet
quickly
suddenly
ever

barely
frequently
progressively
still

3.2.8 Collocations.

Many, perhaps most, of the figures that have been catalogued above are collocations, that is, this particular combination of words is a habitual one. There are a few collocations involving a verb that do not fit naturally into any of the other sections, but can be said to form a functional unit of some kind. Some of them are superficially transitive, e.g., *saved our necks*, *cast a shadow* ; as in the verb + nominal discussed above (3.2.5), the object in such expressions is nonreferential and is never a discourse participant. Examples:

run late
cast a shadow
saved our necks
go wrong
rumor has it + S
dipped their wings

3.2.9 Motion Expressions.

There are doubtless numerous other kinds of constructions that should be included as MAVE's, but the last one I shall discuss here consists of a small number of compound motion expressions that give the impression of a strung out, dispersed predicate that nonetheless constitutes a functional unity, e.g.,

be on one's way
be on the way [out]

3.3 Transitivity and Event Marking.

The examination of the MAVE suggests the broad conclusion that Col. Colby avoids narrating ordinary events in a simple transitive form. Yet he does not entirely avoid sentences containing simple transitive verbs, as is shown by examples like the following:

<16> "A grand guy, who had a very rough time on one of his missions, when a 20 mm shattered his cockpit and killed his co-pilot" (38)
<17> "I heard later that Col. Moore phoned Gen. Arnold in Washington" (4)
<18> "Thorup led the high squadron, with me leading the second element of three ships behind him." (9)
<19> "One ship lost their tail gunner, and we all had considerable flak damage." (11)
<20> "The formation was good, and the lead bombadier hit the target right on the nose." (12)

Some typical environments for simple transitive verbs emerge, however, which, when factored out, reinforce the hypothesis that to the extent a category of 'main line event' is identifiable such events tend not to be narrated with single-word transitive verbs. One such environment is subordinate clauses:

<21> "We do a feint at the enemy coast to fool the fighters" (13)
<22> "Right after leaving the target, the fighters come in thick" (15)
<23> "...just as we crossed the coast over Helgoland three fighters made a rear attack on me" (17)

Another environment in which simple transitive verbs frequently occur is a retrospective discourse environment in which events are being related from a distance. Consider examples like the following:

> <24> "When we got home, we passed all our information on to the British Air Sea Rescue, and one of their 'Boston' aircraft sighted Thorup at 10.30 pm that night and signaled a nearby Motor Torpedo Boat on operations, who came over and rescued the boys." (18)
> <25> "Kiel was covered with clouds again, so we bombed an industrial town southwest of it." (17)
> <26> "The lead Wing kept going and bombed an airfield on the French coast" (29)

Transitive verbs here serve to compress complex events into short lengths of text. Almost always when a simple transitive verb is used in a main clause it is easy to infer that much 'local' detail has been omitted. Events are summarized and compacted, and it is this compacting which no doubt is conducive to there being two different participants (an agent and an object) in the same clause. By contrast, when events are being reported in detail - in close-up, so to speak - MAVE's are the rule, as is seen time and time again in passages like the following:

> <27> "So we turn on the bomb run and suddenly find that the target instead of being dead ahead is off to our left some 30 miles. Nobody had any suggestions, so I told the bombardier to keep the target in sight and we would make a 180 degree left turn and bomb it on a westerly heading. We made a good bomb run, and the photos showed later we did a good job hitting it in spite of the problems... (etc.)" (26)

Along with the summarizing function of single-word transitive verbs there goes a tendency to find them in 'evidential' contexts, reporting events not actually witnessed by Col. Colby but filled in from the reports of third parties. It frequently, but not always, happens that such unwitnessed events are reported in subordinate clauses; but main clauses are also commonly used. A few examples:

> <28> "The lead Wing kept going and bombed an airfield on the French coast" (29)
> <29> "A grand guy, who had a very rough time on one of his missions, when a 20 mm shattered his cockpit and killed his co-pilot" (38)
> <30> "A British Halifax bomber spotted them and radioed Air-Sea Rescue, who sent out a Lockheed Hudson, which dropped them a powered life-boat. They sailed this boat some 120 miles, when they were picked up by a Danish fishing boat. The Danes brought them to England..." (26)

The reason for this is clear: only the author can vouch for narrative detail. Conversely, of course, fine detail is usually taken as evidence of an eye-witness report. Accounts attributed to other parties are presented as factual but remote and brief. They are bereft of narrative detail and of the first person voice, being typically reported in the third person.

In his own first person account, Col. Colby prefers to construct verbal expressions consisting of several words, no one of which alone can be said to

report an event in abstraction from other perspectives on the event, and in which elements of aspect, viewpoint, deixis, evaluation, and epistemic status are combined as components of the event. Although these components are dispersed and linearized, they do not necessarily fall out as identifiable agglutinated elements, with a slot for each function; rather the effect is of a synthetic amalgamation of these components that is distributed more or less randomly over different words in the verbal expression.

When narrating events in which he is a participant, he rarely confines himself to an account of 'what happened', but records 'what happened' always in relationship to a perspective of some kind. The perspective on events reflected in MAVE's is a personal one, in which the very pretense at objectivity is itself part of the process of self-presentation. Consider the following examples:

> <31> "Then the navigation went wrong, because instead of turning back some 60 or 70 miles west of the Frisian islands we went clear down on top of them and stirred up a hornet's nest of fighters." (25)
> <32> "We have had a British Lysander aircraft sitting on our field, and I talked the crew chief into letting me fly it, on the basis I was an old RCAF pilot." (22)
> <33> "I really tried to grease it in on the runway, for with ten 500 lb bombs on board it always scares hell out of us." (20)
> <34> "The remains of the lead and low squadrons strung along with us, and we caught up with the group ahead, which turned out to be the 95th Battle Group." (19-20)

In <31> the consequences of a navigational blunder by the lead aircraft are underlined by 'went clear down on top of', and 'stirred up a hornet's nest of fighters', the precisely opposite effect to the intention of the manoeuvre. (Colby's tendency to blame others, and especially superiors, for disasters is frequently an implicit component of the verbal expression.) In <32> he underlines his privileged status in the eyes of the British as a former Royal Canadian Air Force flyer. In <33> he conveys the tenseness of having to land a large aircraft with a full load of bombs on board. In <34> MAVE's (*string along with, catch up with, turn out to be*) are used to identify and re-organize the remnants of the shattered formations from the perspective of Colby's own aircraft. In all three clauses of <34>, it is noticeable that the finite verbs alone (*string, catch, turn*) cannot be used to report the respective events.

4. Conclusions

The use of the favored kind of verbal predicate which I have called the MAVE has implications for both the grammar of English and for the status of presumed linguistic categories such as Event in general.

4.1 The Grammar of the Verbal Expression in Vernacular Written English.

If the notion of a lexical verb is equated with a single word, Vernacular Written English is clearly characterised by its very small number of different lexical verbs. This restriction is compensated for by a complex verbal expression I have referred to as the Multiply Articulated Verbal Expression (MAVE). MAVE's serve to disperse verbal ideas over several lexical units. The correlation of the lengthier MAVE's is iconic to close-up, detailed reports in the first person, and the shorter

single-word transitive verbs are iconic to distant, summarizing reports in the third person.

This dispersal of the verbal expression is not equivalent to 'linearizing' vertical semantic features of the verb, since the constituents of a MAVE will usually amount to far more than is implicit in any single item in the English lexicon of verbs, and in any case the individual constituent words of a MAVE do not necessarily reflect individual semantic features of verbs. For example, perfective aspect is often linked with deixis in adverbial particles; modality is often distributed over modal or modal-like verbs and epistemic adverbs; antecedent and prospective tenses are dispersed, the latter especially having a variety of different forms (*get set to, be on the verge of*, etc.) On the other hand, the present/past distinction in the verb is clearly no longer exclusively one of referential tense, but is used expressively in different narrative contexts in ways that suggest personal involvement (cf. Tannen 1985)

4.2 Constructing rather than Reporting Events.

Rather than assuming language that 'reports' events, it would be more appropriate to speak of the rhetorical construction of events through speech acts of narrating and reporting. (Fleischman 1990 is an important book-length exposition of this point.)

It is not that Col. Colby presents events from a certain perspective, but more the opposite: he does not so much report an event 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' ("as it really was" - to quote a 19th century positivist historian), as construct a persona for himself out of his memories of this event. It is not difficult to identify the socially imprinted source of this persona: the John Wayne of middle years, the Hollywood war hero, mature (the men under him are 'boys'), laconic, resourceful, rebellious. This John Wayne persona intervenes both chronologically and textually between Colby's experiences in 1943 and his narrative in the 1980's, and forces upon us the question of whether it is legitimate to posit "real" events as the grounding for the textual representations "of" the events. For there is no direct mimesis Event -> Report. Rather the event is wrapped in a coccoon of perspectives, ranging from subjective evaluative ones to 'epistemic' ones to quite conventional aspectual ones. Simple verbs are rarely adequate instruments for expressing such a range of simultaneous perspectives. We need to consider a wider verbal unit, for which I have suggested the MAVE. Moreover, when we strip away those components of events that are supposedly incidental or diacritic, expecting to find the 'event-in-itself' in the core, we typically find no single form that can be so identified. From this point of view the whole question of the 'grammatical coding of events' (the title of our parasession) is mis-stated, since it is not that grammar "codes" events but that both events and grammar emerge as secondary constructs from certain kinds of discourse (Hopper 1987, 1988).

4.3 The "Conceptual Autonomy" of Events.

The considerable amount of discussion about Events in philosophy and linguistics has focused largely on such questions as what events "are", for example whether they are semantic primes or constructed from more basic entities; for a recent discussion of these possibilities, see Parsons 1990:145-153. The data sources on which this discussion draws are invariably hypothetical, context-free sentences. What I have tried to show in this paper is that there is little correspondence between what people imagine they might say when reporting events (e.g., "Mary broke the window" [Parsons 1990:139]) and what they actually do

say in real narrative, and that the typical sentences held by philosophers and linguists to report events are, when real data are considered, restricted to highly specific narrative contexts.

This suggests that we can never start the analysis of events from what Parsons (1990:286) calls an 'empty file'. For the actual formulation of an event is never genre free or discourse free. We cannot actually 'narrate' an event in the abstract; abstract statements of events are not themselves reports, but are hypostasized from our experience of speech acts of actual narration. At some point, then, the abstract must be exemplified, and the exemplification must consist of words; but real words cannot be pried free of their discourse frames and genres and the personae of their author.

The transitive linguistic form assumed by a 'prototypical' or 'mentally represented' event (such as "Mary broke the window") is, not unexpectedly, the form suitable for events narrated at a distance, remote from the narrator, about third-person topics; and surely this remote narrative perspective is the model for abstractness, not the other way around. That is, if we indulge in the mental exercise of making up abstract events, or "prototypical" events, we instinctively formulate them as if they were distant and as if we were uninvolved, and we automatically factor out close-up, personalized detail. We thus implicitly endorse and privilege one particular kind of narrative reporting, the unwitnessed event.

Moreover the distance effect, because it compacts and reduces, is conducive to the inclusion of other participants in the event, and hence to transitivity. And finally, because the supposed prototype is at best 'reportorial' and not narrative, that is to say, it claims to typify a report of a single isolated event rather than to report an event embedded in personal narration, it is embodied in a particular form, the one appropriate to incidental (secondary) events.

The autonomous view of Event sees an event as an irreducible conceptual entity, or perhaps as a cluster of conceptual primes, rather than as a rhetorical construct that emerges out of speech acts of narration and is adapted to the perspectives and intentions of the narrator. The latter view of events has the methodological disadvantage that it requires access to and study of actual examples of narration. On the other hand it has the advantage of situating the notion of Event inextricably in the act of narration which is ultimately the only possible source and prototype for that notion.

Note

I would like to thank those who have heard or read earlier versions of this paper and commented on them: Polly Szatrowski, Philippa Benson, Dave Kaufer, Sandy Thompson, and Linda Flower.

References

Colby, Col. Franklin H., USAAF, OBE. No Date. The Combat Tour of 1st Lt. F. H. "Pappy" Colby, USAAF, 1942-44. Unpublished Typescript , San Marco, California.

Fleischman, Suzanne. 1990. Tense and Narrativity. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hopper, Paul J. 1987. "Emergent grammar." BLS 13:139-57.

Hopper, Paul J. 1988. "Emergent grammar and the *a priori* grammar postulate." In Deborah Tannen, ed., Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and

Understanding. Lectures from the 1985 LSA/TESOL, and NEH Institutes, 117-134. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1987. "On the status of SVO sentences in French discourse." In Russell S. Tomlin, ed., Coherence and Grounding in Discourse, 217-261. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Typological Studies in Language, 11)

Parsons, Terence. 1990. Events in the Semantics of English: A Study in Subatomic Semantics. Cambridge: The MIT Press. (Current Studies in Linguistics, 19)

Tannen, Deborah. 1985. "Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse." In D. R. Olson, N. Torrance, and A. Hildyard, eds., 1985, Literacy, Language, and Learning: The Nature and Consequences of Reading and Writing, 124-47. Cambridge University Press.