

Continuity and anaphoric expressions in Russian

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1. Background

In preceding works(Givon1983, Kibrik1996, Nichols1985) the selection of anaphoric expressions has been explained largely in terms of the case of antecedent/ anaphor, a linear distance, an ambiguity in anaphora resolution, ‘activation score’ and continuity in the text structure or in perspective. These approaches prove ineffective to distinguish the usage of a zero pronoun and personal pronouns per se. and to explain the fact that a subject of a presentative sentence appears frequently as a zero pronoun in its following sentence in anecdotes and folk tales, and a ‘re-marked theme’ after direct speech or interrupted themes can be a zero pronoun.

In this study I demonstrate how topic continuity affects the selection of anaphoric expressions, a zero pronoun, a personal pronoun and a noun(with or without a demonstrative determiner), based on pragmatic parameters such as word order, tense and aspect of adjacent discourse units, and a discourse structure etc. For this end a more concrete definition of topic continuity is needed. So I begin with 'CONTINUE', one of transitional states of center in centering theory(Brennan, Friedman and Pollard 1987). ‘CONTINUE’ is observed in adjacent discourse units Un-1, Un within a discourse segment with the same backward-looking center 'Cb', which is the entity Un is about, and is introduced in Un-1. I apply the concept ‘CONTINUE’ to a global context over a discourse segment boundary as well, which is called Global Continue(GC). I also redefine ‘CONTINUE’ as a Local Continue(LC) and differentiate it from GC. I assume that a paragraph boundary is marked as a discourse segment boundary, and that a temporal clause (adverbial, complement, coordinate) is a single discourse unit, a basic element of discourse segment, with the exception of a relative clause². The examples are limited to the antecedent and anaphora in nominative case, since the status of a subject is considered as a typical parameter for topic continuity as was already fully elucidated in remarkable studies(CF ORDER Kameyama 1998, Topical hierarchy Givon 1979, Thematic hierarchy Kuno 1987 etc.). The examples are collected from

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² Whether a temporal clause is an independent discourse unit is still open to question.

written texts (anecdotes <Ломовые анекдоты>, folk tales <Чудеса в лукошке> etc., short stories Василий Шукшин<Охота жить>, Владимир Сорокин<Кисет>, Борис Житков<Over the water> , and a novel Булгаков<Мастер и маргарита>).

1. Local Continue(LC)

A continuity context where Cb is continued over two adjacent discourse units Un-1, Un within a discourse segment is defined as a LC. Especially the context, in which the subject of a discourse-initial presentative unit reappears as a subject in its following unit, is termed as LC-1 (<Cb(Un-1) = [?]>), and is distinguished from LC-2, the rest of LC. As regards LC-1, an overall frequency of an anaphoric expression is ordered as follows³: a zero pronoun> a personal pronoun> a noun<table 1>. The frequency of a zero pronoun is much higher in anecdotes(55/77) than in folk tales(7/17)<table1>. In anecdotes, Un-1 of an inverted word order VS cooccurs more frequently with Un of a zero pronoun Cb(26/55) than that of a personal pronoun Cb(1/19) <table3>. Over Un-1 and Un an identical tense and/or aspect is much more frequently observed with a personal pronoun Cb (16/19, 14/19; 8/8, 5/8)than with a zero pronoun Cb(36/55, 35/55; 4/7, 3/7): **Бежит** мимо мышка-норушка. ☪ **Увидела** теремок, остановилась и спрашивает <folk tales>. It is well known that in Russian an inverted word order VS of a discourse-initial utterance Un-1 functions as a typical marker of a topic-introduction, and this introduced topic is well established as a Cb in Un. Based on this I assume that an anaphora of an introduced topic of VS Un-1 needs not to be expressed overtly in Un. This partially explains why VS Un-1 is followed by Un with a zero pronoun Cb and a historical present.

table 1. <LC-1>

	folk tales	anecdotes	Total
zero pronoun	7	55	62
personal pronoun	8	19	27
noun	2	3	5
total	17	77	94

³In order to exclude a writer's personal tendency, the frequency measurement is limited to the data from anecdotes and folk tales.

table 2. <LC-1 in folk tales>

	zero pronoun	personal pronoun	Noun
identical tense	4	8	1
identical aspect	3	5	1
VS Un-1	7	8	2
total occurrence	7	8	2

table 3. <LC-1 in anecdotes>

	zero pronoun	personal pronoun	Noun
identical tense	36	16	2
identical aspect	35	14	3
VS Un-1	26	1	1
total occurrence	55	19	3

LC-2 is regarded as a typical continuity context which had been dealt with most frequently by preceding studies. It has also been accepted that LC-2 seems to function as a favorable factor for a zero pronoun in itself, which is well supported with <table4>. In <table4> Cb expression in LC-2 occurs in a following frequency order: a zero pronoun > a personal pronoun > a noun. An overt anaphoric expression(noun, personal pronoun) occurs in marked contexts such as a contrastive context(1) or as a foregrounding device to highlight a communicative importance of a given discourse unit(2).

table 4. <LC-2>

	folk tales	anecdotes	total
zero pronoun	42	34	76
personal pronoun	13	8	21
noun	7	1	8
total	62	43	105

(1)

Едут они, едут- скучно стало пану. Грицко песни поёт. **Грицко** на лошадей покрикивает, **а пан молчит.** (заячье сало)

Тут господские слуги прибежали. ∅ Стали забрасывать яму песком и камнями. **они** бросают песок и камни, **а старик со старухой бросают топоры.** (Мальчик-богатырь)

(2) Слёз Емеля с печки, \emptyset обулся, оделся, взял вёдра да топор и пошёл на речку. \emptyset Прорубил лёд, зачерпнул воду в вёдра и поставил их, а сам глядит в прорубь. И увидел Емеля в проруби щуку. (По щучьему веленью)

Кормил его отец, пока мог. Но вот стал он старый, заболел. Позвал старик жену и говорит: (Один заработанный рубль)

2. Global Continue(GC)

A continuity context, where $Cb(Un-x(x>1))$ returns as a center in Un is termed GC. GC over complement clauses or reported speeches is classified as GC-1. In GC-1, a noun anaphora occurs more frequently in Un than a personal pronoun anaphora, but less frequently than a zero pronoun anaphora in folk tales (a zero pronoun(36/70) > a noun(20/70) > a personal pronoun(14/70)<table5>.

table 5 <GC-1>

	folk tales	anecdotes	Total
Zero pronoun	30	6	36
personal pronoun	10	4	14
Noun	18	2	20
Total	58	12	70

Other GC is called GC-2. In GC-2 a noun is most widely used as an anaphoric expression in both folk tales and anecdotes(a noun(17/30)>a zero pronoun(9/30), a personal pronoun(4/30) <table6>). An anaphora in GC tends to repeat the referential expression of its antecedent in a parallel discourse structure(mainly in anecdotes)(3) or as a part of 'informationally redundant utterance(IRU)'(mainly in literary works)(4).

table 6. <GC-2>

	folk tales	anecdotes	total
zero pronoun	3	6	9
personal pronoun	2	2	4
noun	7	10	17
total	12	18	30

(3) (*Ломовые анекдоты*)

Ø (американцы) Повесили во французском кабаке, набежало 15 минут.
Ø Повесили в <Макдоналдсе> в США. Стрелки отсчитали 30 минут местного сленга.

Ø Решили повезти часы в СССР

Женщина и мужчина в купе поезда. Мужчина не решается заговорить. Ø Рисует рюмку, ставит знак вопроса. Женщина кивает. Выпили. Ø Рисует сигарету. Женщина кивает.

Молодой человек увидел шикарную блондинку и решил с ней познакомиться. Ø Заходит справа:

-Девушка, какая сегодня хорошая погода.

Она ноль внимания. Ø (Молодой человек) Заходит слева:

(4) (Булгаков: Мастер и маргарита)

Выиграв сто тысяч, загадочный гость Ивана поступил так: купил книг, бросил свою комнату на мясницкой...

-Уу, проклятая дыра! - прорычал гость.

...И Ø нанял у застройщика в переулке близ арбата...

-Вы знаете, что такое- застройщики?- Спросил гость у Ивана и тут же пояснил:- это немногочисленная группа жуликов, которая каким-то образом уцелела в Москве...

Ø Нанял у застройщика две комнаты в подвале маленького домика в садике. Службу в мужее бросил и начал сочинять роман о понтии Пилате.

In (4) a sequence of reported speeches and a sequence of observer's narrations are alternating. In spite of this interruption('world shift' Clancy 1980) a global continuity is maintained by means of IRU and a consistent selection of anaphoric expressions гость ~ Ø.

3. Conclusion

In 2 it is observed that a zero pronoun anaphora and a pronoun anaphora occur more frequently than a noun anaphora in LC. LC-1 shows that a zero pronoun anaphora co-occurs more frequently with a verb of different tense and/or aspect(so called 'historical present') in Un-1, Un more frequently than a pronoun and a noun. With regard to LC-2,

despite a predominant use of a zero pronoun anaphora in Un, an overtly marked anaphora (a personal pronoun and a noun) is not rarely observed (29/105), which is partially explained with foregrounding and a contrastive context. In terms of foregrounding a given utterance is characterized with a sentence-focus (Lambrecht 1994), and is marked not only with a noun anaphora but also with an inverted word order VS and a perfective aspect.

In 3 an overall preference for a noun anaphora is examined in GC. Compared with LC-2 and GC-2, a distinctive status of GC-1 as a hierarchical continuity ('hierarchical intrasentential centering' Kameyama 1998) is supported by the fact that a noun anaphora is more frequently observed than a personal pronoun, and a zero pronoun anaphora is more frequently used than a noun anaphora. In GC a zero pronoun or a personal pronoun is repeated either as a cue of a global coherence, or as a part of a parallel construction.

As for a discourse segmentation, a further analysis is to be done. In folk tales so-called 'the focus pop with a linear recency' (Walker 1998)(5), in which Cb is continued over a discourse segment boundary shows a relatively higher frequency of a noun anaphora, an increased use of a personal pronoun (11/18), and a decreased occurrence of a zero pronoun (3/18) in comparison with LC-2. This shows that a segment boundary can be regarded as one of parameters for anaphora selection:

(5) (Три отцовских совета)

....Уснули они на полу, а спали как на пуховниках.

Так работали **они** всё лето, а осенью собрали хороший урожайи снова зажили счастливо.

In this study I account for anaphoric expressions in terms of the pragmatic parameters in continuous context of local and global dimension. In the short run this research is to be expanded to Discontinuity context and eventually provides a key to a comparative study on this issue.

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