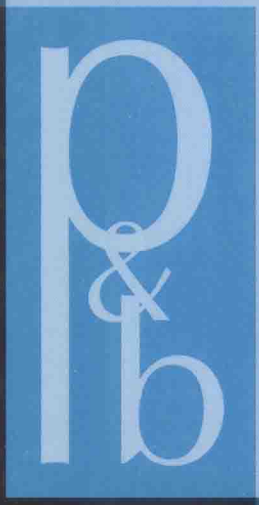
Referring Expressions in English and Japanese

Etsuko Yoshida



John Benjamins Publishing Company

Referring Expressions in English and Japanese

Patterns of use in dialogue processing

Etsuko Yoshida
Mie University

常州大学山书馆
藏书章

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Yoshida, Etsuko.

Referring expressions in English and Japanese : patterns of use in dialogue processing / Etsuko Yoshida.

p. cm. (Pragmatics & Beyond New Series, ISSN 0922-842X ; v. 208)

Originally published as the author's thesis (doctoral)--University of Edinburgh, 2008 under the title: Patterns of use of referring expressions in English and Japanese Dialogues.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Grammar, Comparative and general--Topic and comment. 2. Grammar, Comparative and general--Noun phrase. 3. English language--Grammar, Comparative--Japanese. 4. Japanese language--Grammar, Comparative--English. 5. Discourse analysis. I. Title.

P298.Y67 2011

495.6'5--dc22 2011012727

ISBN 978 90 272 5612 6 (Hb ; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 8665 9 (Eb)

© 2011 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands

John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Referring Expressions in English and Japanese

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (P&BNS)

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series is a continuation of Pragmatics & Beyond and its Companion Series. The New Series offers a selection of high quality work covering the full richness of Pragmatics as an interdisciplinary field, within language sciences.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see *http://benjamins.com/catalog/pbns*

Editor

Anita Fetzer
University of Würzburg

Associate Editor

Andreas H. Jucker
University of Zurich

Founding Editors

Jacob L. Mey
University of Southern Denmark

Herman Parret
Belgian National Science Foundation, Universities of Louvain and Antwerp

Jef Verschueren
Belgian National Science Foundation, University of Antwerp

Editorial Board

Robyn Carston
University College London

Thorstein Fretheim
University of Trondheim

John C. Heritage
University of California at Los Angeles

Susan C. Herring
Indiana University

Masako K. Hiraga
St. Paul's (Rikkyo) University

Sachiko Ide
Japan Women's University

Kuniyoshi Kataoka
Aichi University

Miriam A. Locher
Universität Basel

Sophia S.A. Marmaridou
University of Athens

Srikant Sarangi
Cardiff University

Marina Sbisà
University of Trieste

Deborah Schiffrin
Georgetown University

Paul Osamu Takahara
Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

Sandra A. Thompson
University of California at Santa Barbara

Teun A. van Dijk
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

Yunxia Zhu
The University of Queensland

Volume 208

Referring Expressions in English and Japanese. Patterns of use in dialogue processing
by Etsuko Yoshida

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

Preface and acknowledgements

The main aim of the book is to investigate how discourse entities are linked with topic chaining and discourse coherence by showing that the choice and the distribution of referring expressions is correlated with the center transition patterns in the centering framework. The book provides an integrated interpretation in understanding the behaviour of referring expressions in discourse by considering the relation between referential choice and the local and global coherence of discourse.

The book has three stages: (1) to provide a semantic and pragmatic perspective in a contrastive study of referring expressions in English and Japanese spontaneous dialogues, (2) to analyse the way anaphoric and deictic expressions can contribute to discourse organisation in structuring and focusing the specific discourse segment, and (3) to investigate the choice and the distribution of referring expressions in the Map Task Corpus and to clarify the way the participants collaborate to judge the most salient entity in the current discourse against their common ground.

Significantly, despite the grammatical differences in the form of reference between the two languages, the ways of discourse development in both data sets show distinctive similarities in the process by which the topic entities are introduced, established, and shifted away to the subsequent topic entities. Comparing and contrasting the choice and the distribution of referring expressions of the four different transition patterns of centers, the crucial factors of their correspondent relations between English and Japanese referring expressions are shown in the findings that the topic chains of noun phrases are constructed and are treated like proper names in discourse. This can suggest that full noun phrases play a major role when the topic entity is established in the course of discourse. Since the existing centering model cannot handle the topic chain of noun phrases in the anaphoric relations in terms of the local focus of discourse, centering must be integrated with a model of global focus to account for both pronouns and full noun phrases that can be used for continuations across segment boundaries.

Based on Walker's cache model, I argue that the forms of anaphors are not always shorter, and the focus of attention is maintained by the chain of noun phrases rather than by (zero) pronouns both within a discourse segment and over discourse segment boundaries. These processes are predicted and likely to underlie other uses of language as well. The result can modify the existing perspectives that the focus of attention is normally represented by attenuated forms of reference,

and full noun phrases always show focus-shift. In addition, necessary extension to the global coherence of discourse can link these anaphoric relations with the deictic expressions over discourse segment boundaries. Finally, I argue that the choice and the distribution of referring expressions in the Map Task Corpus depends on the way the participants collaborate to judge the most salient entity in the current discourse against their common ground.

The text which follows is a revised version of my doctoral thesis completed at the University of Edinburgh in 2008. The process of reorganising my argument to make it more accessible to a wider audience has been the most challenging and rewarding experience for my academic career. This work would never have been accomplished without many people who have supported and encouraged me throughout the past ten years.

First of all, I am deeply grateful to Ronnie Cann for his consistent and painstaking guidance throughout all the chapters and stages of writing, and who eventually provided me with a spurt of energy in shaping my book and giving it focus. I have learnt a great deal from him and my hope is that I have been able to give this book some of the intellectual depth and clarity that I have become aware of in the supervision for my research. His criticism and suggestions were extremely helpful in considerably improving the whole text. Without his assistance and support, this book would have been far more difficult and far less stimulating.

James Hurford, who has recently retired from the university, gave me very insightful comments during the discussions I had with him about my research topic. His advice is always a strong source of guidance in what is essential for a book in linguistics.

My thanks also go to Jim Miller, who has been a source of inspiration for me ever since I became a part of the linguistics department. I am very grateful to him for giving me the opportunity to start my research, and inspiring my interest to establish an approach to a strong connection between linguistic phenomena and spoken discourse. I would like to thank Caroline Heycock, who has given me valuable comments, on my earlier and final versions of the book. I am indebted to Regina Weinert for her careful and detailed critical comments on the whole of the book.

At the initial stage of my research, the Map Task project at the University of Edinburgh actually determined the direction of this research topic. I am very grateful to the staff at the Human Communication Research Centre (HCRC) for their experimental data based on labelless maps, and to Robin Lickley for his help in gathering English data from the lab database. Collecting Japanese Map Task data also owes an immense debt to several researchers and postgraduate students related to Chiba University, as well as to the Department of Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh. Thanks to Shun Tsuchiya, Yasuharu Den, Mariko Kondo, Atsuko Iwa and Mika Ito for their useful information and practical advice. I would

especially like to thank Yasuo Horiuchi, who came to help me with technical support, for providing me with the electronic tools of transcription work. I must thank several students at the Humanities and Engineering departments, Mie University, Japan, for their sincere cooperation in experimental and transcription work.

In revising the final version of my manuscript for this book, two anonymous reviewers made enormous contributions to the current version by providing me with professional advice on how I could improve each chapter. My sincere gratitude goes to Isja Conen and Anita Fetzer, the John Benjamins Publishing Co., who gave me the opportunity to publish the original manuscript in the first place. Once again, their meticulous editing and insightful suggestions have made for a better product.

It is impossible to acknowledge every person who has intellectually inspired me directly and indirectly, and who has definitely improved my ideas in producing the book, but I wish to express my gratitude to the researchers from whom I have learnt a lot about the field of linguistics. For comments and suggestions on centering theory, computational linguistics, semantics, pragmatics and language learning, I am indebted to Kyo Kageura, Tomoko Matsui, Yasuko Obana, Massimo Poesio, Hannes Rieser, Michael Strube, Mitsuko Takei, and Midori Tanimura.

I would also like to express my gratitude to numerous colleagues at universities and research groups that I was actively involved in throughout Kansai, Japan. I especially thank Hiromi Azuma, Masahiro Hori, Yoshikiyo Kawase, Takao Kuya, Judy Noguchi, David Stringer, and Masanori Toyota for their kind encouragement.

There are several other people, as friends and linguistic colleagues at Edinburgh, who I would like to thank because they have in one way or another contributed to this book through suggestions and encouragement: Madoka Aiki, Tomoko Aragaki, Kaori Miura, and Kyoko Otsuki. They are generous and helpful, and their friendship made my short stay in Edinburgh enjoyable.

Last, but by no means least, the greatest and heartfelt thanks are to my mother, my husband and two children. I am particularly grateful to my husband for his generous support and patience for my study at home and while I was far away during the writing of this book. I consider myself very fortunate that I have been able to continue my career in research and teaching based at universities across Japan and the UK. This book is dedicated to my late father, a trained Noh player and singer, who has constantly supported my academic life financially and spiritually.

Etsuko Yoshida

Abbreviations used in glosses

ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
COP	copula	NEG	negative
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative
DEM(P)	demonstrative (proximal)	OBJ	object
DEM(M)	demonstrative (medial)	PAST	past
DEM(D)	demonstrative (distal)	PAT	particle
DO	direct object	POSS	possessive
FP	final particle	PP	prepositional phrase
GEN	genitive	Q	question
POL	politeness	REL	relative
IMP	imperative	SUBJ	subject
INTERJ	interjection	TOP	topic

Table of contents

Preface and acknowledgements ix
Abbreviations used in glosses xiii
List of tables xv
List of figures xvii

CHAPTER 1
Introduction 1
1.1 Aims 1
1.2 Referring expressions in discourse 3
1.3 Referring expressions, dialogues, and Centering Theory 9
1.4 Organisation of the book 11

CHAPTER 2
Approaches to referring expressions 15
2.1 Introduction 15
2.2 Referring expressions and the notion of givenness 15
2.3 Topic entity, thematic structure and discourse segment 22
2.4 Descriptive grammarian's view of *'this', 'that', 'it'* 24
2.5 A pragmatic approach to referring expressions 26
2.6 Reference assignment and discourse 28
2.7 A possible hypothesis 29
2.8 A case study of referring expressions in English dialogue data 30
2.9 Conclusion 33

CHAPTER 3
Approaches to deictic expressions 35
3.1 Introduction 35
3.2 Overview 36
3.3 Spatial deixis 37
3.4 Anaphoric demonstratives: Deictic or anaphoric? 37
3.5 Discourse deictic use 40
3.6 The Givenness Hierarchy revisited 42

3.7 Distribution of deictic expressions: An analysis 47
3.7.1 Japanese Map Task Corpus 48
3.7.2 English Map Task Corpus 50
3.8 Conclusion 52

CHAPTER 4
Data collection 53
4.1 Introduction 53
4.2 Aims 53
4.3 Task design 54
4.3.1 The original English and Japanese Map Task Corpus 54
4.3.2 English and Japanese Labelless Map Task Corpus 56
4.4 Subjects 57
4.5 Matching of the data 58
4.6 Possible accessibility of the data 58
4.7 Conclusion 59

CHAPTER 5
Centering and dialogue 61
5.1 Introduction 61
5.2 Centering theory 62
5.2.1 Overview 62
5.2.2 Discourse segmentation: The local focus and global focus in discourse 70
5.2.3 Specific questions in dialogic discourse 72
5.3 Methodology of R2: Coding of transition states 73
5.4 Centering and dialogue data 75
5.5 Sample analysis 79
5.5.1 Centering transition in the Japanese Map Task Corpus 79
5.5.2 Center transition in English Map Task Corpus 85
5.6 Initial results and discussion 87
5.6.1 No Cb 87
5.6.2 The CONTINUE transition 89
5.6.3 The SMOOTH-SHIFT transition 91
5.7 Conclusion 93

CHAPTER 6
Referring expressions and local coherence of discourse 95
6.1 Introduction 95
6.2 Method of analysis 96

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

6.3 The distribution of centering transitions in English and Japanese data 96
6.4 Distribution of Cbs in centering transitions:
Types of referring expressions 102
6.5 The distribution of Cbs in transition sequence patterns 110
6.6 Conclusion 114

CHAPTER 7
Referring expressions and global discourse structure 117
7.1 Introduction 117
7.2 Research questions 118
7.3 The role of full NPs in the global focus of discourse 118
7.3.1 The limitation of Centering Theory 118
7.3.2 Walker's cache model 124
7.4 Analysis and results 130
7.4.1 Result: First mentions in Japanese data 131
7.4.2 Result: Subsequent mentions in Japanese data 132
7.4.3 Result: First mentions in English data 133
7.4.4 Subsequent mentions in English data 134
7.5 Discussion 135
7.5.1 (Zero) pronouns 135
7.5.2 NPs (bare nouns) 138
7.5.3 Demonstratives 141
7.5.4 Summary of discussion 147
7.6 Resolutions: The interpretation of NPs 147
7.6.1 Resolution 1: Extended interpretation of IRUs 149
7.6.2 Resolution 2: Cue words 151
7.6.3 Resolution 3: The role of Japanese demonstratives
as topic continuity 152
7.6.4 Further discussion of resolutions 1 and 3 153
7.7 Conclusion 156

CHAPTER 8
Collaborative nature of referring and structuring in discourse 159
8.1 Introduction 159
8.2 NPs as first mentions in an initial presentation 161
8.3 NPs as subsequent mentions in an established topic 165
8.4 Discussion: A comparison with a narrative discourse 'Pear Stories' 168
8.5 Discussion: Discourse entities and sentence constructions
in English and Japanese Map Task Corpora 171
8.5.1 General view: Sentences as interaction 171

8.5.2 General issues and specific questions 172
8.5.3 Clause constructions in naturally occurring dialogues 172
8.5.4 A case study: Types of conditional clauses 174
8.5.5 Results 175
8.5.6 Functions of conditional clauses 176
8.5.7 Preliminary discussion: The interaction of utterance types, first mentions, and discourse development 180
8.5.8 Summary 183
8.6 Conclusion 184

CHAPTER 9
Conclusion 185

APPENDIX A
The samples of English and Japanese Map Task Dialogues 189

APPENDIX B
Conventions in transcripts 195

References 197
Index 205

List of tables

Table 4.1	Matching of the Map Task Corpus Data	58
Table 5.1	Centers in Discourse (5.1)'	64
Table 5.2	Centers in Discourse (5.2)'	64
Table 5.3	Centering Transition States, Rule 2 (Walker, Joshi and Prince 1998)	66
Table 5.4	Distribution of Centering Transitions In English and Japanese	87
Table 7.1	(da: Japanese) FIRST MENTIONS	131
Table 7.2	(dc: Japanese) FIRST MENTIONS	132
Table 7.3	(da: Japanese) SUBSEQUENT MENTIONS	132
Table 7.4	(dc: Japanese) SUBSEQUENT MENTIONS	133
Table 7.5	(Lleq4c4)) FIRST MENTIONS	133
Table 7.6	(Lleq4c6) FIRST MENTIONS	133
Table 7.7	(Lleq4c4) SUBSEQUENT MENTIONS	134
Table 7.8	(Lleq4c6) SUBSEQUENT MENTIONS	135

List of figures

Figure 2.1	Givenness Hierarchy for English (GHZ 1993)	20
Figure 2.2	Halliday's Descriptive System of *this*, *that*, and *it* (1994)	25
Figure 3.1	Givenness Hierarchy of English and Japanese (GHZ 1993)	43
Figure 3.2	The Distribution of Deictic Expressions in Japanese	49
Figure 3.3	The Distribution of Deictic Expressions in English	51
Figure 5.1	Patterns of Centering Transitions and Anaphoric Devices in Example (5.11)	84
Figure 6.1	Distribution of Centering Transitions	97
Figure 6.2	Distribution of centering transitions (English)	97
Figure 6.3	Distribution of Centering Transitions (Japanese)	97
Figure 6.4	Patterns of Centering Transitions and Anaphoric Devices in Example (5.11)	100
Figure 6.5	Distribution of Referring Expressions in Centering Transitions (English)	102
Figure 6.6	Distribution of Referring Expressions in Centering Transitions (Japanese)	103
Figure 6.7	The Distribution of Referring Expressions in Centering Transitions in English and Japanese	104
Figure 6.8	Distribution of CBs in transition sequence patterns (English)	112
Figure 6.9	Distribution of CBs in transition sequence pattern (Japanese)	112
Figure 7.1	Excerpt from Passonneau and Litman (1996) (This excerpt is from Passonneau and Litman (1996), which is quoted from Walker, Joshi, and Prince (1998: 22), where the notes say that the lines indicate empirically verified discourse segments)	122
Figure 7.2	Two Abstract Hierarchical Discourse Structures The first has two discourse segments A and B where B is embedded with A, and the second has three segments C, D, E where D and E are sister segments contributing to the purpose of segment C. Utterances are represented as A1, A2, etc.	127
Figure 7.3	Excerpt from Walker (1998)	129
Figure 7.4	Example from Japanese MTC (da)	140

Figure 7.5	Example from English MTC(Lleq4c6)	141
Figure 7.6	Example from Japanese MTC (da))	144
Figure 7.7	Example from Japanese MTC (da)	145
Figure 7.8	Example from English MTC (Lleq4c6)	151
Figure 8.1	Types of Conditional Clauses in English MTC (Miller and Weinert 1998)	175
Figure 8.2	Types of Conditional Clauses in 8 English Labelless MTC	176
Figure 8.3	Types of Conditional Clauses in 8 English Labelless MTC (individual)	178

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims

The main aim of the book is to investigate how discourse entities are linked with topic chaining and discourse coherence by showing that the choice and the distribution of referring expressions is correlated with center transition patterns in the centering framework (Grosz, Joshi, and Weinstein 1995; Walker, Joshi, and Prince 1998). The book explores the patterns of use of referring expressions in dialogues from a cross-linguistic point of view, focusing on the way speakers introduce a specific entity, establish it as topic, and then shift to another topic as the discourse proceeds.

In this book, I argue that the existing theory of anaphora resolution in semantics and pragmatics cannot fully account for the relation between referential choice and discourse structure. For example, semantic and neo-Gricean pragmatic approaches to anaphora resolution developed by scholars such as Levinson (2000) and Huang (2000, 2006) are confined to the analysis of semantic factors that are crucial to intrasentential anaphora. Recent studies by computational linguists (e.g. Webber 1990 and Webber *et al.* 2003) have discovered a number of facts showing that pragmatic factors play an important role in discourse anaphora, but the structural analysis of anaphora by computational linguists has not integrated competing hypotheses concerning the relation between referential choice and discourse structure from a cross-linguistic perspective. Although anaphora clearly involves syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors, anaphora represents one of the most complex linguistic phenomena in all languages in which the alternation of NP (including N) and pronoun (including null pronouns or zero pronouns) are the main concern: the explicit forms of initially introduced entities (i.e. full nouns) have been claimed to be attenuated into inexplicit forms of reference (i.e. pronouns). Considering the empirical evidence from the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic differences between Japanese and English referential choices in discourse, this claim is not always valid. Therefore, a plausible explanation of discourse anaphora should provide a general framework and an integrated interpretation to account for the patterns of use of referring expressions in discourse.

Specifically, I claim that full NPs play a major role in spoken discourse when the topic entity of a given discourse is in the process of being established in the

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com