Cross-Linguistic Study of Elliptical Utterances in Task-Oriented Dialogues with Classroom Implications

Kyoko Otsuki

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Philosophy, Psychology, and Language Sciences

University of Edinburgh

2009

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own composition, that the work is my own unless otherwise acknowledged, and that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

Kyoko Otsuki

Acknowledgements

First of all, I am deeply grateful to Hugh Trappes-Lomax. Without his patience, support and encouragement, I would never be where I am now. He has, as an enthusiastic researcher and teacher, given me guidance to be a professional researcher and also shown me how discourse analysis is an enjoyment. I consider myself very fortunate to have had an opportunity to do research under his supervision.

I am indebted to Caroline Heycock for her critical and valuable comments for my thesis. Also, her attitude towards work has kept inspiring me during my research in Edinburgh. I learnt the spirit of 'never give up' from her as well as linguistics.

My thanks go to staff in Institute for Applied Language Studies, especially to Jacqueline Gollin. I also thank Miriam Meyerhoff and the participants in Language in Context research group in Linguistics and English Language for their insightful comments. I am indebted to Mits Ota, Barbora Skarabela, Ellen Gurman Bard, Amy Isard and Michael Bennett for useful hints and suggestions. Etsuko Yoshida generously gave me useful comments about my topic. It was really fortunate to get acquainted with her in Edinburgh, as we found that we share broad interests in spoken language.

I owe Yasuo Horiuchi in Chiba University in Japan, and also Speech Resources Consortium in Japan to having had an access to the Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus before the corpus was made public. Mika Ito was helpful when I was trying to get hold of the data.

Kaori Miura Dowman, Catherine Dickie, Ayako Namba, Shirin Abadhikah, Vipas Pothipath, Reiko Takahashi, Hae-Sung Jeon gave me valuable comments, useful support and practical advice in one way or another. Office mates and those who I have shared accommodation with for the last few years have encouraged me a lot. I would like to thank all those friends and colleagues, scattered on the globe, for their support.

Lastly, I am indebted my family in Japan for their support in all sorts of ways. It is a great feeling to have a place to go back to for Christmas. Also, as they have looked after my dog, I could devote myself to writing the thesis in Edinburgh.

This work has never been as it is without any person whom I have met so far. Errors or mistakes are, needless to say, only mine.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations used in Glosses

ACC   accusative particle
COP   copula
DIR   directive
E   emphasis particle
F   fragment
FP   final particle
    FPa   final particle for assertion (e.g., *yo, no*)
    FPc   final particle for confirmation (e.g., *ne, ka*)
    FPac   final particle for assertion and confirmation (e.g., *yone*)
    FPi   final particle for question (e.g., *ka, no*)
    FPindr   final particle for making the expression indirect (e.g., *kedo, no*)
    FPw   final particle for wish (e.g., *kedo*)
GEN   genitive particle
HON (S)   *sonkei go* (subject honorifics)
HON (K)   *kenjoo go* (object honorifics)
HON (T)   *teinei go* (polite form)
IMP   imperative
LOC   locative particle
MDLZ   modalization
NEG   negative
NOM   nominative particle
NMLS   nominaliser
PAST   past
PERF   perfect
POL   polite
PROH   prohibition
QUOT   quotative particle
SUP   suppositive
TOP   topic marker
VOL   volition

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

Ellipsis is a phenomenon whereby constituents which are normally
obligatory in the grammar are omitted in actual discourse. It is found
in all types of discourse, from everyday conversation to poetry. The
omitted constituents can range from one word to an entire clause, and
recovery of the ellipted item depends sometimes on the linguistic and
sometimes on the non-linguistic context. From a practical point of
view, the contribution of ellipsis in the context is twofold. First, it is
one of several important means of achieving cohesion in a text.
Secondly, ellipsis contributes to communicative appropriateness
determined by the type of linguistic activity (e.g., narrative, casual
conversation), the mode of communication (e.g., written / spoken) and
the relationship between participants.

The aim of this research is to provide a description of the functions of
elliptical utterances – textual and interpersonal – in English and
Japanese, based on a cross-linguistic analysis of dialogues in the
English and Japanese map task corpora. In order to analyse ellipsis
in relation to its two key functions, elliptical clauses in the map task
dialogues were examined.

I discuss how ellipsis is used to realise cohesion in the map task
dialogues. The findings challenge the well-known claim that topics
are established by full noun phrases, which are subsequently realised
by pronouns (English) and null pronouns (Japanese). Rather, the
results suggest that full noun phrases are used for topic continuity in
both languages.

Constituents which are ellipted in an utterance are identified and
related to the moves types which the utterance realises within the
exchange structure. The ellipted elements will be categorised
according to the constituent types (Subject, Finite, Predicator,
Complement and Adjunct), using the systemic functional approach.
This analysis reveals that whereas in the English dialogues the most
common types of ellipsis are that of Subject and Finite elements, in
the Japanese dialogues the most common type is that of Subject.

Types of ellipsis are also correlated with speech acts in the dialogues.
The relation between types of ellipsis and particular speech acts
associated with them is strikingly similar in the English and Japanese
dialogues, despite the notable difference in grammar and pragmatics
between the two languages. This analysis also shows how these types
of ellipsis are associated with interpersonal effects in particular
speech acts: ellipsis of Subject and Finite can contribute to a sharp
contrast in the question and answer sequence, while Subject ellipsis
in Japanese can contribute to modifying the command-like force in

giving instructions. These effects can be summed up as epistemic and deontic modality respectively. Ultimately, it is argued that some types of ellipsis can serve as modality expressions. Additionally, in comparison to the way of realising the speech act of giving instructions in the English dialogues, it emerges that the Japanese speakers exploit ellipsis, which seems to be associated with lowering the degree of the speaker's commitment to the proposition.

As implications for pedagogical settings, I present pedagogical descriptions of ellipsis for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese. Since the description is for specific learners, the approach which takes the difference in grammar and pragmatics between the two languages is made possible. Although descriptions state some detailed facts of ellipsis in English and Japanese, primarily highlighted is the importance of raising awareness of elliptical forms for particular functions in particular contexts. As ellipsis is a product of forms, functions and contexts, it is a most remarkable feature of spoken language. Spoken language is claimed by some researchers to show similar linguistic features among languages because of the restrictions inherent in the medium on communication. In the form of pedagogical description, I show the similarities and differences in ellipsis which derive from the grammar and pragmatics of each language, which are observed in the preceding linguistic research. Through the presentation of the findings which are modified for learners, learners will know how languages show convergence and divergence cross-linguistically.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Motivation of the study

1.1.1 Ellipsis in discourse

Ellipsis is found everywhere linguistic activity is performed, in any medium, writing and speaking, from everyday conversation to poetic works. Ellipsis is also realised in various ways, from omission of simply one word to that of a whole clause. Accordingly, definition of ellipsis is challenging. One rather clear and succinct definition is: 'for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, a part of the structure has been omitted, which is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context' (Crystal 1991). However, when we start to examine individual examples of ellipsis in discourse, it is obvious that this definition is too broad and far from specific enough to capture the phenomena. A thorny problem of ellipsis is that ellipsis exists at the interface between grammar and real linguistic activity: although grammar requires elements to be overt in a sentence, it happens that real text does not include some of them. The typical example is the omission of subject in English: it can be left out in many contexts, such as informal conversation, sports commentaries, where there is a shared visual context, and diary, while grammar – at least on some accounts – does not allow it. Here, an examination of ellipsis in an isolated sentence is not enough to give explanations of the occurrence of ellipsis, and further perspectives in terms of discourse are needed; English subject ellipsis is in reality allowed, but not allowed all the time. It still complies with grammatical rules which govern the occurrence of ellipsis. Thus, ellipsis research requires a discourse perspective as well as a syntactic approach.

So far a good deal of work has been done on ellipsis. Syntactic research into ellipsis, which can date back to Hankamer and Sag (1976), treats ellipsis under names such as gapping, sluicing, stranding, and stripping; some of these phenomena are studied as verb phrase (VP) ellipsis. The main focus of this kind of study is at which level of

the grammar omission takes place; whether forms including ellipsis are directly generated without a deletion process; how the referent of ellipsis is retrieved and interpreted (Lobeck 1995; McShane 2005; Merchant 2001). From the functional viewpoint, ellipsis has been studied as a cohesive marker (Clancy 1980; Givón 1983). Thus, for the research so far done in these perspectives, ellipsis is a phenomenon whereby elements which are normally required by the grammar are left out. In this sense, ellipsis is a formal notion.

There is an alternative, rather extreme, view of ellipsis, which claims that 'nothing is missing' (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 181) in so-called elliptical sentences. In this view, the second utterance in the following exchange does not leave out anything.

A: Where is the post office?
B: Ahead of you.

Because information included in B's utterance is enough for the communication, i.e. for a reply to A's query. It is then not recognised that B's utterance contains ellipsis. This observation is reflected in Carter and McCarthy's statement: '…in reality nothing is missing from elliptical messages; they contain enough for the purposes of communication' (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 181). This view represents ellipsis as a functional notion. What should be recognised as ellipsis is then a matter of whether its definition is formal or functional, and what is or is not ellipsis is fully dependent on the view taken. Thus, there are two views of non-full sentence structures. In one view, ellipsis is defined in terms of form, that is, if certain constituents are left out and if the omission is recognised by grammar, it is ellipsis; it is within this view that most of the research of ellipsis has been done, including syntactic (e.g., gapping) and functional (e.g., ellipsis as a cohesive marker). In the other view, the phenomenon of ellipsis does not exist, as nothing is left out in the message. This is a functional view of ellipsis. In fact, there are several types of utterances which do not have sentence structures, especially in spontaneous speech, such as *Out!*; *Home!*; *Tea, please*. These types of utterances, which consist only of noun phrases, verb phrases or prepositional phrases and so on, are called fragment construction or minor clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Huddleston and Pullum 2002); some of them can be

reconstructed into the full clauses, while others cannot. However, what to note is that the term "fragmentary utterance" suggests that the notion already postulates that something is missing, but what differs between these two views lies in the explicitness of each utterance. In fact there are three perspectives to look at utterances consisting only of noun phrases or prepositional phrases: (1) it is completely impossible to reconstruct them; (2) it is possible to reconstruct them, but not unambiguously; (3) it is possible to reconstruct them unambiguously. For this research, I will take the formal view of ellipsis.[1] Ellipsis is then recognised as:

an omission of constituents obligatory in the grammar of a particular language, and reconstructed either ambiguously or unambiguously from either linguistic or non-linguistic context.

This is because, firstly, in the functional view of ellipsis, it is neither objective nor straightforward to determine the amount of information which is required in each communication, which will be a basis for the description of ellipsis. Although the design of the corpora which is used for the present research to some extent makes it possible to estimate how much information is needed at each point, it is hard for a third party (i.e. an observer of the communication) to know whether the information is adequate or not. The first reason for taking the formal view of ellipsis leads us to the second reason, which comes from the nature of this research: it is a piece of comparative work. For comparative studies, different languages have to be comparable beyond merely superficial observations (James 1980). In other words, an objective and factual basis for comparison is needed.

> Make sure that we are comparing like with like: this means that the two (or more) entities to be compared, while differing in some respect, must share certain attributes. It is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant. We shall call this sameness the constant and the differences

---

[1] Although the position I take about ellipsis is formal, what to note regarding a definition of ellipsis is that anything which happens to be left out is not ellipsis (Brown and Yule 1983: 193). Such linguistic phenomena as phonological loss ('*cos* for *because*), morphological clipping (*flu* for *influenza*) and semantic implication (*Frankly speaking*) all include certain kind of omission (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik, 1985). These, however, are excluded from the present study as phonological loss and morphological clipping are phenomena at the level of phonology and morphology, and semantic implication is a fixed expression.

variables. In the theory of CA[2] the constant has traditionally been known as the tertium comparationis or TC for short. E.g.) for phonology the IPA chart and vowel diagram seemed strong candidates for TC; for lexis the set of semantic components seemed useful. (James 1980: 167)

Setting firm criteria is fundamental for comparative study. In this sense, a functional definition of ellipsis, i.e. the amount of information required on the spot, is rather weak as a foundation for comparative study. Syntactic categories deriving from the grammar of each language will provide a more dependable and consistent basis on which it is possible to compare the missing elements.

Although a good deal of work on ellipsis has been done from the formal point of view, research into ellipsis in Japanese is in some way on the border between formal and functional approaches. Unlike English, Japanese grammar is not strict about constituents in the sentence: subjects and other constituents can be left out and still the sentence is grammatical. It is even suggested that 'normally obligatory' syntactic elements, e.g., subjects and direct objects, are concepts only 'in order for the full meaning of the utterance to be understood in a neutral or null context' (Fry 2003: 82). What constituents are left in is to large extent dependent on the purpose of each communication and the amount of information required.

I will present a piece of Japanese conversation to show how Japanese elliptical utterances work in discourse. The following is a part of conversation which occurred at a flower shop between a shopkeeper (A) and customer (B).[3] Although the conversation leaves out many noun phrases, native speakers of Japanese understand and identify the missing arguments unambiguously.

B: *sonna   yooke haira nai   noni*
        that   many   put   NEG though
        'Although that many (flowers) cannot be put (in a vase),

---

[2] CA represents contrastive analysis.
[3] The conversation was recorded by the author at a flower shop in Toyonaka City, Japan, on 14th September 2005.

          konaida   gohon   ire-tara
          recently   five pieces put-when
          recently when (I) put five pieces (of flowers)

          dame-ni-natta
          go bad-PAST
          and (the flowers) went bad.'

A: *hahaha   oo-sugi-te*
        he he he   too many
        'Ha, ha, ha, (is that because the flowers you put in a vase were) too many?'

The utterance by speaker B consists of three clauses, which are illustrated in the separate lines. It can be observed that in the utterance the subject changes twice (flower→the speaker (I)→flower) with all the subjects implicit. The interpretation of the clauses is made possible by predicates and context. The utterance by speaker A also includes ellipsis: the subject of *oosugite* 'too many' is left out. Additionally, *oosugite* is a non-finite form, which indicates that a finite predicate is missing.

The above example of Japanese ellipsis demonstrates that the frequency and distribution of ellipsis in the clause are quite different from English. Thus, although ellipsis is found in any language, the degree of allowing constituents to be left out is different from language to language, and it sometimes appears to violate the grammar of the language. However, it is necessary to be cautious here about the fact that there seem to be two different ways in which something can be missing in English and Japanese.

In Japanese, particular arguments are not actually required for the grammaticality of the sentence. Japanese is a language whereby almost every argument can be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical, but actually ellipsis occurs depending on which argument is focused in a sentence. Many grammarians have defined what ellipsis is in Japanese in their work.[4] However, the definition of Japanese ellipsis has

---

[4] For instance, Mikami suggests a principle of ellipsis, which reads: anything understandable can be left out. Especially he pays attention to the phenomenon of absence of subject, whereby he does not even postulate subject in Japanese, arguing that the idea of subject is simply introduced from English

so far ended up simply with principles, such as the Pecking Order of Deletion Principle advocated by Kuno (1978; 1982). This is because Japanese predicates do not obligatorily require particular arguments as English counterparts do. For example, the English verb *tell* requires three arguments, that is, subject, direct object and indirect object. If these arguments are missing, the sentence would be ungrammatical. This is not the case with the Japanese counterpart verb *iu/oshieru* 'tell', which can occur grammatically with or without any other arguments. The factors which decide the existence of those arguments are greatly dependent on each context in which the elliptical sentence is used. Furthermore, it seems that the attempt to define something which is allowed to be there, but does not have to be, is even more difficult than something which is present. As a result, principles rather than definitions have been put forward for Japanese ellipsis. From the observation so far, it follows that there are two ways of recognising ellipsis in English and Japanese grammar respectively. However, the line between these two ways of recognising ellipsis (i.e. 'definition' and 'principle' of ellipsis) is in fact not very clear. As mentioned above, the subject is not supposed to be left out in English, as it is not a pro-drop language.[5] However, in practice subject ellipsis does take place, although the use is limited, e.g., in diaries, conversations etc. Thus it is not straightforward to distinguish the two ways of recognising ellipsis.

In response to the difficulty of establishing the way of recognising what is missing in each language, comparative work of ellipsis is scarce. The aim of this research is to present a comprehensive comparative description of ellipsis in discourse. Put more specifically, I am going to give complete accounts of the correlation of form and function of ellipsis in English and Japanese task-oriented dialogues. The aims of the study then are:

---

grammar, and predicates are enough for Japanese communication (Mikami 1970).

[5] Pro-drop is a parameter in Principles and Parameters Theory in the Chomskian approach. The parameter is set to distinguish languages, in terms of whether verbs require overt subjects or not. Languages in which subjects are not necessarily overt are called pro-drop languages, such as Italian; languages whose subjects are obligatory in sentences are called non-pro-drop languages, such as English and French.

- To provide a comprehensive description of elliptical utterances both in English and Japanese discourse
- To present the relation of elliptical forms to functions and insights about factors influencing the choice of elliptical expressions in spoken language
- To discuss what is ellipted in a clause and when ellipsis takes place, in terms of (1) the manner in which speech takes place; (2) speakers' relationship; (3) language (English and Japanese).
- To suggest pedagogical implications for learning ellipsis

As for functions of ellipsis, ellipsis as a marker of cohesion has been studied so far. In this research, I will shed light on another aspect of ellipsis, the interpersonal effects associated with its use in discourse. This aspect is not easily described in grammar models: '(W)hereas textual cohesion, as Widdowson observes, is always overtly marked in some way, the functions of speech acts can either be marked or just implicit' (James 1980: 119). I will attempt a description of interpersonal aspects of the use of ellipsis using the framework of systemic functional grammar. This approach makes it possible to describe a linguistic feature at levels ranging from lexico-grammar to social roles adopted by speakers. I will eventually claim that ellipsis is another modality expression as it can serve to alter the degree of the speaker's commitment to propositions.

To accomplish these aims, I will examine elliptical clauses in a set of parallel task-oriented dialogues that have been collected under experimental conditions: the map task dialogues. In order to do a comparative study, it is ideal to examine dialogues which are collected cross-linguistically under the same conditions. Fortunately, in this study, it has been possible to access map task corpora in both English and Japanese. The two corpora have almost the same design as each other, which to some extent guarantees the occurrence of lexico-grammatical features in this genre in both languages.

The data choice in fact turned out to have consequences which favour my research design in two respects. First, the 'language-in-action' type of speech, in which the

map task dialogues are located, contains more ellipsis than other genres (Carter and McCarthy 1995: 145). This is because when performing a certain task, interlocutors, entities involved and action are visible, which means that speakers possess a large amount of shared knowledge. This prompts speakers to use ellipsis as it saves time not to say what speakers know; situational ellipsis, for example, is found whereby ellipted elements are retrieved from non-linguistic context. Secondly, as I mentioned in discussing the functional view of ellipsis above, it will to some extent be possible to gauge the state of knowledge of task participants from the location on the maps at each stage. As discussed above, deduction will not be objective enough to be a basis for a description of ellipsis. However, this helps observers to assume the purpose of the utterance (Anderson, Bader, Bard, Boyle, Doherty, Garrod, Isard, Kowtko, McAllister, Miller, Sotillo, Thompson and Weinert 1991). This is quite an advantage for the investigation of ellipsis. Researchers, when encountering situational ellipsis, can probe the intentions of the elliptical utterances to some extent, as they can share the situation of the task with the speakers, i.e. the task participants.

1.1.2 Significance of the study

Just now I stated that I am going to describe ellipsis in English and Japanese dialogues. But why is ellipsis worth studying? I should say that it is because ellipsis is indispensable for our linguistic activity for the following three reasons:

  (1) Ellipsis is an important device for cohesion, which is vital for interpreting text
  (2) Real utterances are elliptical
  (3) Syntactically complete sentences convey pragmatic implicature on occasions where elliptical utterances are neutral in terms of connotation.

As for (1), ellipsis serves as a cohesive marker in discourse, which makes this grammatical feature vital for natural conversation. Words, clauses and sentences in texts are related to each other by means of various cohesive devices which allow readers and hearers to connect what the ongoing text is referring to with what they

8

have already encountered in the preceding text. Halliday and Hasan (1976) introduce as devices of grammatical cohesion reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical relation. Taking Japanese as an example, over 70% of reference is realised by ellipsis (Clancy 1980). This figure cannot be overlooked in terms of understanding Japanese discourse. Mishandling ellipsis can create more difficulties in reference tracking by learners of Japanese language.

(2) is related to the notions of system-sentences and text-sentences (Lyons 1977). The distinction between the former and latter is summarised as in; 'system-sentences…are an abstract theoretical construct, correlates of which are generated by the linguist's model of the language system in order to explicate that part of acceptability of utterance-signals that is covered by the notion of grammaticality; text-sentences, on the other hand, are context-dependent utterance-signals (or parts of utterance signals), tokens of which may occur in particular texts' (Lyons 1977: 622). Since text-sentences exist in contexts, as argued by Lyons (1977), their forms are modified according to each communicative occasion: they can be elliptical, incomplete sentence-fragments. Most utterances are deeply dependent on the context in which they occur, and this context-dependence may be realised in the utterance signals themselves in the forms, such as sentence-fragment (elliptical), connectives, anaphoric elements and a thematically marked word-order or prosodic structure. In short, '(E)llipsis, then, is one of the most important and one of the most obvious effects of contextualization' (Lyons 1977: 589).

In contrast, system-sentences are representations that are abstract structures residing within a grammar theory and free from any context: 'system-sentences never occur as the products of ordinary language-behavior' (Lyons 1977: 30). Imagine the spoken language of learners of a certain language, which every now and then sounds different from that of native speakers. One of the reasons why the learner's talk sometimes does not really sound like the target language is that they tend to speak exactly in the same way as they find in their grammar or reader textbooks, which mainly describe a standardised version of the written language. Furthermore it is surprisingly easily forgotten by learners and sometimes teachers, that their target

language is a living language, and native speakers do not normally talk in exactly the same way as in textbooks. From the viewpoint of syntax, for example, it is true that subjects in English can be omitted only under restricted conditions, such as coordinate structures, since English is not a pro-drop language and a subject is required unless the sentence is imperative. However, an omission of subject actually does go beyond these conditions and occur in conversations.

(3) is concerned with the pragmatic aspect of ellipsis. It is context which makes it possible to use ellipsis, whether the context is linguistic or non-linguistic. Analysing ellipsis from the viewpoint of Grice's Maxims of Conversation (Grice 1975), to omit elements which can be retrievable from the context abides by the Maxims of Manner and Quantity. It is a flouting of those Maxims if all recoverable elements are overt, which as a result gives rise to some implicature. This can be illustrated by the following example:

A: I'm leaving.
B: Why? [Why are you leaving?]   (Quirk et al. 1985: 848)

If speaker B says 'Why are you leaving,' instead of 'why' in the question, the focus on asking the reason for speaker A's leaving will be reduced and it sounds as if B pays more attention to the action of A's leaving itself. Or, even it sounds as if speaker B is accusing speaker A of the latter's leaving. It is also possible that there are a range of other interpretations dependent on intonation and stress. It is well known that ellipsis serves for economy, continuity and contrast (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 535): leaving in a constituent which can be understood without saying results in contrastive connotation.

1.2 Pedagogical implications

How then do language users manipulate ellipsis, which requires grammatical knowledge for the proper omission of constituents and appropriate use for each communicative occasion? I will consider what the problems are with manipulating ellipsis from the viewpoint of learners' difficulties. Carter and McCarthy (1995) precisely suggest two problems which should be considered in teaching ellipsis in English: (1) structural restriction concerning missing elements. When learners come across ellipsis in their target language, difficulties lie in using ellipsis as a speaker and a writer, as well as appreciating and interpreting it as a listener and a reader; (2) the environments of the occurrences of ellipsis. Paraphrasing the above two points, there are three main problems around ellipsis in language learning:

- which elements can be ellipted
- how elliptical expressions should be interpreted
- on which occasion the use of ellipsis is suitable, or at least permissible

The first problem comes from the structural restrictions of ellipsis, which are basically dealt with in the area of syntax, the narrow sense of grammar. When a Japanese student was asked by her supervisor whether she was going to use some kind of data in her research, what she said was: 'I'm not sure about it yet, but I may use.' For native speakers of English, the second clause of this utterance apparently does not sound like native English. For it to be a proper elliptical utterance, it should be 'I'm not sure about it yet, but I may'. One possible explanation for her adding the infinitive verb *use* would be that the Japanese counterpart of this elliptical utterance would be:

> *Mada wakara nai   kedo   tsukau kamoshirenai*
> yet   know   NEG though   use   may
> 'Although (I)'m not sure yet, (I) may.'

Her English elliptical utterance directly comes from the Japanese counterpart elliptical sentence of the same meaning. Here the transfer from the native language affects the generation of the English equivalent, which does not sound like English to native speakers. Thus, which elements can be ellipted in the target language is

affected by the grammar of a person's native language. The second one is related to the first. In some examples, missing elements cannot be supplied only in terms of syntax, but also require contextual support. Interpretation through the recovery of ellipted elements is largely dependent on syntactic and pragmatic knowledge. As for the third problem, although considerations for cultural differences will be beyond the present work, it should be noted that ellipsis is mandatory in some communication settings. This is related to the implicature mentioned above. Scarcella and Brunak (1981) investigated the correlation between language proficiency and appropriate use of ellipsis where politeness is required, and argued that even quite proficient learners cannot manipulate ellipsis as appropriately as native speakers. Learning a language means acquiring not only phonology, syntactic patterns and vocabulary in the target language, but also sociolinguistic and discourse competence.

As will be discussed extensively in chapter 9, overall, the description of ellipsis in the current pedagogical literature does not correspond to the view that language is formed according to its function in a particular context. In fact, for language teachers, ellipsis is not easy to teach since the occurrence of some kind of ellipsis is by and large dependent on the context in which the communication takes place. This real communicative setting is in fact beyond usual classroom study although nowadays ESP (English for Specific Purpose) can respond to it partially. It will be hard to learn ellipsis with textbooks, since they can hardly be adaptable to each communicative occasion. Consequently, teachers do not often present ellipsis in classrooms, unless they pay special attention to this feature which is prevalent in real discourse. Therefore, many learners miss the opportunities to be introduced to ellipsis in their study. In order to provide a description of ellipsis which can be made most of in classrooms where learners need to be exposed to actual use of ellipsis, one of the aims of this study is to provide the grammatical and pragmatic principles for occurrence of ellipsis by native speakers.

To achieve this aim, discourse analysis of spoken discourse from a linguistic viewpoint is necessary. It is true that ellipsis has been studied so far in various approaches, syntactically and also in text analysis. However, the pedagogical value

of those studies has been called into question. This study then will show how native speakers use elliptical utterances, and eventually address the issue of: how description of English and Japanese ellipsis in spoken language can be applied in a pedagogical context. The findings will be a significant benefit to teachers and learners of English and Japanese for developing appropriate language use on communicative occasions.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

After stating the motivation and structure of the thesis in chapter 1, chapter 2 provides a review of various types of ellipsis along with various approaches to ellipsis, ranging from the formal approach to functions of ellipsis, that is, serving as a cohesion marker and creating interpersonal effects such as politeness.

Chapter 3 describes two map task corpora which are the data for this research. The design of the two map task corpora as well as differences and similarities between them are provided. This is followed by a genre analysis of the map task dialogues, which reveals the lexical, grammatical and discourse structure of the dialogues. Additionally, the effects of manipulating certain features of the situation in which dialogues occur are addressed. There are two variables in the corpus: (1) participant familiarity: half the task participants who made up a pair were familiar with each other, while the other half were not; (2) visibility: half of the participants could see each other while performing the task, the other half could not. The chapter closes by detailing the research questions.

Chapter 4 gives an idea of systemic functional grammar along with its application to Japanese. The allocation of syntactic categories, such as Subject, Finite and Predicator, and the MOOD systems are introduced. Because systemic functional linguistics has been developed mainly with respect to English, its direct application to Japanese is not possible owing to the syntactic differences between English and

13

Japanese grammar. At the moment, several attempts have been made to modify the key concepts in this approach to fit Japanese, but none of them is decisive, especially with regard to the treatment of the Finite element, which is equivalent to 'operator' in other approaches, in the clause. I will suggest a way of applying this grammar framework to Japanese.

Chapter 5 provides a methodology of identifying and reconstructing elliptical clauses in the map task corpora, along with the procedure of modifying and reorganising dialogues in the Japanese corpus so that the dialogues could be ready for comparative analyses of interpersonal and textual effects of ellipsis. Possible types of ellipsis in each language are exhibited. Also, a quantitative analysis is presented, describing the frequency of the occurrence of elliptical clauses in terms of participant familiarity, visibility and language.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the description of types of ellipsis which are common to both languages. Similarly, chapter 7 describes types of ellipsis which are specific to each language. Most of the ellipsis types which are only found in a language are textual ellipsis, whereby the ellipted elements are recovered from the neighbouring text.

Chapter 8 serves to distil the findings from the previous chapters as well as addresses the main function of ellipsis, i.e. as a cohesive tie. Firstly, I will describe the distribution of types of ellipsis across moves and provide possible modality effects by elliptical clauses. Elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues seem to serve to mitigate command-like flavour of instructions in the Japanese dialogues and assert a statement with certainty, that is, functions which can be paraphrased as deontic and epistemic respectively. The second part shows that the realisation of referential chains in the map task dialogues is different from the well-known patterns of topic continuity: the heavy use of full noun phrases is observed. I will finally integrate the findings of the interpersonal effects and the referential function of ellipsis, and suggest that various aspects of ellipsis (i.e. types of topic related to ellipsis, speech

acts associated with ellipsis and whether ellipted elements are identified linguistically or non-linguistically) are loosely related.

Chapter 9 deals with the pedagogical implications from the findings. I will start by discussing the relationship between linguistic and pedagogical descriptions, which reflects the relationship between linguistics and applied linguistics. I will then move on to an examination of existing problems in teaching ellipsis, including difficulties which learners might encounter in learning ellipsis. Also, I will show how ellipsis is treated in current pedagogical publications in English and Japanese learning. Because ellipsis is something which is not overtly present, it will not be easy to recognise it as a grammatical feature. Additionally, ellipsis is one of the main features of spoken language, which has been less valued as a topic in the classroom until recently.[6] These seem to be the reasons why ellipsis does not receive enough attention in textbooks, syllabus design and so on. Finally, I will present an example of pedagogical descriptions, based on the findings of the research for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese. Since ellipsis is apparent in any language, it is a key feature for appropriate communication in the given language. And through familiarising ellipsis with themselves, learners will recognise the difference in systems which realise interpersonal and textual functions between languages.

Chapter 10 is the conclusion. I will present a restatement of the purpose of the thesis, a summary of the findings, a limitation to generalising the results from the map task dialogues and recommendations for future research.

---

[6] In late nineteenth century, there was in fact a movement which placed distance from grammar-translation method (the Reform Movement), and focussed on natural communication. Henry Sweet, one of the leading figures in the movement, emphasised the primacy of speech and an oral methodology (Sweet 1899).

Chapter 2

Literature review: approaches to the analysis of elliptical utterances

2.0 Introduction

Ellipsis is a fundamental part of our linguistic activity; this is one of the reasons why it is such an important topic of research, but, because of its extensive use, it also gives rise to problems of definition. In fact, ellipsis includes a vast range of phenomena. Ellipsis can be observed in both spoken and written language, from omission of one word to a whole clause; ellipted constituents can be precisely retrievable from the text in which the ellipsis occurs, or can be interpreted from the situation or the interlocutors' world knowledge; a speaker can omit constituents which have been in his/her own preceding utterance or in the interlocutor's utterance. This diversity of production and interpretation which is inherent in ellipsis brings about a difficulty in giving a comprehensive definition of ellipsis. As a starting point, I will explore what has been studied under the name of ellipsis.

In this chapter, I unfold the tangled web of ellipsis as follows: first, formal classification of ellipsis is presented. This is done by discussing three aspects of ellipsis: constituents ellipted, possibility of verbatim recovery and the sources from which interpretation of ellipted items could be obtained. Next, what ellipsis does in text, namely, what function ellipsis can serve, is presented. Ellipsis contributes to text formation, which has been the main focus of the study of the function of ellipsis. I will look at two types of approach to ellipsis in terms of the textual function of ellipsis: creating referential chain and cohesion. This is followed by discussion of the interpersonal effects with which ellipsis is associated.

Much of the work on ellipsis from the above perspectives has focused on English. However, as the research presented here is comparative, I will also introduce something of ellipsis in Japanese, a language famous for its abundant use of this strategy. I will investigate factors which enable the use of ellipsis to be customary among Japanese speakers, along with a motivation for the use of ellipsis specific to the Japanese culture. Some of formal and functional accounts of ellipsis are also presented regarding the same functions of ellipsis as in English: cohesive and interpersonal functions.

2.1 Formal approaches to ellipsis

As introduced in chapter 1, ellipsis can be generally defined as where 'for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, a part of the structure has been omitted, which is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context' (Crystal 1991: 888). Based on this definition, a variety of phenomena can be found under the name of ellipsis. They can be considered in terms of: (i) what the unit ellipted is; (ii) whether ellipted items are recovered verbatim; (iii) where the source of recoverability is located. Following those three points, I will give a broad outline of ellipsis in this section, which is intended to serve as taxonomy of ellipsis forms.

(i) What is ellipted?
The elements that can be ellipted range widely. Crystal's definition claims that ellipsis is a term which covers omission of any part of the sentence. In fact, elements which are ellipted range from word to clause, and the phenomenon changes its name according to how many elements in the sentence and which part of the sentence is ellipted. The following are four types of verb-related ellipsis which have been well examined in the syntactic approach.

Gapping

(2.1) The soprano sang the high notes and the tenor (ø) the low notes.

(McShane 2005: 136)

(2.2) Kim lives in Perth, Pat (ø) in Melbourne.

(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1542)

Stranding

(2.3) I couldn't hear what he was saying, but fortunately Kim could (ø).

(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1519)

(2.4) She invited me to go with them, which I'd quite like to (ø).

(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1526)

Sluicing

(2.5) We need to ask someone, but we don't know who (ø).

(McShane 2005: 144)

(2.6) A: They got in without a key.

    B: I wonder how (ø).   (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1542)

Stripping

(2.7) Neighbors often come to visit her and sometimes relatives (ø).

(McShane 2005: 143)

Gapping is a process that ellipts a verb, which can be anaphorically retrieved from the neighbouring clauses in coordinate or comparative sentences. Stranding leaves in only auxiliary verbs and ellipts the rest of the verb phrase. If subordinate clauses are ellipted, leaving only *wh*-words, it is called sluicing. In stripping, only one constituent is left in an elliptical clause.

The above categorisation of ellipsis is deeply associated with the syntactic approach to ellipsis, in which licensing of ellipsis and its deletion process are mainly studied. The syntactic study of ellipsis has so far focused on the transformational stage at which lexical elements are omitted, along with how ellipsis is interpreted, although

18

recently research into ellipsis across several linguistic components has began to appear.[7]

(ii) Are ellipted elements recovered precisely?

As the second perspective used to categorise ellipsis, verbatim recoverability determines types of ellipsis: situational / textual / structural (Quirk et al. 1985). The verbatim recoverability principle which Quirk et al. (1985) establish reads as follows: 'actual word(s) whose meaning is understood or implied must be recoverable' (Quirk et al. 1985: 884). Although 'verbatim recoverability' is advocated as a principle of ellipsis, they acknowledge that there are many cases where this principle does not apply and the precise recovery of ellipted elements is not available. Their solution, or rather the compromise they have reached for this problem, is 'to recognise different degrees of 'strength' in the identification of examples of ellipsis' (ibid.). This gradation of the genuineness of ellipsis is realised by the five criteria:

①　　The missing expression is precisely recoverable.

②　　The elliptical construction is 'defective'.[8]

③　　The insertion of the missing expression results in a grammatical sentence with the same meaning as the elliptical sentence.

④　　The missing expression is recoverable from the neighbouring text.

⑤　　The missing expression is an exact copy of the antecedent.

(Quirk et al. 1985: 888)

The strength of ellipsis is determined by how many criteria the ellipsis meets. If a given instance of ellipsis meets all the criteria, it will be 'strict' ellipsis, e.g., *I'm happy if you are (happy).* If an instance meets all the criteria except for ⑤, it will be

---

[7] Schwabe and Winkler (2003) present the problems caused by the research which has been made so far in a single component of linguistics, and collect several articles examining ellipsis in relation to the interfaces between syntax, semantics, phonology and discourse structure.

[8] Here 'defective' means that a normally obligatory element in a construction, such as the object of a transitive verb, is ellipted.

'quasi-ellipsis', e.g., *She works harder than him* (**works*), where *him* has to be modified into *he* to recover the verb *works*. If an instance does not meet ④ and ⑤, it will be 'situational ellipsis' (*I am*) *Glad to see you*.

Their compromising the verbatim recoverability principle results in recognising ellipsis as phenomena ranging 'on a gradient extending from the strict form of ellipsis to semantic implication' (Quirk et al. 1985: 888-889). In other words, omission occurs in a sentence at various levels, namely, from the omission of one word to that of a whole clause, and the source of recovering the missing item depends on linguistic context on one occasion and non-linguistic context on another.

Something to note about those criteria is that although in ① precise recoverability, as typically seen in *She cannot sing tonight, so she won't*, is stated, the expression recovered does not have to be unambiguous; '(B)ut by 'precisely recoverable' we do not necessarily mean 'unambiguously recoverable' (Quirk et al. 1985: 884). The following examples (2.8) and (2.9) are presented:

(2.8) If he works hard, I won't have to.
(2.9) The suspect admits stealing a car from a garage but he can't remember which.

(Quirk et al. 1985: 884-885)

The sentence (2.8) does not show any ambiguity about what is ellipted after *I won't have to*. The sentence (2.9) presents the possibility of 'simultaneous ambiguity' (Quirk et al. 1985: 885) since *a car* and *a garage* are candidates for elements following *which.*

Additionally, with regard to ②, it can be difficult to judge whether the given elliptical sentence lacks elements which are grammatically required or not. For instance, it would not be straightforward to determine whether an example meets the criterion if the verb in the sentence can be both transitive and intransitive, such as *read* and *eat*.

Another problem regarding this criterion is that deficiency finds expressions such as *Hello* and *Thanks* examples of ellipsis. It can be suggested that they are not elliptical as they can be reconstructed in various ways, such as *I owe you my thanks* or *I give you thanks*, which violates ① (Quirk et al. 1985: 885). However, this argument seems contradictory as it is pointed out that unambiguous recovery is not necessary (Quirk et al. 1985). In fact, it seems that this type of expression should be rather recognised as formulaic.[9] Thus having a look at some examples of ellipsis indicates that the definition of ellipsis is not straightforward even when several principles are postulated.

(iii) Where ellipted elements are found?

Ellipsis can be divided into three groups as to whether the ellipted elements are retrieved from neighbouring linguistic text, from non-linguistic context or from grammatical knowledge, which are labelled, textual, situational and structural ellipsis respectively. The taxonomy is schematised as follows:

$$
\text{ellipsis}
\begin{cases}
\text{textual ellipsis} \begin{cases} \text{anaphoric} \\ \text{cataphoric} \end{cases} \\
\text{situational ellipsis} \\
\text{structural ellipsis}
\end{cases}
$$
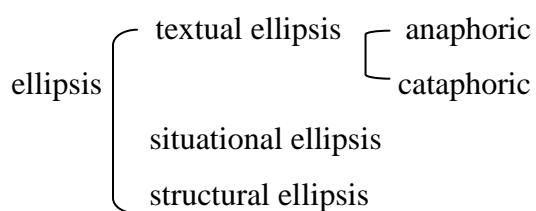
Textual ellipsis is subcategorised into anaphoric and cataphoric types in terms of whether the ellipted element follows or precedes the antecedent. Situational ellipsis takes its referent from the situational context in which it occurs. With respect to some situational ellipsis, what has been omitted is easily recognised simply by looking at the form (e.g., (*It*) *looks like rain.*) But, in other cases, such as 'weak ellipsis' (Quirk et al. 1985: 895), the exact words to expand the elliptical sentence cannot be clearly determined without referring to the context; it is not straightforward to determine whether the reconstructed form for *Get it?* should be

---

[9] Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) categorise those formulaic expressions as a 'minor clause' which does not display any syntactic structure (pp. 153-154).

Did you get it? or *Do you get it?* For structural ellipsis, grammatical knowledge is required to identify what has been omitted. Those three types of ellipsis are exemplified as in (2.10)-(2.13):

Textual ellipsis: anaphora

(2.10) She might sing tonight, but I don't think that she will (sing tonight).

Textual ellipsis: cataphora

(2.11) If you want (me to (buy the tickets)), I'll buy the tickets.

<div align="right">(Quirk et al. 1985: 862)</div>

Situational ellipsis

(2.12) (I am) Glad to see you.

Structural ellipsis

(2.13) I believe (that) you are wrong.

<div align="right">(Quirk et al. 1985: 888)</div>

It follows from what has been discussed that ellipsis contains a wide range of phenomena, each of which is explained by making full use of the three perspectives, sometimes even including a compromise between the definition of ellipsis and actual examples of omission of elements in the sentence. The problem in defining ellipsis then seems to centre around the fact that textual and situational ellipsis are discussed on an equal footing. The main factors for defining textual ellipsis, such as unambiguity and retrieval of the ellipted items from the linguistic context, do not fit in the case of situational ellipsis. They are rather at two extremes along the continuum of ellipsis; the ellipted item of each kind of ellipsis is retrieved linguistically and unambiguously at one end, and nonlinguistically and ambiguously at the other. However, this is again only in principle, and there are obviously examples in which ellipted elements are identified both non-linguistically and unambiguously; for instance, the subject of the elliptical sentence *don't know*, *I*, can be retrieved from non-linguistic context, but still it can be determined unambiguously. It seems that the mixing-up of these two types of ellipsis makes providing definition of ellipsis not-straightforward, as seen in Quirk et al's (1985)

treatment. Additionally, there are discrepancies in what is recognised as ellipsis among researchers, depending on which aspect of ellipsis is under investigation. For instance, the following sentence (2.14) is recognised as grammatically complete in Greenbaum and Nelson's (1999) analysis, although it involves the omission of a subordinate clause:

(2.14) Actually I knew I had seen it and I couldn't think where.

(Greenbaum and Nelson 1999: 114)

This is clearly an example of sluicing, which is not categorised as ellipsis by Greenbaum and Nelson (1999), but is categorised as ellipsis elsewhere. Thus, researchers who focus on different aspects of ellipsis end up with their own definitions, simply sharing the idea of 'omission of elements in the sentence' among them. Accordingly, because of the various aspects being looked at, which results in the inconsistency of terminology among researchers, ellipsis research so far is somewhat disjointed; different researchers investigate different aspects of ellipsis with different definitions, which makes it demanding to integrate previous work of ellipsis into a piece of research.

2.2 Functional approaches to ellipsis

It is widely recognised that ellipsis serves economy and contributes to clarity (Quirk et al. 1985: 859-860). In addition, ellipsis plays an important role in text; it serves to integrate one part of a text into another, which makes for coherent and intelligible text. There are three main approaches to investigating the functions of ellipsis as a text integrator: one approach views ellipsis as a way of signalling given (old) and new information; the second considers ellipsis as serving for reference continuity and; the third regards ellipsis as a device for creating cohesive ties. Those three approaches can be categorised under the name of the functional approach of linguistics, but differ in the 'functional-ness' of their analyses.

There are various schools who call themselves functionalist; these include: West Coast functionalism in the United States, Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar, Kuno's Functional Syntax and Dik's Functional Grammar. It seems to be said that one of the factors which determine their location along the 'functionalist continuum' is related to their attitude to syntax. For instance, Functional Syntax, which has been established and developed by Kuno and his colleagues, finds itself somewhere close to generative grammar which originates from Chomsky. It is rather to be called a discourse-based approach to syntax,[10] and its aim is to give accounts of linguistic phenomena which cannot be explained using models of syntactic frameworks considering usage in context.[11] Kuno gives accounts of elliptical phenomena using the idea of old and new information. Old and new information is a central concept for information structure, which dates back to the Prague School. Kuno points out that ellipsis is claimed to be exploited to express old information. According to Kuno, there is a principle for items in a sentence to be ellipted; less important information is ellipted earlier than more important information, which he calls 'Pecking Order of Deletion Principle' (Kuno 1978, 1982, 1995; Takami 1997). Here, importance is determined by whether the item of information in question bears information which is known to both parties (old information; less important), or information which is new to them (new information; more important). I will return to 'Pecking Order of Deletion Principle' when I discuss the less grammatical pressure on constituents in Japanese sentences.

The other two concepts associated with ellipsis, i.e. topic continuity and cohesion, are practised in the narrower sense of discourse analysis, which is called discourse grammar or text linguistics. I will discuss those two, especially the idea that ellipsis is a realisation of cohesion, more extensively in the following sections.

---

[10] In fact, the approach is still based on syntax as the aim of functional syntax is to give an account of ungrammaticality of sentences using the idea of discourse.

[11] Kuno (1987), for instance, lists the following phenomena which cannot be tackled only in a syntactic approach and illustrates the application of functional syntax into them: (1) the interpretation of coordinate structure in a sentence, (2) the extraction from picture nouns with possessive noun phrases (NPs), and (3) the extraction from picture nouns without possessive NPs.

2.2.1 Ellipsis for topic continuity

This is a treatment of ellipsis advocated mainly by West Coast functionalists, including Givón (1983), Hinds (1983), Fox (1987; 1996) and Fry (2003). Givón (1983) presents measurements for topic continuity, and the choice of anaphoric devices in the form of a scale reflecting continuity and accessibility of topic, along which zero anaphora (nominal ellipsis) is located, as well as full noun phrases and pronouns. His proposal was examined and verified in various languages, including Japanese. Hinds (1982b) suggests that the parallelism of English pronominalisation and Japanese argument ellipsis is plausible, arguing that ellipsis is the primary means of indicating continued reference. His examination of pronouns in the English translation of Japanese utterances reveals that none of the English pronouns has overt representation in the original Japanese utterances. Based on this result, he claims that it will be too hasty if it is said that English pronominalisation corresponds to Japanese ellipsis under the same condition, but it is also not an entirely false statement. I will give a more account of ellipsis in the context of referential chain in chapter 8.

This approach is based on the idea that ellipted items and the corresponding overt items refer to the same entity; in other words, there is a coreferential relation between the former and the latter. This is different from the view of ellipsis among systemic functionalists, who consider ellipsis to be the relationship between linguistic items in text, and not to involve the relations between these items and referents in the world. I will explore the details of their treatment of ellipsis and its difference from other schools.

2.2.2 Ellipsis for cohesion

Ellipsis is treated differently in the systemic functional framework from other approaches such as Quirk et al's (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum's (2002). In this framework ellipsis is simply a device to create cohesion in text. Cohesion is a relationship between one element and another in text when interpretation of one is presupposed by that of the other.

> Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 4)

The systemic functional approach postulates that the meaning of text is realised by features which are combined to make up textual resources of lexicogrammar, namely, structural and cohesive resources (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Both structural and cohesive features work together to form a property which makes a text a text; in other words, they create 'the property that distinguishes text from non-text' (Eggins 1994: 85). Structural resource includes thematic structure, in which Theme and Rheme are central concepts, as well as information structure, in which the idea of 'given' and 'new' information plays an essential role.

As for cohesive resources, Halliday and Hasan point out in their work on cohesion that cohesion is realised through reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion, all of which serve to function as 'text-forming agencies' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 26). The first four are categorised as grammatical devices. Examples of each type of cohesion are in (2.15)-(2.22).

Grammatical cohesion

 Reference

(2.15) Three blind mice, three blind mice.

  See how they run! See how they run!   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 58)

 Substitution

(2.16) My axe is too blunt. I must get a sharper one.

(2.17) You think Joan already knows? – I think everyone does.

                                         (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 89)

 Ellipsis

(2.18) Four other Oysters followed them, and yet another four.

(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 148)

(2.19) Have you been swimming? – Yes, I have.   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 167)

(2.20) The plane has landed. – Has it?   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 198)

 Conjunction

(2.21) The captain had steered a course close in to the shore. As a result, they

   avoided the worst of the storm.   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 231)

Lexical cohesion

(2.22) Accordingly…I took leave, and turned to the ascent of the peak. The

   climb is perfectly easy…   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 278)

Ellipsis is a formal link between linguistic items, and does not contain any referential relation between them. It is presupposition which is the key concept to consider, and not shared 'referent'. As (2.18)–(2.20) indicate, ellipted items are recovered by looking back the previous part of the discourse. In this sense, ellipsis is a formal notion of substitution by zero, which is enabled through presupposition, and interpretation of a certain item is to be supplied from the text (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 144). If there is no presupposition, ellipsis does not work. Presupposition can make the clause elliptical, where 'something that is structurally necessary is left unsaid' (ibid.). The following is a quotation which emphasises the role which presupposition plays.

> Where there is ellipsis, there is a presupposition, in the structure, that
> something is to be supplied, or 'understood'. This is not quite the same thing
> as saying that we can tell from the structure of an item whether it is elliptical
> or not. For practical purposes we often can; but it is not in fact the structure
> which makes it elliptical. An item is elliptical if its structure does not express
> all the features that have gone into its make-up – all the meaningful choices
> that are embodied in it. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 144)

The passage makes it clear that in this approach ellipsis is a phenomenon at the surface level. Thus, ellipsis is a formal relation between linguistic items in a clause.

Since ellipsis is a device for cohesion, the main focus of Halliday and Hasan's work is on ellipsis whose presupposed constituent should be in the preceding or following linguistic context; they do not postulate a kind of ellipsis whose ellipted items are retrieved non-linguistically (i.e. 'situational ellipsis' in Quirk et al.'s (1985) terms), although it is mentioned that presupposition of an item can occasionally be exophoric[12]. Therefore, any type of ellipsis in the Hallidayan approach is located almost only endophorically as it is a device to make a cohesive tie in the text. Situational ellipsis in Quirk et al.'s (1985) terms is not treated in this framework since (1) Hallidayan ellipsis does require the formal linking between presupposing and presupposed items; (2) Hallidayan ellipsis does not require referent (in the general semantic sense) either from the linguistic or non-linguistic context, as it does not have to refer to any entity but the presupposed item. These points are illustrated in the discussion of nominal ellipsis discussed below, in which the head noun is ellipted from the noun phrase, leaving a modifier.

The Hallidayan approach classifies ellipsis into three groups,[13] according to which grammatical group ellipsis is associated with: nominal, verbal and clausal ellipsis. Nominal ellipsis is ellipsis which occurs in the nominal group. It is observed that a nominal group consists of a noun as a head of the group and optionally premodifier and postmodifier.[14] Under some circumstance, the noun serving as a head is ellipted and the "upgrading" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 148) of premodifier occurs, which is called nominal ellipsis, as exemplified in (2.23).

(2.23) Four other oysters followed them, and yet another four.

(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 148)

---

[12] Subject ellipsis, for instance, is made possible with the assistance of intonation and unmarked patterns of choosing subject, such that first person subject is associated with the speaker's making statements, and the second person subject is associated with the speaker's asking questions (Halliday and Matthiesse 2004).
[13] 'Group' is a notion of rank which is located between clause and word in systemic functional framework; it contains nominal, verbal adverbial and conjunction groups. It parallels 'phrase' in formal grammar.
[14] Halliday and Hasan (1976) provide Deictic (left in ellipsis), Numerative, Epithet, Classifier, and Qualifier for Premodifier and common noun (designate classes), proper noun or pronoun expressing the Thing for Head.

In (2.23) the head noun *oyster* in the second clause, which is presupposed by *oysters* in the first clause, is ellipted and the function of *oyster* is taken over by *four*. Note that it is an omission of only head noun, but not noun phrase itself. Here, it can be pointed out that the reason why nominal ellipsis in the Hallidayan approach is not an omission of a noun phrase itself, but simply its head, lies in the above (1) and (2). Since ellipsis in this approach is a signal of linking of two elements in text, readers or listeners are supposed to repeat the word or a group of words. In the Hallidayan sense of ellipsis, then, an omission of a noun phrase as a whole prevents the clause from functioning; if the modifier is left out as well, it is even impossible, without resort to non-linguistic context, to recognise the existence of any link.

Verbal ellipsis is ellipsis in the verbal group, and can be defined as: 'a verbal group whose structure does not fully express its systemic features – all the choices are being made within the verbal group systems' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 167). There are two kinds of verbal ellipsis: operator and lexical ellipsis. The former is an ellipsis of verbal operator which conveys the selection of systems, such as finiteness, polarity, voice and tense. (2.24) includes an example of operator ellipsis.

(2.24) Has she been crying? – No, laughing.   (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 175)

In (2.24) the reply includes operator ellipsis since the selection of finiteness, polarity, voice and tense is presupposed, and only the lexical verb is present. In contrast, if the verb itself in the verbal group, including *do*, is ellipted, it is lexical ellipsis. Lexical ellipsis is found in the following (2.25).

(2.25) It may or it may not.

The selection of system which is found in (2.25) is: finite, present, positive in the first and negative in the second clause, active voice and present tense. In both clauses, the lexical verb is ellipted.

Verbal ellipsis is related to clausal ellipsis as verbal ellipsis triggers ellipsis of other elements as well as the verb itself. In Hallidayan grammar, the clause consists of a Modal Element and a Propositional Element. The Modal Element consists of subject plus finite element in the verbal group, and the Propositional Element consists of the remainder of the verbal group and any Complements or Adjuncts,[15] as illustrated in (2.26)

(2.26) The Duke was | going to plant a row of poplars in the park.
        <Modal>   <Propositional>

                                            (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 197)

When clausal ellipsis occurs, one of these Elements is ellipted. If the Modal Element is ellipted, it is called Modal ellipsis. Likewise, if the Propositional Element is ellitped, it is called Propositional ellipsis. Hence, Modal and Propositional ellipsis are an extension of operator and lexical ellipsis respectively.

Halliday and Hasan argue that Modal ellipsis is motivated when it is not necessary to choose mood, (i.e. declarative, interrogative, or imperative) and polarity. It is, then, typically employed in response to *what*-questions, such as 'What were they doing? – Holding hands'. In contrast, Propositional ellipsis occurs when mood and/or polarity matters, such as 'response to statements and yes/no questions' and 'response to WH-questions' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 198-199). This dichotomy of clausal ellipsis between Modal and Propositional ellipsis is related to how to avoid repetition in rejoinders in the conversation, especially in reply utterances in a question and answer sequence: avoiding repetition of subject, mood, polarity, verbs and adjuncts. However, there is a limitation of association of Modal/Propositional and operator/lexical ellipsis, as seen in the comparison between (2.27) and (2.28).

(2.27) Who was going to plant a row of poplars in the park? – The Duke was.
(2.28) What was the Duke going to do? – Plant a row of poplars in the park.
                                          (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 197-198)

---

[15] Syntactic categories within systemic functional grammar are extensively discussed in chapter 4.

The reply in (2.27) consists of a Modal Element, that is, subject plus finite element. As for the reply in (2.28), lexical verb plus complement and adjunct are found. The problem is that besides the Modal part, *going to* is also ellipted in the answer in (2.28), which is neither a finite operator nor a lexical verb. This is taken as a limitation of the account for explaining clausal ellipsis with reference to verbal ellipsis (Halliday and Hasan 1976).

It follows from what has been discussed that ellipsis in the Hallidayan approach does not include co-reference between a linguistic item and ellipted item. Hallidayan ellipsis is simply a cohesive tie in text, and does not depend on any relation between the linguistic symbols and what they pick out in the real world.

2.3 Interpersonal effects

In the last section, I discussed three functions of ellipsis. Ellipsis serves to signal given (old) information; to maintain topic chains; to play a role in creating cohesion. They are all contributors to discourse from the perspective of economy, which is one of the reasons for ellipsis in discourse; repeating the same items would make discourse extremely tedious and avoiding repetition saves time. If ellipsis is looked at from a different point of view, it turns out that ellipsis also serves to create interpersonal effects. Once the utterance is issued in a certain form to accomplish a certain speech act in a certain context, there comes a pragmatic/interactional effect. The effect is a result which is produced by the collaboration of form, function and context. In this section, I will discuss the effects which are associated with ellipsis.

It is well known that there is more ellipsis in spoken language than in written, especially in informal spontaneous conversation among people who know each other well (Carter & McCarthy, 1995, 2006; Nariyama, 2004). The following exchange (2.29) reveals how ellipsis is used between speakers who are close to each other; the way speaker A says 'mum' suggests that A and B are siblings.

(2.29) A: Seen that photo? The photo of mum when she was young?
     B: Yes.   (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 182)

The first clause in A's utterance is elliptical and it could be understood as (*have you*) *seen the photo?* This is an example of situational ellipsis; second person pronoun subject and the auxiliary verb *have* can be reconstructed from situational context, unless speaker A had already made a question using the form of *Have you…?*, in which case it will be textual ellipsis, whereby the ellipted elements are recovered linguistically. It is generally recognised that when speakers have more shared knowledge, it encourages speakers to use more indirect and covert expressions, and listeners to be expected to identify what the missing items are. I will further discuss the question of familiarity in the next chapter (section 3.5.1, chapter 3).

The study of the interpersonal effects of ellipsis centres around the correlation between the use of ellipsis and familiarity among speakers. Based on the fact that ellipsis is observed in casual conversation among friends, it is suggested that ellipsis is a signal of involvement. Therefore, ellipsis can be a strategy for creating human relationships, as in 'indirectness contributes to a sense of involvement through mutual participation in sensemaking' (Tannen 1989: 23). Ellipsis is recognised to be distinctive and characteristic in speech by speakers close to each other. It is then considered even as a realisation of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987).

However, ellipsis can also work in the opposite direction: it could be indicative of a lack of commitment to something or even unfriendliness; ellipsis can make utterances sound evasive and dismissive (Nariyama 2004). It is claimed that subjectless sentences minimise the opportunity to respond and only fulfil the obligation of an interlocutor who is supposed to say something, e.g., (*I've*) *gotta go* (Nariyama 2004: 248). Similar accounts of ellipsis are found, for example, that elliptical utterances do not have positive effects on speakers' roles in conversation; the use of elliptical declarative (2.30) and polar interrogative (2.31) indicate that the

speaker is directed towards a supporting and responding role in conversation rather than initiating (Eggins and Slade 1997: 111).

(2.30) Brad: = = They're all FREAKS.
        David: Except you.   (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 68 highlight in original)

(2.31) Brad: Look. See that guy. He plays the double-bass.
        Fran: Does he?   (Eggins and Slade 1997: 67)

The exchange (2.30) is between a son (Brad) and his father (David), and (2.31) is between a son (Brad) and his mother (Fran). These exchanges are found in a conversation, where the son plays the role of a dominant speaker. The parents remain thoroughly committed to the conversation as hearers. In fact, Fran, whose utterances mainly consist of elliptical and minor clauses solely for querying and checking, is never a subject of clauses in utterances by Brad. Thus, it seems too simple to conclude that ellipsis is characteristic of the positive aspect of human relationship.

Informality is not the only factors which determine the occurrence of ellipsis. The occurrence of ellipsis is affected by genre as well; for instance, even if the speakers involved are familiar with each other, narrative does not contain many examples of ellipsis (Carter and McCarthy 1995). This is because the content of narrative speech is not directly relevant to the immediate context in which the linguistic activity occurs. This condition makes speakers use explicit participants and verbal operations, which otherwise could be retrieved from the context as is the case with other genres, such as language-in-action and service encounters (Carter and McCarthy 1995).

2.4 Ellipsis in Japanese

It is well known that ellipsis is an extremely common phenomenon in Japanese, and a good deal of work has been done, including Hasegawa (1986); Hinds (1982); Kuno (1978; 1995) ; Makino (1993); Mikami (1970); Nariyama (2000); Takami (1997);

Yamura-takei & Fujiwara (2003). Ellipsis in Japanese is categorised into two common types: particle ellipsis and argument ellipsis. In Japanese, noun phrases may be followed by particles, which may encode case (nominative, accusative, dative), relational concepts roughly akin to those expressed in English by prepositions, and markers of discourse status (in particular, the topic marker *wa*). In informal speech, it is extremely common to ellipt these particles. Similarly, the omission of the noun phrase and particles attached to it in a sentence is called argument ellipsis. Where noun phrases and particles are ellipted, their contents are retrieved from context whether linguistically (textual ellipsis) or non-linguistically (situational ellipsis). It is also studied under the name of zero anaphora, zero pronouns, or more simply zeros. The ellipsis of arguments is found in many, perhaps all languages, and hence research into argument ellipsis has been carried out in a multi-disciplinary and cross-linguistic manner, such as machine translation, cognitive science and language acquisition. The ellipsis of particles is a matter of interest for those researching Japanese specifically, but as this has no direct counterpart in English it is not considered further in this thesis, concerned as it is with a comparative study of English and Japanese.

2.4.1 Facilitators of ellipsis in Japanese

The following factors for ellipsis to be favoured among Japanese speakers are suggested (Nariyama 2003).

- efficiency (Maxim of Quantity and Manner)
- emphasis/contrast
- some aspects of Japanese culture: politeness, the sense of selflessness, indirectness

The first two are considered to be effects associated with ellipsis, which are made possible by the functions of ellipsis which I discussed in section 2.3, i.e. serving reference continuity and cohesion. Omission of elements which can be retrieved by hearers complies with the Maxims of Quantity and Manner; if speakers emphasise a

particular piece of information in the sentence, the rest can be ellipted. Other than the above, some characteristics of Japanese encourage ellipsis to occur both in written and spoken language. I will raise three factors which facilitate the heavy use of ellipsis in Japanese.

(1) No syntactic pressure for constituents in the sentence

Unlike English, there is little syntactic pressure on Japanese sentences; all the constituents in a certain structure do not necessarily have to appear in the sentence. The pressure-free behaviour of Japanese constituents, in contrast with English, can be clarified by examples taken from the work of functional syntacticians, including Kuno. Functional syntax aims to explain the grammaticality of the sentence which cannot be explained from purely formal viewpoints, taking communicative factors into consideration. Within the framework of functional syntax, omission takes place for elements which carry less important information, which is described as 'Pecking Order of Deletion Principle'.

> **Pecking Order of Deletion Principle**: Delete less important information first, and more important information last   (Kuno 1982: 63)

However, it is observed that B's answer in the following exchange (2.32) includes the omission of elements which carries more important information than information that is carried by the remaining elements in the sentence.

(2.32) A: Did you buy this watch in Switzerland?
          B: Yes, I did.   (Kuno 1982: 64)

The point made by Kuno is that in the question-answer pairs, the focus is a place where the person B bought the watch. Assuming *did* conveys the affirmative nature of the answer, then, *in Switzerland* is more important information than *I*. To observe the Pecking Order Principle, then, *Switzerland* should be left in if *I* remains in the sentence, but the fact is reverse; although B's answer violates the Pecking Order Principle, the sentence is acceptable. Kuno explains that this is because if *did* remains in the sentence, *I* has to accompany it because of a syntactic constraint in

English; once it is determined to leave in *did* for the affirmative nature of the answer, the subject is automatically left in, as well. In the case of Japanese (2.33), the equivalent exchange will be:

(2.33)
  A: *Anata wa kono tokei-o   suisu   de kaimashita ka?*
     you   this watch-ACC Switzerland in bought   FP$_i$
    'Did you buy this watch in Switzerland?'
  B: *Hai, kaimashita.*
    yes bought
    'Yes, (I) bought.'

As B's answer indicates, it is possible to indicate the affirmativeness without accompanying the subject. Kuno's Pecking Order Principle works in Japanese without interference of syntactic constraint. In contrast, English syntactic constraints require constituents which carry less important information to be in the sentence, which results in violating the principle which is rooted in discourse. Thus, less syntactic constraints on constituents in Japanese sentences than in English sentences allows ellipsis in Japanese to occur according to the pragmatic requirement, such as the importance of information.

Evidence that Japanese is free from syntactic constraints also comes from the observation that Japanese does not require the use of pronouns for arguments required by the verb as much as English, but simply leaves the slot empty.   The exchange in (2.34) shows a question utterance and its most natural answer to it.

(2.34)
  A: Kimi Pari de Yamada-kun ni atta?
    you   Paris in   to meet
     'Did you meet Yamada in Paris?'

  B: Un, atta yo.
    'Yes, (I) met (him).'   (Kuno 1982: 83)

The answer is perfectly grammatical without subject and object: unlike English, Japanese allows the verb to stand on its own without arguments required by the

grammar. Thus, ellipsis in Japanese, especially spoken Japanese, is not constrained by the grammar, but by required information for each communication scene. Fry (2003) presents the ellipsis rates for different argument roles; according to that, 69% of subjects, 52% of direct objects and 81% of indirect objects are ellipted. This result indicates that most arguments to predicates go unexpressed.

(2) Systems detecting referents of constituents

Although Japanese is not equipped with agreement such as that of subject-verb and pronoun – antecedent, as found in Indo-European languages, this does not discourage Japanese from having ellipsis at all. Instead, the language benefits from various grammatical devices which make it trouble-free for users of the language to interpret what ellipted elements are. I will point out two grammatical features promoting use of ellipsis.

Some Japanese verb phrases include verbs such as *yar-u* 'give', *kure-ru* 'give' and *mora-u* 'receive', which indicate benefit for either speaker, hearer or someone else. These verbs stand by themselves as main verbs. When they accompany other verbs, they function to indicate who receives benefits from the action in question, as seen in (2.35)-(2.37).

(2.35) *John-no   ie   ni itte-yatta.*
     John-GEN   place to go-give-the.favour.of
     '(∅) went to John's place for his sake.'

(2.36) *John-ga   watashi-no   ie   ni kite-kureta.*
     John-NOM I-GEN   place to come-give
     'I had a favour from John that he came to my place.'

(2.37) *John ni watashi-no   ie   ni kite-moratta.*
     John by I-NOM   place   to come-receive-the.favour.of
     '(∅) received a favour from John that he came to my place.'

It may not be very clear from the English translation, but in (2.35) the verb *yar-u* 'give', which is attached to the main verb *iku* 'go', indicates that the agent of the

action, going, is the speaker. This is because the verb *yar-u* 'give' implies that the speaker or a person who is close to the speaker 'gives' a favour to John by performing the act denoted by the main verb. In contrast, (2.36) contains the verb *kure-ru* 'give' as well as the main verb *kuru* 'come'. The verb *kure-ru* 'give' indicates that the direction of doing the favour is from John to the speaker (or a person who is close to him/her), and the focus is John. Therefore, it implies that the speaker owes John's coming to his/her place to John. (2.37) is another example of this sort of compound verbs. The verb *mora-u* 'receive' is attached to the main verb *kuru* 'come.' This time the direction of doing the favour is also from John to the speaker (or a person who is closer to him/her), but the focus is the speaker. It is then obvious whose house John went even when *watashi-no* 'my' in *watashi-no ie* 'my place' in (2.36) and (2.37) is left out, as the speaker receives favour from John by the latter's coming to the former's place. Thus, different give-and-receive verbs, *yar-u* 'give', *kure-ru* 'give', and *mora-u* 'receive' indicate different directions of favour; *yar-u* 'give' is from speaker to another; *kure-ru* 'give' is from another with focus to speaker; *mora-u* 'receive' is from another to speaker with focus. Since these verbs function as a deictic marker, which implies who is the person doing the action, the absence of subject does not hamper the hearer's interpretation of elliptical sentences. The use of these verbs, which include giving or receiving verbs as auxiliaries, are extremely common in Japanese.

The well-known rich honorific system also encourages ellipsis in Japanese. There are three types of honorific language: *sonkei go* (subject honorification (Shibatani 1990), respect language (Kuno 1973)), *kenzyoo go* (object honorification (Shibatani 1990), humbling language (Kuno 1973)) and *teinei go* (polite form, Shitabani 1990). The following three sentences (2.38)-(2.40) include the three types of honorific language associated with the verb *kotaeru* 'answer.'

(2.38) *Sensei-ga   shitsumon ni   o-kotae-ni naru*.
      teacher-NOM question   to   HON(S)-answer
      'The teacher answers the question.'

(2.39) *John-ga   shitsumon ni   o-kotae-suru*
      John-NOM   question   to   HON(K)-answer
      'John answers the question.'

(2.40) *Shitsumon ni kotae-masu*.
       question   to answer HON(T)
       '(∅) answers the question.'

(2.38) shows that the subject honorific form takes the form of *o* verb-*ni naru,* such as *o kotae* ('answer') *ni naru.* It indicates that the respect goes to the subject of the sentence. Therefore, in the case of *o kotae ni naru*, the person who takes the action of answering, i.e., *sensei* 'teacher,' is paid respect. In (2.39), the person who is the target of the respect is not John, but the person who receives John's answer. That is the honorifics which are used to pay respect towards the person who gets influenced by the action. Therefore, it is called object honorifics. In the case of polite form, (2.40), the person who is treated with deference is neither the agent of the action, nor somebody who is influenced by the action, but the addressee. The form is not only used with verbs, but also with adjectives or noun adjectives, such as *akai* ('red') *desu* or *shizuka* ('quiet') *desu,* respectively, as polite form usually takes *masu* / *desu* at the end of the predicate.

The use of honorific language, especially subject honorifics and object honorifics, clearly shows to whom respect is shown among parties who are involved. With regard to (2.38), the use of the subject honorifics indicates that the person who answers the question is someone in a higher position, who should be respected. In the case of (2.39), the object honorifics indicates that there is someone who should be shown respect. Thus, the honorific language contributes to Japanese users' identification of constituents ellipted in the sentence to a great extent.

(3) Preference for subtlety
This is equivalent to Nariyama's (2003) third factor introduced at the beginning of this section. Shibatani points out two cultural factors which support Japanese speakers to use less clear, indirect and obscure language (Shibatani 1990: 389-390). The first factor is Confucian tradition. This philosophical notion disciplines people

to perform an action before uttering words. Verbosity then is not very appreciated. Cultural discussion is not the aim of this research so further details will not be given. The second factor is that 'favoured patterns of indirect transmission of the intended meaning' (Shitabani 1990: 390). Shibatani even states that 'it is the person's ability to arrive at an intended conclusion rather than the persuader's logical presentation that is evaluated' (ibid.). This can be exemplified by the use of the adverb *chotto* in Japanese conversation. *Chotto* literally means 'a bit'. However, it is customarily used when someone turns down an invitation or offer, as seen in (2.41).

(2.41) *Konban   nomi   ni   ikoo.*
    this.evening   drink   to   go.let's
    'Let's go for a drink this evening.'

  - *Konban   wa   chotto*
    this.evening   TOP   a.bit
    'This evening, a bit.'

The word, *muri* 'impossible' could follow *chotto,* but it is usually not verbalised. Although rejection is not clearly expressed, the person who invited the other has to realise that the friend does not feel like going out with him/her that evening.

These are the factors which encourage Japanese to have abundant elliptical sentences. Although all the above three accounts could explain the heavy use of any types of ellipsis in Japanese, it will be clear how they work together to enable Japanese ellipsis if we consider them as motivation for subject ellipsis, which is the most prevalent type of ellipsis, especially in Japanese speech.

2.4.2 Formal and functional study

Ellipsis in Japanese has been studied in both formal and functional approaches, as has been done in English. The formal approach to ellipsis focuses on the ellipsis of nouns, which is referred to as null anaphora or zero pronouns (Hasegawa 1986: Kuroda 1965). As the name implies, nominal ellipsis is treated as an entity with phonologically zero content, but their role on the syntactic tree is similar to that of

pronouns. To differentiate them from normal pronouns, they are termed 'pro'. A pro is an entity equipped with syntactic content, in the sense that it is located in the syntactic structure, but its interpretation in fact needs to rely on the situational context. Additionally, which constituents should be covert or overt is another issue to be addressed, and this is again associated with non-linguistic context. Recall that functional syntax linguists turn to non-linguistic factors (i.e. degree of importance of information brought by constituents) to offer a resolution to the problem about which constituents to be ellipted (i.e. the Pecking Order of Deletion Principle). It is then indispensable to incorporate situational factors to address production and interpretation of ellipsis.

The functional aspects of Japanese ellipsis have also been studied. As found in English ellipsis, there are two approaches to functional research into ellipsis: topic continuity and interpersonal effects. I will discuss the work done from the viewpoint of the relation of neighbouring sentences, i.e. narrowly defined discourse study first. This is followed by discussion of interpersonal effects brought about by ellipsis.

The Japanese referent tracking system is equipped with mainly three types of grammatical features: pronouns, zero anaphora and demonstratives (Iwasaki 2002). Among them, zero anaphora is the most heavily used. Historically, third pronouns are not an original grammatical feature in Japanese. They were introduced as equivalents to 'he/she' in the Western languages in the late nineteenth century. It is argued that in narrative once a certain entity has been introduced, explicitly in the form of a full noun phrase, it is highly likely that the entity will be realised in the form of a zero pronoun (Clancy 1980; Hinds 1982b). In fact, Clancy (1980) reports that in her comparative analysis of English and Japanese narratives 73.2% of the reference found in the Japanese data that she examined is made by ellipsis and 26.8% by noun phrases. This is contrasted with the English counterparts: 15.7% noun phrases, 63.8% pronouns, and 20.5% ellipsis. This suggests that in Japanese ellipsis shows distribution similar to pronouns in English. For this reason, in fact, nominal ellipsis is often called, in the literature, "zero pronouns" or "zero anaphora". The

difference in zero pronoun or null anaphora between functional and formal approaches lies in that the recognition of zero anaphora is made at the surface level in the functional approach, while formal approaches identifies pro at the level of deep as well as surface structure.

Ellipsis also brings out interpersonal effects. The study of the interactional function of ellipsis is relatively new compared with research into its reference tracking function. The first thing to consider about the interpersonal effects of ellipsis is, as found in English, familiarity. In Japanese, it is also well known that ellipsis is preferably used among speakers who are close to each other. Ellipsis is a representation of rapport or closeness of interlocutors, as the linguistic gap can be filled between them by reference to shared knowledge (Yoneha 2003). The gaps created by indirect speech can be filled, and this process serves to confirm that interlocutors understand each other, which creates and maintains rapport (Tannen 1984).

On the other hand, ellipsis in Japanese is also involved in politeness realisation.[16] Ellipsis is a strategy for realising politeness; an incomplete sentence leaves room for the interlocutor, which results in the utterance sounding less imposing (McGloin 1990). Another type of politeness observed in Japanese is honorifics, which are discussed above. Predicates that carry honorific markers are not omitted in elliptical sentences as it is the part which indicates politeness in three ways: subject honorification, object honorification and polite form (Backhouse 1993).

Ellipsis can also contribute to the *hikikomi* (or 'luring') effects in narrative. The comparison in rhetorical effects between ellipsis and repetition reveals that in narrative, use of ellipsis brings readers into the story (Makino 1993). Readers can be readily assimilated into the emotional or mental state of characters when the story is narrated in elliptical sentences from a unified viewpoint, such as that of the main characters. This is compatible with observation in English, where ellipsis is

---

[16] In this context, 'politeness' refers to the strategy for redressing face threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987).

recognised as a hero-centred strategy; 'ellipsis creates a sense of empathy with the protagonist'(Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1997: 97).

Investigation of interactional aspects of speech, which is currently a flourishing area in grammar research, is associated with the discipline of conversational analysis. Ellipsis is studied in association with backchanneling, which is extremely frequent in Japanese conversation. When the clause ends with a conjunctive particle, which shows that the clause is an adverbial clause, and the main clause does not follow,[17] the statement by the clause ending with the particle is softened (Maynard 1986). Moreover, combined with manipulated word order, ellipsis can contribute to form preferred/dispreferred responses in Japanese; when preferred responses are made word order is disturbed and ellipsis is heavily used, while when dispreferred responses are made canonical word order and minimisation of ellipsis are observed (Tanaka 2005). It is also observed by Tanaka (2005) that when the correlation of two grammatical features with preferred/dispreferred responses is not observed, it is likely to indicate something interactionally less straightforward than just preferred/dispreferred responses, such as teasing or showing intimacy.

With regard to sociolinguistic perspectives, ellipsis rates between genders has been studied; Shibamoto (1984) gives an account that female speakers use more subject ellipsis (73%) than male (61%) in multi-party conversation, while Fry (2003) reports that their use of ellipsis is almost the same . Shibamoto also reports the difference in location of ellipsis in the sentence between genders. Assuming Hinds's (1982) claim that the strong motivation for nominal ellipsis is identification with discourse topic, Shibamoto examines the ellipsis of subject noun phrases with respect to their position within a paragraph. She finds that female speakers do produce more subject ellipsis related to paragraph topics than men (62.7% vs. 49.7%).

---

[17] For instance, the negation presented by the adverbial clause:

chigai   masu   kedo
different   HON(T)   FP$_{INDR}$
'it would be wrong.'
The utterance sounds softer than one by the main clause *chigai masu* 'it's wrong.'

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter gave a tour of ellipsis studies in English and Japanese in terms of form and function, including textual and interpersonal effects. Ellipsis covers a wide range of phenomena, which makes it challenging to provide a succinct definition. It seems that the difficulty in giving a definition of ellipsis is caused in particular by treatment of situational ellipsis; some examples of situational ellipsis do not allow for precise recoverability, which is the point that makes a definition less clear-cut. It is interesting that most of the work on ellipsis so far, especially in English, excludes situational ellipsis from their research, and concentrate on textual ellipsis, whereby recovery of the ellipted items is made possible linguistically, although the prevalence of situational ellipsis is acknowledged (Carter and McCarthy 2006). One of the exceptions is Greenbaum and Nelson (1998); they distinguish ellipsis into two types: independent and coodination, which are equivalent to situational and textual ellipsis respectively. The biased amount of study towards textual ellipsis does not seem to be completely unrelated to the difficulty of providing a definition of situational ellipsis; the existence of situational ellipsis makes approaches to studies of ellipsis as well as definitions of it less straightforward. In this sense, the discussion on ellipsis by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is clear-cut, since their approach to ellipsis is by definition exclusively rooted in cohesion and the description is dedicated to endophoric reference.

Another aspect of ellipsis which has not been investigated in any detail is its interpersonal effects; the claim which is generally made is that ellipsis, especially in English, is indicative of informality among speakers, although genre should be considered. In contrast, the contribution of ellipsis to textual cohesion is rather well studied, but mainly in narrative, which is a rather specific genre. In fact, it seems that the little acknowledgement of situational ellipsis in research is associated with lack of study on interpersonal effects of ellipsis, considering the fact that at least in English, the omission of constituents which grammar requires to exist in the sentence (e.g., subject ellipsis) takes place in limited contexts where the interpersonal

relationship matters (casual conversation among close friends). In the present research, I propose a comparative analysis which is based on speech collected under the same conditions so as to investigate comparatively the two types of function of ellipsis: textual and interpersonal, especially the latter.   The analysis will disclose the characteristic use of ellipsis for these functions in each language.

Chapter 3

Data description: map task dialogues

3.0 Introduction

In the last chapter I described ellipsis in terms of its form and functions, in particular the two functions which are associated with cohesion and interpersonal effects in speech. The aim of this chapter is to present the details of the data used to examine these functions, which is an aim of my research. The data used for this research consists of two corpora: the HCRC Map Task Corpus (English) and the Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus (Japanese). I will describe the aims and designs of these two map task corpora, as well as how dialogues in the corpora have been rearranged for the present comparative analyses. There are of course disadvantages of using the kind of data that I have chosen. In particular, talk during a task is only one genre among many spoken language genres, and therefore we have to be circumspect in generalising the findings. However, the advantage of using parallel corpora outweighs this drawback. In order to be able to do contrastive analysis, it is essential that the data from the two languages should be of the same type, obtained from the same context, and collected in the same way. Such parallel corpora of any size are not easily obtained, but are vital for the validity of the research. The two corpora that I used satisfy these criteria, and it is for this reason that I chose them.

The descriptions of the corpora and modification process are followed by an analysis of the genre of task-oriented dialogues. I will take a genre analysis approach in systemic functional linguistics, which can review both lexico-grammatical features and social context together, not in isolation. Also, I will discuss the effects of manipulating certain aspects of the situation in which the dialogue takes place, in particular, whether task participants can see each other and whether they are familiar with each other.

Lastly, I will detail the precise research questions that are explored in this dissertation as part of the overall research, based on the discussion of ellipsis in the last chapter and the descriptions of the map task dialogues in this chapter.

3.1 The corpora

3.1.1 The HCRC Map Task Corpus

3.1.1.1 The aim of the corpus

The HCRC Map Task Corpus is a collection of 128 dialogues which took place among participants in map tasks. The map task was originally used as cooperative exercises for language learning (Anderson, Brown, Schillcock and Yule 1984). In the map task corpus, two participants are involved in a task. They are seated opposite each other and each of them has a map. The maps include several features such as a diamond mine, a graveyard and a chapel. Most of the features are common between the two maps, but some are missing in each map. Also some features have different names on the two maps. One of the maps includes a route with a start and finish point, while the other has only a start point without a route and finish point. One participant whose map has a route gives instructions to the other so as to enable the latter to draw a route on his/her own map. The corpus is therefore a collection of dialogues by pairs of participants in the task. The corpus project was carried out by the Human Communication Research Centre (HCRC) at the University of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The corpus was published in 1993 in the form of CD-ROM, and is also available through a website[18] with the choice of various annotation levels.

The goal of the corpus project is to elicit unscripted dialogues which include certain linguistic phenomena in controlled contexts. For the purpose of linguistic research, real dialogues as material are not always suitable as the phenomena in question may be sparsely distributed across naturally occurring speech data (Anderson et al. 1991). This problem causes difficulties in quantitative research; even though the corpus is huge, it may not be enough to provide sufficient examples to maintain an argument

---

[18] http://www.hcrc.ed.ac.uk/maptask/interface/

regarding particular features. The difficulty also lies in the qualitative problem of corpus study, which is related to the nature of naturally occurring speech. In spontaneous data the emergence of some phenomena is dependent on extralinguistic as well as linguistic contexts, which are either unknown or uncontrolled by those who use the corpus. Therefore, findings from spontaneous data may be accidental and inconsistent among different data sets. In a nutshell, the employment of the phenomenon found fortuitously in a large corpus of spontaneous speech may not give the whole picture of the phenomenon concerned in real linguistic activity (Anderson et al. 1991). The kind of data which we need for analysis, then, is supposed to guarantee a balanced distribution of the linguistic feature in question.

To tackle these quantitative and qualitative issues, the map task corpus aims to provide data which accurately shows linguistic features distributed in spontaneous speech. This is enabled by the design of the corpus, part of which comes from an original pedagogical task. The characteristics of the design include the production of measurable successful communication amongst participants,[19] and a controlled task environment (i.e. map route, landmarks), which enables observers to evaluate participants' communication objectively. In addition to the original pedagogical task design, the map task corpus allows for the manipulation of three aspects of the task:

1. The name of the landmarks can be arranged to be of phonological interest.
2. Familiarity among participants is systematically varied.
3. A channel of communication (eye contact) is controlled.

(Anderson et al. 1991: 352-353)

The last two are recognised as variables which can be used to investigate the effects of manipulating situations in which the dialogue takes place, as the distribution of each condition of the last two is systematic across the dialogues in the corpus. Owing to this design, it is possible for the corpus users to cope with both quantitative

---

[19] Task success is measured by examining the deviation between the original route on the instruction giver's map and the reproduced route on the instruction follower's map. For this purpose a 1 cm grid was used; the route was represented by filled grid squares (Anderson et al. 1991).

and qualitative difficulties encountered in corpus research. Therefore, while the dialogues themselves are unplanned, the corpus comprises a large, spontaneous, but still, phonologically, psychologically and pragmatically, controlled elicitation exercise (Anderson et al. 1991).

As explained above, the corpus serves for phonological, syntactic and pragmatic research. Specifically, there are mainly four concerns which motivate the corpus design (Anderson et al. 1991: 353-359). Firstly, since task success is measurable by looking at how participants' routes deviate from each other, the map task corpus makes it possible to determine the effects of communicative strategies among participants. The strategies include the forms of referring expressions chosen to introduce new items in the dialogue, the sequencing of questions and answers, the ways in which information is provided and processed by participants and the ways in which communication problems are indicated and reacted to. Secondly, the concern is related to the distinction between written and spoken language. Examination of the map task dialogues makes it possible to give accounts of factors affecting language use without being influenced by register, purpose and formality, as the corpus provides informal speech of one group - undergraduate subjects. Related to the present research, observation of the map task dialogues can reveal the way in which speech is directed at a particular goal; for example, how speakers introduce, focus on, and keep track of entities; how speakers give a description of entities and movement on maps; how speakers choose types of clauses and phrases as well as how they combine them. Thirdly, variability in speech, such as duration, amplitude and spectral composition, can be considered by using the data in the map task dialogues. In speech, word tokens are never identical with regard to phonological variation. The effects of particular phonetic environments then can be examined by arranging specific environments, such as the relationship between length and information delivered with a word. Lastly, conversational structure and intonation can be also examined. Researchers can deduce the purposes of speaker's utterances by looking at a stage of the task and their state of knowledge. Based on Anderson et al. (1991), in the next section I will describe the task design and participants in the corpus.

3.1.1.2 The design

Three aspects of the task situation are systematically varied: familiarity between participants, availability of eye contact and task role familiarity. Participant familiarity represents whether the participants in the task are known to each other. Availability of eye contact is concerned with whether the participants could see each other's face during their performance of the task. Task role familiarity represents the participant's familiarity with the task and their role within the task. Each participant performs the task four times, twice as an instruction giver and twice as the instruction follower. The task role familiarity variable is, then, about whether it is the first or second time for the participant to perform the task. In this research, I will take familiarity between participants and availability of eye contact as variables, leaving aside the task role familiarity. Since use of ellipsis is related to the amount of shared knowledge among speakers, it is assumed that visual information might play a certain role for frequency of occurrence of ellipsis. As for familiarity, one of the aims of this study is to present an explanation of interpersonal effects which are associated with use of ellipsis; it seems worth while to investigate how familiarity among speakers affects frequency of occurrence and use of ellipsis. Additionally, familiarity is also related to shared knowledge, which is one of the factors facilitating the use of ellipsis, as it is known that ellipsis is characteristic of informal conversation among people who know each other. Also, it is reported that familiarity among speakers affects the synchronisation of knowledge; sequences of dialogues, such as question-answer, explanation-acknowledgement, reflect the way of observing and monitoring their own and interlocutors' knowledge level (Lee 2005). Since the present research focuses on the effects of 'shared knowledge' among the participants on the occurrence of ellipsis, it seems that task role familiarity is not directly relevant for the amount of shared knowledge as a factor to facilitate ellipsis[20]. I will discuss further details of the variables for the present study in section 3.4.

---

[20] From the viewpoint of language learning, Bygate (1996; 2001) in fact demonstrates that the task repetition would improve learners' performance in terms of fluency, accuracy and complexity.

The subjects were sixty-four undergraduate students at the University of Glasgow. There were equal numbers of male and female students, although gender distribution was not otherwise controlled in the corpus design. Their age ranges from 17 to 30. The majority of the subjects (61 out of 64 participants) are Scottish, and the rest are English and American.

There are 16 pairs of maps, numbered from 0 to 15. Each pair consists of one map for the instruction giver (with a route) and the other for the instruction follower (without a route). The distribution of the participants, maps used and variables, i.e. eye contact, subjects and task role familiarity, is found in section 1.1 in Appendix A.

Subjects were recruited with a pair who knew each other. Two pairs made up a quadruple, which is a unit that produces eight dialogues using two kinds of maps. Put another way, a quadruple comprised two groups consisting of two members each, who were familiar with each other, which is illustrated as follows:

Group A (familiar)	1
	2
Group B (familiar)	1
	2

Table 3.1 Two groups in a quadruple

There are 16 quadruples in total, half of which do the task with eye contact and the other half without. Two subjects in a pair took seats facing one another with a drawing board in front of each of them. The boards were set back to back so as participants cannot see the other's map. In the eye contact condition, they could see each other's faces over the drawing boards, while in the no eye contact condition a partition made this impossible. 'Ec' and 'nc' in the dialogue names, e.g., q4ec5 and q4nc5, represent whether the dialogue is done with (ec) or without (nc) eye contact. There are two sets of participant groups: participants in one set performed the task with an unfamiliar partner first (Set 1 in the table in section 1.1 in Appendix A) while those in the other set carried out the task with a familiar partner first (Set 2 in the

table in section 1.1 in Appendix A). Each participant did the task four times: twice as an instruction giver and twice as an instruction follower. Hence, 64 participants and 16 pairs of maps generated 128 dialogues in total. The third and fourteenth rows in the table in section 1.1 in appendix A show a pair participating in each dialogue; the first participant represents the instruction giver (henceforth the Giver) and the second the instruction follower (henceforth the Follower). In the dialogue q1nc1, for instance, the participant A1 plays the Giver and B1 the Follower. The number in the parenthesis indicates the map number used in the dialogue. Thus, the same map was used for both with and without eye contact performances, and four different maps were used twice in one group. Dialogues in the shaded cells are performed by familiar participants. Hence, with regard to the variables of eye contact and familiarity, each of the total of 128 dialogues belongs to one of the following categories: familiar speakers with eye contact, familiar speakers without eye contact, unfamiliar speakers with eye contact and unfamiliar speakers without eye contact.

3.1.1.3 The annotation

All dialogues from the task were transcribed orthographically. They are available online,[21] along with several kinds of annotation. The types of annotation available in the corpus are: move, game, transaction, disfluency, gaze, part of speech tags, syntax and reference coding. When a dialogue is chosen to be displayed on the screen, more than one type of annotation can be also chosen. They are incorporated into the dialogue transcription on the outcome screen.

Move annotation along with game and transaction annotations represents dialogue structure. They are formulated for the map task corpus annotation based on Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) classroom discourse analysis. Transaction, game and move make up a hierarchical dialogue structure, where transaction is the highest category. Each **transaction** characterises one stage of drawing a route on a part of the map. The Giver generally gives instructions to the Follower, dividing the whole route into several segments. Typically, one transaction is equivalent to the unit of the dialogue in which the Giver instructs the Follower to draw a route in that segment. A

---

[21] http://www.hcrc.ed.ac.uk/maptask/interface/

transaction, in turn, consists of dialogue **games**, which is comparable to 'exchange' (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 21-24), although the boundaries of game and exchange do not always meet. A game exemplifies the exchange of utterances, in which certain sequential patterns can be observed; for example, questions are followed by answers, statements by denial or agreement. Each game bears a communicative purpose, e.g., getting information from the partner or providing information (Carletta, A. Isard, S. Isard, Kowtko, Doherty-Sneddon and Anderson 1996; 1997). Since a game can be embedded in another game, but games do not overlap, a game can continue until its original purpose has been fulfilled or abandoned.

Games in turn comprise **moves**. The move is concisely defined as a 'functional unit' (Levinson 1983: 303), and in the case of the map task dialogues moves have been defined as 'different kinds of initiations and responses classified according to their purposes' (Carletta et al. 1996: 3). All utterances are annotated by move codes. There are twelve moves in the coding scheme. Moves are categorised into three groups: initiation, response and preparation. The initiation moves include [instruct], [explain], [check], [align], [query-yn] and [query-w]. The response moves include [acknowledge], [reply-y], [reply-n], [reply-w] and [clarify]. The preparation move consists only of the [ready] move. The description of each move is found in section 2 in Appendix A. The following is an excerpt from dialogue q1ec1 with move annotation.

GIVER	FOLLOWER
Move 1 ready okay	
Move 2 instruct starting off ... we are ... above ... a caravan park	
	Move 3 acknowledge mmhmm
Move 4 instruct we are going to go ... due south ... straight south ... and ... then we're going to g-- ... turn straight back round and head north ... past an old mill ... on the right ... hand side	

	Move 5 check due south and then back up again?
Move 6 reply-y yeah	
Move 7 clarify south and then straight back up again with an old mill on the right and you're going to pass on the left-hand side of the mill	
	Move 8 acknowledge right okay

That is the initial part of a dialogue. As the excerpt shows, an utterance is not equivalent to one move.   Move 1 and 2 as well as 6 and 7 are taken as one utterance, so each utterance contains two moves within it. What to note is that occasionally the numbering of moves is inconsistent, as found in the following excerpt, where Move 51 is missing:

Move 47 ready so	
	Move 48 ready okay
	Move 49 check so I ... I go ... upwards ... like the same distance away from the paper?
Move 50 clarify upwards for about	
Move 52 reply-y yeah	
	Move 53 check the edge of the paper until ... I'm just across from the rope bridge?

Dialogue q4ec7

This happened because corrections were made to the annotation by the annotators at some point and they did not want to renumber moves as it would mess up other annotations (A. Isard, personal communications). As the overall course of events did not get affected, I did not make any change to the original numbering in the corpus.

54

Overlap can be also seen as an option of the screen display. When both speakers speak simultaneously, the overlapping parts of the utterances are marked in blue. In the above excerpt, the overlapping display shows that the end of move 5 ('again') and move 6 ('yeah') overlap. Whole dialogues in an original transcript, a transcript with move annotation, along with maps used, are shown in section 1 in Appendix B

3.1.2 The Chiba Map Task Corpus

The Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus was produced by the Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus Project at Chiba University in Japan through 1994 to 1999. The objective of the project was to create a corpus which is an 'acoustically reliable, linguistically targeted and psychologically controlled corpus of spontaneous human dialogues' (Horiuchi, Yoshino, Naka, Tsuchiya and Ichikawa 1997: 33) in Japanese. The design of the Japanese map task dialogue corpus mostly followed that of the HCRC Map Task Corpus, apart from the use of different facilities for recording data and the observation of phonological features which are unique in Japanese. After a brief description of the corpus, including similarities to the HCRC Map Task Corpus, I will discuss the differences between these two corpora.

The aim of the Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus is summed up in the following four points.

- to obtain sufficient material for examining phonological variables in Japanese spontaneous speech
- to analyse how familiarity and eye contact between speakers functions in the collaborative task
- to carry out a refined investigation of communication strategy
- to analyse the role of contextual information which affects an utterance and its understanding   (Horiuchi et al. 1997)

The variables are the same as found in the HCRC Map Task Corpus, namely, availability of eye contact, participant familiarity and task role familiarity. Although

task role familiarity is not explicitly mentioned, the distribution of the participants makes it possible to treat task role familiarity as a variable.

Dialogues in the Japanese corpus can be identified with almost the same coding formula as in the HCRC Map Task Corpus, e.g., j1n1 for non eye contact dialogue, j1e1 for eye contact dialogue. Therefore, the table in section 1.1 in Appendix A will be applicable to the Chiba Map Task Corpus design once q and nc/ec in the dialogue name are replaced by j and n/e respectively. For instance, an English dialogue coded q4nc7 corresponds to a Japanese dialogue coded j4n7. The distribution of the participants, maps used and variables in the Japanese map task dialogues is found in section 1.2 in Appendix A.

The differences between the Chiba Map Task Corpus and the HCRC Map Task Corpus are (1) the apparatus used, (2) some aspects of design and (3) the transcriptions. Firstly, the facilities used for collecting Japanese dialogues are different from the HCRC project. For the purpose of obtaining sounds of high quality, in the Chiba Map Task project, two participants in a task were in separate sound proof rooms and talked to each other through a glass between the two rooms. This window only allows participants to see each other's faces, but not the maps or movements of the hands. The window can be blocked in order to control the eye contact variable.

Secondly, the Chiba Map Task Corpus controls the distribution of participants' gender, which is not the case with the HCRC Map Task Corpus. As explained in section 3.1.1.2, the HCRC corpus design includes sixteen quadruples, each of which consists of two pairs. The Chiba Map Task Corpus arranges participants with the same gender in a quadruple, while the HCRC Map Task Corpus includes mixed gender quadruples. However, the latter corpus provides detailed information about the participants in each quadruple: the participant's first name, gender, birth place, age as well as the distribution of those participants in the quadruple, which is not available in the Chiba Map Task Corpus.

Thirdly, there are two significant differences regarding the way of displaying the dialogue transcripts collected in the task: the way of displaying the plain text and availability of annotation. The unit of utterance in the Japanese corpus is determined by the length of pause; the utterance unit is a phonological sequence whose boundary is made by an interval of silence lasting over 400 [ms]. A silence lasting more than 100 [ms] and less than 400 [ms] is represented by a number in the angled bracket in a segment (e.g., <325>). Therefore, utterances are not defined in any way by syntactic criteria. In some cases, even laughter can be counted as a segment. The difference regarding the utterance segmentation can be exemplified by comparing the following extracts from each corpus.

GIVER: okay, starting off ... we are ... above ... a caravan park.
FOLLOWER: mmhmm.
GIVER: we are going to go ... due south ... straight south ... and ... then we're going to g-- ... turn straight back round and head north ... past an old mill ... on the right ... hand side.
FOLLOWER: due south and then back up **again**?
GIVER: **yeah**, south and then straight back up again with an old mill on the right and you're going to pass on the left-hand side of the mill.
FOLLOWER: right **okay**.

<div align="right">(Extract from dialogueq1ec1 of the HCRC Map Task Corpus)</div>

This is the transcript without any annotation in the HCRC Map Task Corpus. The same part in the Chiba Map Task Corpus is displayed as follows:

```
00:03:424-00:04:464 G:えはじめていいですか+;noise1000
00:04:400-00:04:656 F:+はい
00:05:552-00:05:728 G:と
00:06:256-00:09:056 G:しゅっぱつちてんありますよね*<368>おーときゃんぷじょうの
00:07:648-00:07:888 F:                              *はい
00:09:344-00:09:568 F:はい
00:10:000-00:10:768 G:うえなんで(す)けど;noise500
00:10:784-00:10:976 F:はい
```

<div align="right">(Extract from dialogue j1e1 of the Chiba Map Task Corpus)</div>

The figures at the left signify the running time of the dialogue from the beginning. G and F stand for who the speaker of the segment is: the Giver or Follower.

Information about the time duration and overlapping is also provided. An asterisk symbol (*) in the dialogue represents the point where overlapping starts, which are found in both speakers' utterances. For instance, in the above extract, the asterisks in the fourth and fifth lines, along with the information of running time, shows that while the Giver (G) is speaking (the segment between 00:06:256-00:09:056), the Follower (F) made a short utterance (the segment between 00:07:648-00:07:888). The symbol '+' represents the occasion on which an utterance is followed by the other's utterance immediately before the former finishes the segment (the duration of the overlap is less than 100 [ms]). The information provided enables us to work out how exchange is actually occurring between participants (see Appendix C for all the conventions in the transcripts).

The other notable difference is that the Chiba Map Task Corpus is not equipped with annotation as found in the HCRC Map Task Corpus. What is provided is the plain transcript of each dialogue, together with the kind of information we have just seen, as well as all the maps used. Therefore, in order to carry out a contrastive pragmatic study it was necessary to divide up each segment in the dialogue into moves. An explanation of the procedure is given in the next section.

3.2 Modification of the transcript: dialogue rearrangement and move allocation

As discussed in the last section, the Japanese dialogue transcripts are arranged in a quite different way from English ones. It is necessary to rearrange dialogues of the former in order to make it comparable to the English dialogues from formal and functional viewpoints. To discuss how rearrangement was done as well as issues related to the procedure, I will look at the very beginning part of j6e7, in the original transcript.

```
00:02:160-00:06:288 G:でははじめます*<320>えとしゅっぱつちてんがひだりうえにありますよね
00:03:200-00:03:344 F:          *はい
```

00:06:320-00:06:448 F:はい
00:07:472-00:09:248 G:それで<144>いどは<336>ありますか
00:09:680-00:10:192 F:いどですか+
00:10:176-00:10:528 G:+ええ
00:10:816-00:12:176 F:えといどはないです
00:12:448-00:16:528 G:えときたのぬま<208>*を<320>あのすなはまから
00:14:352-00:14:768 F: *(は)<176>はい
00:16:640-00:16:832 F:はい
00:17:952-00:18:496 G:あの
00:20:160-00:21:520 G:はまぞいにいくと
00:21:648-00:21:808 F:はい
00:22:192-00:25:392 G:あの<112>{でっ<176>ぱっ<208>て}るところにありますよね*きたの
ぬまで
00:24:784-00:24:960 F: *はい
00:25:568-00:25:760 F:はい
00:26:096-00:26:592 G:その
00:27:136-00:27:632 G:いちばん
00:28:576-00:30:256 G:きたのぬまの<384>{なん
00:30:832-00:33:632 G:せい}<304>にあたるところのでっぱってるとこありますよね
00:33:680-00:33:856 F:はい
00:34:240-00:35:856 G:{そころ[soko]}にいどがあるんですよ;発話後呼吸音
00:35:984-00:36:144 F:はい

The excerpt is reorganised into the following format, which is the same as found in
dialogues of the HCRC Map Task Corpus with move annotation (see section 3.1.1.3).

Giver	Follower
ではじめます*<320>えとしゅっぱつちてん がひだりうえにありますよね	
	*はい
	はい
それで<144>いどは<336>ありますか	
	いどですか+
+ええ	
	えといどはないです
えときたのぬま<208>*を<320>あのすなはまか ら{はじまっ<144>て}	
	*(は)<176>はい
	はい
あの 00:20:160-00:21:520 G:はまぞいにいくと	
	はい
あの<112>{でっ<176>ぱっ<208>て}るところに ありますよね*きたのぬまで	
	*はい
	はい
その 00:27:136-00:27:632 G:いちばん 00:28:576-00:30:256 G:きたのぬまの<384>{なん	

00:30:832-00:33:632 G:せい}<304>にあたるところのでっぱってるとこありますよね	
	はい
{そころ[soko]}にいどがあるんですよ;発話後呼吸音	
	はい

Dialogue j6e7

At this point, utterances are distributed into each speaker's slot, the Giver's (left column) and Follower's (right column). The sequence of segments from the same speaker is put into one slot, however long the segment is. Many of the segments from the Follower are in fact backchannel utterances. There are two types of backchannel utterances; one occurs after the interlocutor finishes the utterance, and the other occurs during the interlocutor's turn, which is called "intraturn backchannel". Whether the segment is intraturn or not is decided by looking at the time duration of utterances by each speaker. The example is found in the first two segments by the Follower. The first segment of the Follower's is a intraturn backchannel as the asterisk symbol and time duration indicate that it occurs and ends while the Giver is talking, while the second segment of the Follower's is a backchannel utterance which starts right after the Giver's utterance.

Once this rearrangement has been done, the other step which is required for the comparative study is dividing the Japanese transcript into moves. The set of moves used for the Japanese transcripts is the same as that used in the HCRC Map Task Corpus move annotation. To guarantee the equivalence of the move between the English and Japanese data, a preparatory work was done. First, move coding testing of the HCRC Map Task Corpus was carried out as a preliminary procedure by the author; one dialogue was taken and move coding was done with it. The result was compared with the original annotation in the corpus. Although it is sometimes not straightforward to distinguish some moves in the same group, namely, initiation move group, response move group or preparation move group, overall the coding by the author was the same as the original ones found in the corpus. Secondly, coding reliability is calculated by comparing coding performances between three native speaker coders. Two native speakers of Japanese were asked to allocate one of the

twelve moves to each move segment. The average rate of agreement between the three coders' allocating a move to a certain segment in one dialogue (j5n6) was 80.8 %, 82.5% and 78.3% respectively.[22] Although exactly the same moves were not allocated to moves between the three coders, it still appears that about 80% of consistency makes it possible to establish reliability of coding by the author. The following is a part of a dialogue (j6e7), whose transcript has been divided into moves. The time duration is left out for the interest of clear presentation.

Giver	Follower
Move 1 (ready) でははじめます* Move 3 (check) えとしゅっぱつちてんがひだりうえにありますよね	
	Move 2 (acknowledge) *はい
	Move 4 (reply-y) はい
Move 5 (query-yn) それで…いどは…ありますか	
	Move 6 (check) いどですか+
Move 7 (reply-y) +ええ	
	Move 8 (reply-n) えといどはないです
Move 9 (instruct) えときたのぬま…*を…あのすなはまから{はじまっ…て}	
	Move 10 (acknowledge) *(は)…はい
	Move 11 (acknowledge) はい
あの<…>はまぞいにいくと	
	Move 12 (acknowledge) はい
Move 13 (check) あの…{でっ…ぱっ…て}るところにありますよね*きたのぬまで	
	Move 14 (acknowledge) *はい
	Move 15 (acknowledge) はい
Move 16 (check) その<…>いちばん<…>きたのぬまの…{なん<…>せい}…にあたるところのでっぱってるとこありますよね	
	Move 17 (reply-y) はい
Move 18 (explain) {そころ[soko]}にいどがあるんですよ	
	Move 19 (explain) はい

Dialogue j6e7

There are a few points to note about this process:

---

[22] The complete distribution of move in dialogue segments among three coders is found in section 3 in Appendix A.

- If more than one segment in a row is part of a single move, the segments are put into one move and therefore in one slot. In that case, to indicate an interval silence lasting over 400 [ms], '<…>' is inserted (e.g., in Move 16 in the above excerpt).

- A pause lasting less than 400 [ms] in utterances, which is originally represented by the millisecond number in angled brackets, is illustrated by '…' in the rearranged transcript.

- In any case where more than one move is found in one segment, the segment is divided into segments for each move. (e.g., Move 1 and 3)

- The move numbering reflects the actual order of the utterance occurring. For instance, Move 2 in the above excerpt, which takes place at almost the same time as the last part of Move 1 as the asterisk indicates, is uttered immediately before Move 3, which is in turn followed by Move 4. The order of utterances is determined by looking at the time duration attached to the original transcript. Move 2 is, then, recognised as an instance of intraturn backchannel. This intraturn backchannel frequently happens especially in Japanese dialogues, since Japanese uses backchannel behaviour extremely frequently, which is in many cases realised by the interlocutor's saying *hai* 'right / yes'.

Also, there are some issues in assigning moves, which seem peculiar to the Japanese map task dialogues. I will pick out two issues here. First, some segments are too short to assign to a certain move. In some short segments, the end of sentences is often dropped. This means that the predicate, which decides the mood of the utterance (i.e. declarative, interrogative or imperative) is not found, because Japanese word order is SOV. Also final particles such as *yo, ne, ka* play a significant role in determining whether the utterance is for making a statement, confirmation or question. It was observed that utterances sometimes finish before those syntactically crucial elements occur. It is necessary to ascertain what function the segment carries from context. However, when they are too short to be assigned to any move, and recognition of the mood was totally impossible, they were classified as 'uncodable'.

The gerundive form of the verbs (the -te form), which is frequently observed in the map task dialogues, is the other feature to be mentioned. The gerundive form originally implies that another clause is following from the same speaker. This form of the verbs then does not include the crucial elements to determine speech acts which the utterance is associated with. It may be a question, explanation or another instruction. I will refer to the -te form later in this chapter (section 3.3.3) and in chapter 4 (section 4.2.2). Whole dialogues in an original transcript and a transcript with segmentation and move allocation, along with maps used, are shown in section 2 in Appendix B.

3.3 Structure of the map task dialogues

3.3.1 Characterisation of text: generic structure

Spoken language, in which task-oriented dialogues are usually found, has a variety of genres, ranging from casual conversation to monologue, depending on the number of speakers included; and from casual conversation to formal lecture, depending on the situation in which speech takes place. Casual conversation, in turn, is categorised into various genres or text types: gossip, narrative, joking and so on. Genres are characterised by differences in several features, ranging from the social relationship of the participants to the grammar and lexis found in text: people involved (sender, receiver), function, situation, physical form, title, overt introduction, pre-sequence, internal structure, cohesion, grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and graphology (Cook 1989: 99). Following the procedure of identifying genres given by Eggins and Slade (1997), I will look at both macro- and microlinguistic features of the map task dialogues. i.e. the generic structure and lexico-grammatical features in each stage. The intention of the genre analysis presented in this section is to provide a structural sketch of the map task dialogues. The outline of the discourse features, such as the sequence of stages, recurring grammar and vocabulary, serves to equip us with a fundamental understanding about the map task dialogues, which is essential for the subsequent in-depth study of ellipsis. I will briefly describe the evolution and description of genre theory and its methodology within the systemic functional

approach as this is the main framework adopted in the current research. This is followed by its application to the map task dialogues in the two languages.

Genre analysis in the systemic functional framework can be traced back to the work of J. R. Firth. Firth, the founder of modern British linguistics, argued that meaning and context are fundamental to language descriptions, and this idea is reflected in today's sociolinguistic approaches such as discourse analysis. Another contribution of his to linguistics, especially British linguistics, was to inspire researchers to investigate African and Asian languages (Joseph, Love and Taylor 2001) . Under his influence, Mitchell studied auction and transaction conversations in Cyrenaica (eastern Libya) (Mitchell 1957), where a useful formula to indicate how the flow of conversation takes place was introduced. Following Mitchell's work, Hasan conducted a study of service encounter interaction, and set up the notion of generic structure potential (Hasan 1978). She postulates that text is comprised of stages, which bear functional labels, such as 'Greeting', 'Sale Request' and 'Purchase'. The notable point here is that the stages which constitute a genre are ordered linearly and either obligatory or optional. Her method has become a theoretical foundation of genre analysis in the systemic functional approach. She also discussed genre as a realisation of a certain social activity; by following the stages directed towards a certain goal prescribed in the social norm, social encounters are conducted. The underlying concepts in a systemic account, then, can be summarised in Ventola's concepts of genre (Ventola 1987):

- Genres are staged
- Genres are goal-directed language events
- Genres express social processes

The tenet on genre among systemic functional linguists is that each genre has characteristic and distinctive features in terms of structural formula and lexico-grammatical features, i.e., different genres are differently staged and each stage is defined differently by lexico-grammatical features. For those two facets (structure

and lexico-grammar) to be identified, Eggins and Slade (1997: 231-235) set up six steps found in generic structure analysis for casual conversation:

(i)   *Recognising a chunk*
       There are factors which divides conversation into segments, such as when one participant indicates that s/he is going to take the floor. This segment is amenable to a generic description, including stage.

(ii)   *Defining the social purpose of the chunk and labelling the genre*
       It is necessary to identify 'the way the text type constructs social reality' and how attitudes and values are structured in the text. Therefore labels should be more specific. For instance, simply 'story telling' is not enough to indicate its social practice; specifying narratives, anecdotes, exempla and recounts would be appropriate.

(iii) *Identifying and differentiating stages within a genre*
       A genre consists of stages, which are functional constituents. Identifying stages and explaining how they make up the whole text can be done by using functional labels. For instance, according to Labov, stages in narrative are recognised as:
       Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda (Labov 1972)

(iv)   *Specifying obligatory and optional stages*
       Obligatory stages characterise the genre. For instance, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation and Resolution stages are all obligatory in narrative.

(v)   *Devising a structural formula*
       Stages are arranged in a linear sequence.   The formula includes symbols: the symbol ^ is used between stages to indicate that one is followed by another; the parenthesis ( ) indicates that the stage within parenthesis is optional; the superscript n accompanying brackets indicates how many times the stage within occurs. The formula of stages in narrative looks as follows;
       (Abstract)^Orientation^Complication^Evluation^Resolution^(Coda)

The formula originates from Hasan's (1978) genre analysis, which is a groundwork for genre analysis in the systemic functional approach. The formula for the map task dialogues is found at the end of this section (Figure 3.3).

(vi) *Analysing the semantic and lexico-grammatical features for each stage of a genre*

So far the steps are related to schematic structure of a genre. Lexico-grammatical description of generic structure is essential to defining different text stages and even different genres.

(Eggins and Slade 1997: 231-253)

The steps (i)-(v) are to identify 'schematic structure', i.e. patterns of overall staging (Martin 1992), while the step (vi) is concerned with lexico-grammatical realisation.

Hyon (1996) compares three different schools of genre analysis: systemic functional linguistics, English for Specific Purpose (ESP) and North American New Rhetoric studies. The first two approaches are well known for their pedagogical purposes. Especially, the second one has been, as its name indicates, developed for providing teachers with insights of linguistic features observed in particular types of text and presenting guidelines useful in language classrooms. Therefore researchers in this school (Bhatia 1993; Flowerdew 1993; Swales 1990; Thompson 1994) recognise genre as 'a tool for analyzing and teaching the spoken and written language required of non-native speakers in academic and professional settings' (Hyon 1996: 695). The third approach is better suited to investigate the context in which text is observed, rather than the text itself (Miller 1984; 1994). It serves ethnographic purposes, resulting in descriptions of contexts in which text appears and those of functions that the texts serve.

The procedure so far introduced and to be used for the present genre analysis belongs to the first school: systemic functional linguistics. This is because an aim of the present research is to present a relation of elliptical forms to functions, and another aim is to identify and describe the pedagogical implications based on the results.

Although the ESP approach also can serve pedagogical purposes, it pays less attention to the social dimensions in which a text appears, which is an essential part of the present study. Hence, the first approach based on systemic functional linguistics is suitable for this study since this approach focuses on relations between form, function and the social context in which the linguistic activity is observed.

Following the genre analysis procedure of Eggins and Slade (1997), I will examine the map task dialogues as a genre and provide a generic structure of the genre along with a comparative description of English and Japanese dialogues, although direct application of the Eggins and Slade model is not possible and modification is needed because of the difference in genre between casual conversation and task-oriented dialogues.

3.3.2 Schematic structure in the map task dialogues

In this section, I will provide the macro structure of the map task dialogue genre by addressing two points.

- Defining the genre of task-oriented dialogues
- Establishing the semantic and lexico-grammatical realisations for each stage

To offer a generic analysis of the map task dialogue genre, I will use as a model of generic structure analysis of task-oriented dialogue proposed by Taboada (2004). She analysed scheduling task dialogues within the systemic framework, using Eggins and Slade's (1997) six steps. Since scheduling dialogues and the map task dialogues are categorised as task-oriented dialogues, her analysis will be of help to a genre analysis of the map task dialogues at each stage of the analysis procedure.

The map task is a task in which two participants collaborate in order for one to draw a route on a map following the other's instructions. Something to note is that the map task dialogue is a genre which is artificially created; in our daily life, it is hard to think of any occasion on which the map task (or something similar) is performed. However, it might be argued that our linguistic activity can be more or less goal-

oriented in the sense that speakers speak for a certain purpose; for example, dialogue between a driving instructor and student, tutorial talk, telephone call with tech support, or even dialogue which is found when family members are trying to put a painting on the wall at home. Brown and Yule (1983) recognise two types of discourse in terms of functions: interactional and transactional. The former serves to establish and maintain the interpersonal relationships between speakers, and includes acts such as greeting and small talk, while the most important function of the latter is the communication of information; the language which serves to convey 'factual or propositional information' is called 'primarily transactional language' (Brown and Yule 1983: 2). In this vein, the map task dialogues are devoted to a transactional purpose, where speakers aim at 'the efficient transference of information' by the use of 'primarily transactional language' (ibid.). It is then seldom observed that task participants talk about topics which are irrelevant to performing the task, apart from a few exceptions, including joking such as '(the Giver) *I think the apaches will be after you so you better hurry…*(the Follower) *mm probably the saloon manager as well'* (dialogue q5ec5; Move 118-124) and reporting of a problem which the participant faces such as '(the Follower) *pen's not working very well'* (dialogue q4nc8; move 27). It can be said that the whole map task dialogue is dedicated to accomplishing the task.

As details of the task itself are present earlier this chapter (section 3.1), I will not repeat them, but start with identifying stages. Three stages are observed in the map task dialogues: Opening, Task-performance and Closing. In the Opening stage, participants confirm that they are going to perform the map task, and in most cases it only takes a few turns or is not even found (this is the case in both language corpora). Therefore this is an optional stage. Instead of declaring that they are going to start the task, one of them, usually the Giver starts by asking whether there is a certain landmark on the Follower's map. This is actually a start of the Task-performance stage. Taboada's genre analysis of scheduling task reveals that there are, throughout the Task-performance stage, several recurring 'substages', which start by proposals of a new date (Taboada 2004). Similarly, in the map task dialogues, substages are identified, where the Giver gives instructions which are to be understood correctly by

the Follower and the latter draws a route according to it. I also identify three sub-substages under the substage: Querying landmarks, Giving instructions and, possibly Querying instructions. On each participant's map, there are several landmarks such as "trout farm", "bandit territory" and so on. For the Giver to give instructions to the Follower, they have to make use of these landmarks, which provokes numerous questions about landmarks on their maps. Based on the agreement of participants on where they are in relation to landmarks on the maps, the Giver gives instructions to the Follower. The substage in the Task-performance stage is recursive until the Follower draws a route up to the finishing point. The Closing stage is very short, like the Opening stage. However, the difference from the latter is that the Closing stage is observed in almost every dialogue in both languages. The common form is by saying *that's finished. you are finished. that's the end*. The three stages (the Opening, Task performance and Closing), along with three sub-substages can be schematised as in Figure 3.1. The third and fourth lines indicate the case with the Opening stage not taking place. Only the Task-performance stage is recursive in the dialogue.

> →Opening→Task-performance [Querying landmarks→Giving instructions→Querying
>   instructions]→Closing
>   →Task-performance [Querying landmarks→Giving instructions→Querying
>   instructions]→Closing
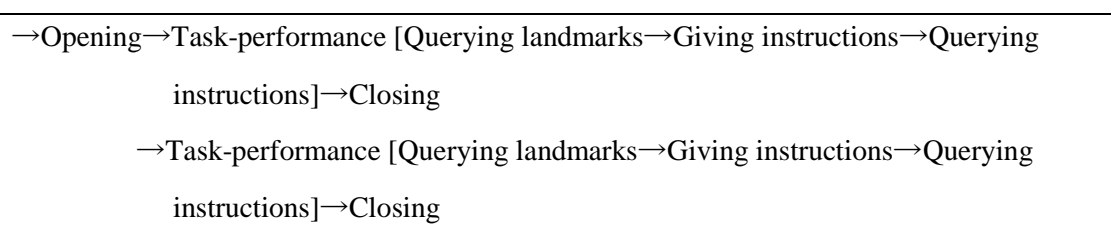
Figure 3.1 Three stages and three sub-substages in the map task dialogues

The above observation is basically compatible with Taboada's (2004) findings from scheduling task dialogues. She lists other genres which also contain 'tripartite organisation': other task-oriented speech genres, including service encounter (Ventola 1987), telephone conversation (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) and business meeting (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997). It then could be said that the map task dialogues and these genres have something in common regarding the stage structure.

As mentioned above, the Task-performance stage occupies the essential part of the map task dialogue genre. Its sub-substages are in fact similar to the pre-request sequence with a four position structure advocated by conversational analysts. The substage includes a recurring structure which consists of four constituent positions.

Position 1: (Pre-request)
Position 2: (Go ahead)
Position 3: (Request)
Position 4: (Compliance)   (Levinson 1983: 357)

The Task-performance substage consists of the above pre-request structure, whereby each move is equivalent to each Position. The Giver asks whether there is a particular landmark on the Follower's map, which is followed by the Follower's answer. If the answer is negative, another question is issued. After an agreement on the landmark, the Giver gives an instruction and the Follower acknowledges the instruction. In many cases, between Position 3 and 4, there appears a sequence of questions issued by the Follower and its answer by the Giver. This is for the Follower to ask for more details or clarification of the instruction which has been given by the Giver and it is recognised as an insertion or side sequence (Jefferson 1972; Schegloff 1972). Based on the pre-request sequence structure, the discourse structure of the Task-performance substage can be schematised as follows:
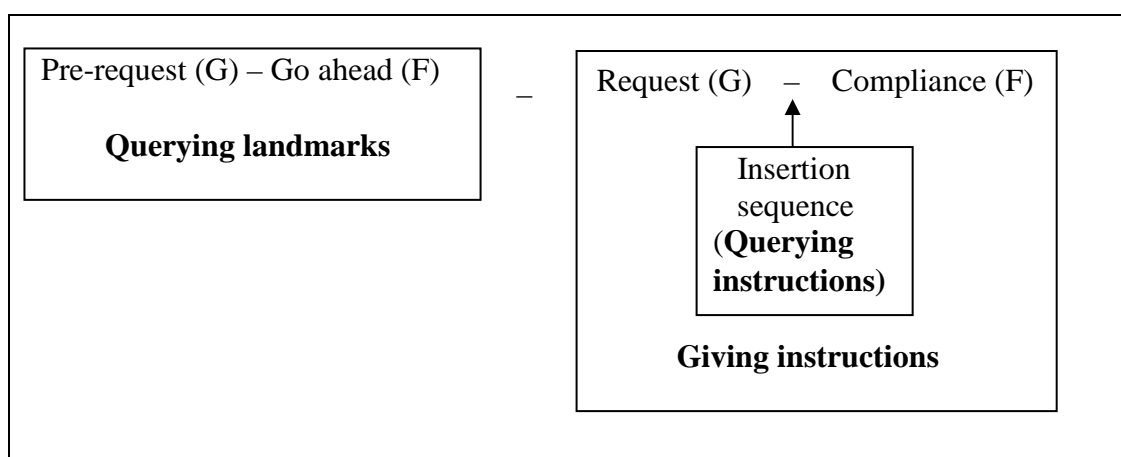
Figure 3.2 Task-performance substage and its three sub-substages

70

Each component represents speech acts in the Task-performance stage. The symbols (G) and (F) in the diagram stand for the Giver and Follower respectively. The structure can be applied to both English and Japanese dialogues.

Constituents in Figure 3.2 are either obligatory or optional. For instance, it could happen that the Giver gives instructions without checking whether there is a certain landmark, while it never happens that the Giver does not issue instructions in the task. Also the Follower may not have to ask for further details about the instruction which she just received, in which case there is no 'Querying instruction' sub-substage. The generic structure of the map task dialogues, then, can be as follows:

(Opening) ^ [{(Querying landmarks)}^{n}] ^ Giving instructions ^ {(Querying instructions)}^{n}]^n ^ Closing

Round brackets ( ): stage in it is optional
Square bracket [ ] and curly bracket { }: stage in the latter resides in the stage in the former
Symbol ^: one stage follows another
Bracket with superscript, e.g., ( )^n: the stage in it is recursive

Figure 3.3 Generic structure of the map task dialogues

3.3.3 Lexico-grammatical features in the map task dialogues

I now move on to analyse lexico-grammatical features in the map task dialogues. To illustrate how lexico-grammatical features are arranged in a map task dialogue, I analysed lexico-grammatical features in dialogue q3nc7 in the HCRC Map Task Corpus and dialogue j3n7 in the Chiba Map Task Corpus, following Eggins and Slade (1997).

Stages	Moves	Language features
Opening	1-2	[Setting in place] *Do you have the start?*
Task-Performance	7-98	[Giving instruction] and [Querying landmarks/instructions] - present tense - present progressive; present perfect (exclusively for the use *I/you've got…*) - Modal expressions (*I would imagine…*) - declarative, imperative, interrogative - *I, you* as subject *You have Indian country?*; *Are you at the top of Indian country?* - repetitive use of full noun phrases to refer to landmarks - adverbial phrase *Straight down and underneath the cattle stockade*; *Past the totem pole?*; *Underneath it?*; *To about the top of it?* - Backchannel *mmhmm*; *right*; *uh-huh*
Closing	99-102	[Declaring/checking task completion] *Is that the finish?*

Table 3.2 Discourse and lexico-grammatical features of HCRC Map Task corpus dialogue q3nc7

Stages	Moves	Language features
Opening	1-5	[Setting in place] *Ja hajimemasu* 'well, (we'll) start (the task).'; *Shuppatsu chiten wa arimasuka* 'Do you have a start?'
Task-Performance	6-169	[Giving instruction] and [Querying landmarks/instructions] - Present tense - declarative; imperative, interrogative - Non-finite form (*-te* form) - Subject: landmarks; no person subject - Backchannel: *hai* 'right'; *un* 'right'; laughter
Closing	170-171	[Declaring/checking task completion] *Owarimashita* '(I) finished.'

Table 3.3 Discourse and lexico-grammatical analysis of Chiba Map Task corpus dialogue j3n7

I will discuss the English lexico-grammatical features first and then move on to the Japanese features. Although the Opening stage is optional, dialogue q3nc7 contains one, which is realised in a question about the start by the Giver. Examples in other

dialogues are: *Have you got a start?*; *The start is at the top left-hand corner*; *You start away up in the top.* There are also shorter openings, including *Okay* or *Right.*

The Task-performance stage is an essential part and occupies the largest part of the dialogues. The simple present is the sole tense used in the dialogue, although in other dialogues present progressive is also observed. There are some modal expressions, such as *I would imagine 'til you're underneath the totem pole then.* In general, in the English map task dialogues few modal auxiliaries are observed. With regard to mood, a large number of imperatives was expected, reflecting the nature of the task. However, in dialogue q3nc7, many instructions are issued in the form of adverbial phrases. This is in fact a very widespread way of asking for confirmation or more details of drawing a route as well as issuing instructions in the map task dialogues; other examples include: *up very slightly to the right* (giving an instruction); *over the top of the carved stones?* (asking for confirmation). As for the subject of clauses, *I* and *we* also appear many times as subjects in other dialogues. Also, the recurring use of full noun phrases for landmarks, such as "totem pole", is notable. With regard to backchannels, *mmhmm* is frequently used by the Follower, but this sound is also issued for replying positively to questions. Discourse markers which are frequently found in other dialogues to indicate relations between utterances include *so*, *and*, *and then*, *well, alright, now, then.*

The Closing stage is very short and not recursive, but plays a more important role than the Opening stage as participants need to confirm that they have completed the task, although some participants just say *Okay.* They, then, make expressions more clear and explicit than the Opening stage, such as *You finished*; *Finish*; *That's the finish*; *That's your end*; *That's it.* Notable acknowledgment from the Follower is *okey-dokey*, which is observed in several dialogues. It also seems that they feel relaxed at this point since they have finished the task, and some of them say something irrelevant to performing the task: *That looks an interes...*(q7nc7); *I want to know why I didnae get in the saloon bar* (q5ec5). Additionally, it is interesting that some task participants use foreign languages to declare that the task is finished; *Finito* 'finish' (q1ec7); *Alles gemacht* 'all done' (q5ec5); *Tu es fini* 'you are finished'

(q6ec6). Some of these utterances seem to be related to the interactional features which have been dismissed while performing the task, and may also highlight a mode transition from the artificial setting to the real life of the participants.

In the Japanese dialogues, the Opening stage appears more often and more clearly than in the English dialogues. Dialogue j3n7 in the Japanese map task corpus includes typical expressions for the Opening stage. Other common expressions include: *iidesuka* 'Are you alright?/Is it alright to start?'. The same expression as observed in the English dialogue is also often found: *shuppatsu chiten wa sochira ni arimasu deshoo ka* 'is there a start on your map?'; *shuppatsu chiten aru yo ne.* 'there is a start on your map, right?'. Most of the time, at this point the Follower simply issues a positive answer, such as *un* 'right'.

The most notable feature in the Japanese Task-performance stage is heavy use of the *-te* form. The non-finite form *-te* is a frequent form for giving instructions. It makes the expression sound unfinished. Speakers make use of this form to link actions in their utterances, such as:

Too...tte   *chotto koo   saga...tte ki...te*
pass(ing) a.bit   like com(ing).down
'passing, and a bit, like, coming down.'   Dialogue j3n7

Another advantage of the *-te* form comes from a pragmatic reason. Since Japanese is a SOV language, linguistic features which deal with finiteness come at the end of the clause. Therefore, using the *-te* form leaves which mood the clause bears (declarative, imperative or interrogative) unspecified. This will be valuable for speakers, especially for the Givers, as they can postpone their determination of a speech act, which gives them more time to think of clearer, accurate and easy-to-follow instructions for the Followers. In fact, their utterances which are linked by more than one *-te* form are frequently interrupted by the interlocutor (e.g., questions on the action which has been expressed in the *-te* form) before the finite part comes. In that case, the utterance does not reveal that it has a role of instruction, in terms of form. In other words, their instructions could be more like descriptions of a route

rather than instructions. From a pragmatic point of view, this is an advantage for Givers when they do not want to sound as if they are giving instructions, which could be an embarrassing action as they may sound like someone superior to the Follower. This is one example of a preference for subtlety, mentioned in chapter 2.[23]

With regard to subjects, unlike in the English dialogues, the subjects of the clauses are most of the time landmarks. In the case of dialogue j3n7 neither first nor second person subject occurs more than a few times. Most of the time, subjects are left out throughout the Japanese map task corpus. This is associated with the fact that adverbial phrases for giving and checking instructions are very common. Lastly, backchannels are heavily used. It is well-known that Japanese speakers use far more backchannels than English speakers[24] (Maynard 1986; 1997). In the map task dialogues the Follower issues numerous backchannels in one dialogue. As for dialogue j3n7, there are 93 moves from the Follower, out of which 50 moves are backchannels.

As in the English dialogues, the Closing stage in the Japanese dialogues contains formulaic expressions: *oshimai* 'finish' (j4e8); *owari* 'finish' (j5n5); *tsuita* '(Have you) arrived?'(j4n8). Those expressions make it clear that the task is finished at that point. Other dialogues include formulaic expressions which are typically used as greetings when a job is finished or at the end of the day in the office: *gokuroo sama* 'you did a fine job' (j2n6); *otsukare sama deshita* 'thanks for a job well done' (j3e7). One task participant said that he is going to ring a bell, which is to signal to the task organisers that the participants have finished the task: *ja narashimasu ne* 'Then, (I'll) ring (the bell)' (j1e5).

---

[23] It must be notified that the *–te* form is nothing to do with ellipsis, as it is the non-finite form of the verb. As will be discussed in chapter 5, ellipsis of the verb in the present study is an omission of the finite form of the verb.

[24] Maynard (1986) notifies four contexts which trigger backchannel occurs: (1) after sentence-final particles (*ne, sa, yo, ka, no*); (2) when the matrix clause may not appear after pauses which occur at a major clause juncture, such as at the juncture of subordinate clauses; (3) when gerundive verb endings (non-finite form) mark clausal unit boundaries; (4) when head movement occurs.

I will close this section by discussing the way topics are developed in the map task dialogues. Taboada (2004) investigates cohesive resources in scheduling task dialogues, both structural (Theme-Rheme and information structure) and non-structural (cohesion devices, including reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion). She points out as an interesting phenomenon regarding cohesion and staging of the discourse that when a new stage or substage starts, a new referential chain[25] starts. For instance, when participants are initiating talk about different dates for their scheduling, it is discovered that new chains are started at transition points in these stages (Taboada 2004: 202). The result will be useful for information retrieval as 'in order to retrieve a part (a stage) in these conversations, we only need to search for beginnings and endings of cohesive chains' (Taboada 2004: 203). On the other hand, notable work regarding topic continuity of noun phrases in the map task dialogues reveals that there are two levels of topic in the map task dialogues: global and local (Yoshida 2008).[26] The former is a topic which works across segments in the dialogue while the latter is confined to a segment. The way of realising these topics is that full noun phrases serve for both global and local topics, while null pronouns are used only for a local topic. In the present research, I will investigate how elliptical noun phrases (i.e. omission of noun phrase itself, such as subject ellipsis and object ellipsis) are distributed in the English and Japanese dialogues.

3.4 Effects of familiarity and eye contact on speech

In this section, I will focus on two specific conditions in which the map task was performed: availability of visibility and participant familiarity. I will provide an overview of research of these aspects of the situation in which the dialogue takes place and discuss how visibility and familiarity among participants has an effect on

---

[25] A 'chain' is formed through recursive anaphoric references (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Huddleston and Pullum 2002).
[26] I will also use the same term 'global' and 'local' to discuss two types of topic in the map task dialogues in chapter 8. The definition of my terminologies, however, is different from Yoshida's (2008).

linguistic performance, in terms of collaboration to accomplish the task. The discussion will eventually lead to detailing the specific research questions for this research, which will be presented in the following section.

In order to perform the task, participants needed to establish shared knowledge about the current location of the route being drawn and the location of landmarks on the map. Task participants make use of several strategies to share knowledge about what is going on at each moment, which enables them to complete the task successfully. The success of the task is dependent on the following strategies which are used by more successful communicators in dialogues: the forms of referring expressions for new entities in the dialogue, the arrangement of questions and answers, the ways in which information is incorporated into existing knowledge and the ways in which problems in communication are raised and solved (Anderson et al. 1991). Whether participants can command those strategies or not depends on how they can work together, not that either of them tries hard by himself/herself. Performing the map task, then, is a collaborative process. Among the three variables in the corpus design, eye contact and participant familiarity variables are set in the corpus design to examine differences regarding manipulating those strategies. In this section, I will present a discussion of eye contact and familiarity in terms of their influence on the performance of the task.

It will be helpful to make clear what "eye contact" is as a variable in the map task corpus before moving on to the discussion. As seen in section 3.1.1.2, the "eye contact" variable in the corpus design originally derives from the condition in which participants perform the task: the design of the HCRC Map Task Corpus controls participants' eye contact by a partition which was set between the pair who took seats at a desk. In the case of the Chiba Map Task Corpus, participants in a pair were put in separate rooms and talked to each other through a glass between the two rooms. The glass was blocked to control the "eye contact" variable. The intention of this variable is, as discussed in section 3.1.1.1, to control a channel of communication in order to examine non-verbal signals during performing the task. Therefore, in the map task corpus of both languages, the variable "eye contact" represents a variable

77

of medium – whether visibility is available or not. In other words, although it is called an "eye contact" variable, it is in fact a "visibility" variable as it does not necessarily mean that they have eye contact where they can see each other.

There are two types of approach to considering effects associated with visibility, and the dichotomy reflects the difference regarding functions of nonverbal cues (Boyle, Anderson and Newlands 1994). One is a conversation analysis approach which assumes that one of the main functions of non verbal cues is controlling turn-taking among speakers, and addresses the role of gaze in communication. Face-to-face conversation, which is a basic setting of language use (Clark 1996), includes several peculiar features, among which access to visual information of the interlocutor is a distinctive characteristic. Through that, the speaker can recognise the interlocutors' facial expressions, gesture and postures, which enable the former to see whether the latter responds well to the talk. If the speaker finds that the hearer does not demonstrate commitment to the ongoing talk, for instance, by not fixing eye gaze on the interlocutor, the former redesigns the way of speaking to gain the other's gaze (Goodwin 1981; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987; Kendon 1990; Lerner 2003). Thus, this approach pays attention to features specific to spoken language, covering for example, interruption, overlapping, and backchannelling, as a measure to decide whether the turn-taking is regulated or not. One of the main concerns, then, is to examine whether the visual cue plays a role in regulating turns by looking at those features in both visual and non-visual conditions (Duncan 1972; Goodwin 1981). The results have not been consistent in the published research. Rutter and Stephenson (1977) find that in visual communication, more and longer overlapping, (which is caused by interruption) is observed.   They claim that visual information encourages speakers to speak spontaneously and interrupt freely. In contrast, Argyle, Lalljee and Cook (1968) report that there are more overlapping and interruptions in non-visual condition. Boyle et al. (1994) suggest that the reason for this confusion is that the number of dialogues used for the research is small; in some cases only two dyads are examined.

The inconsistency of the findings in an approach which takes the function of visibility as non-verbal cues to regulate turns is also criticised by Clark and his colleagues, who, as advocators of the other view of non-verbal cues, take nonverbal cues as an activator of mutual understanding among speakers. According to them, languages are fundamentally used for social purposes, a type of joint action, and involve speaker's meaning making and addressee's understanding (Clark 1996). In this vein, aspects of the context in which communication takes place, including visibility and familiarity among conversation participants, conspire to establish mutual understanding, which is called "grounding" in his terminology. If there is access to visual information, it allows participants to have another channel to acquire information for the ongoing conversation. Therefore, visual information serves to make it easy to establish and maintain mutual understanding among conversation participants.

I will discuss the idea of grounding a little more fully before going on to the next point. Speech is momentary, and in the Clarkian view, talking with others is a collaborative activity, as an effort to ensure mutual understanding among speakers is expected. As a process of collaboration, each utterance is incorporated into the common ground of interlocutors' knowledge. It is necessary to keep mutual knowledge at any time so as to make the speech go, but simply keeping mutual knowledge is not enough. Moment-by-moment updating is required, and this updating is called grounding. The following is an example of the way in which grounding is observed in conversation.

    Alan: Now, - um, do you and your husband have a j-car
Barbara: - have a car?
    Alan: Yeah
Barbara: No -   (Clark and Brennan 1991: 129)

In the first utterance of Alan's, he makes a query. But this does not mean that he succeeded in asking the question whether Barbara and her husband have a car, as it seems that Barbara has not recognised what he said. Only after she asked back, she understands Alan's original question. The example indicates that it is necessary to have mutual understanding to move a conversation forward, as is concisely

described: 'Asking a question requires more than uttering an interrogative sentence' (Clark and Brennan 1991: 129). As evidence of grounding, three forms are pointed out: verbal acknowledgement (which includes backchannel utterances), initiation of the relevant next turn and showing 'continued attention' including eye gaze (Clark and Brennan 1991). Thus, grounding is indispensable for conversations to work well, as without it, for instance, participants may not even identify the referents of noun phrases in utterances (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Clark and Brennan 1991).

Although conversation is a collaborative task, participants at the same time try to reduce collaborative effort. This is called the principle of least collaborative effort, defined as follows:

> *The principle of least collaborative effort*
> In conversation, the participants try to minimize their collaborative effort – the work that both do from the initiation of each contribution to its mutual
> acceptance   (Clark and Brennan 1991: 135)

When conversation occurs, participants are supposed to cooperate to establish the common ground with least effort. However, although speakers are expected to make their contribution as clear as possible for the purpose of cooperation, it does not work out at all times because of such reasons as time pressure, complexity of the noun phrase and the speaker's reliance on interlocutors for devising a proper expression (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986). In these cases, the addressee has to alter the expression for confirmation so as to find out exactly what the original speaker has meant.

On the addressees' side, they also strive to establish mutual knowledge, observing the principle of least collaborative effort, that is: '(F)or collaborative efficiency they try to pinpoint their problem…So addressees minimize collaborative effort by indicating quickly and informatively what is needed for mutual acceptance' (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986: 27) . Because grounding in task-oriented dialogues is more cautiously done than in everyday conversation, speakers ask a large number of confirmation request questions. Speakers prefer to present their hypothesis about a problematic utterance rather than simply asking for repetition. And these questions

are most of the time partial in form (Rieser and Moor 2005). In other words, elliptical questions are an economical means for interlocutors to minimise misunderstanding, which would require extra effort to resolve, in the process of establishing mutual understanding.

In determining the way grounding is achieved, the medium of communication plays a decisive role, as Clark and Brennan claim; '(P)eople should ground with those techniques available in a medium that lead to the least collaborative effort' (Clark and Brennan 1991: 140). In addition to the medium of communication, Boyle et al. (1994) also point out that the familiarity between participants has an effect on the way mutual understanding is established. They examined the effects of non-linguistic cues which establish mutual understanding on effectiveness and efficiency in the map task dialogues. Based on the result that familiar subject pairs performed the task better, they argue that mutual knowledge is attained more easily by those who know each other. They also reported that dialogues by familiar pairs were accompanied by more eye contact between participants. Additionally, familiar pairs did better without seeing each other than unfamiliar pairs who could not see each other. Therefore, interlocutors who know each other interpret not only visually transmitted cues but also auditory and verbal cues better than those who do not know each other. Also, with regard to the availability of visual information, it seems that task participants without it have to say more to achieve the same success level as those with it Boyle et al. (1994). From these results, visual information and familiarity then seem to accelerate establishing mutual understanding.

Based on the previous study of speakers establishing mutual knowledge under conditions which are manipulated in terms of visibility and familiarity, I will examine the effects of these two variables on the frequency of occurrence and use of elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues. Consequently, I will not consider the task role familiarity variable, which is concerned with whether the participant is doing the task for the first or second time. One of the aims of this research is to study the effects of manipulating certain aspects of conditions in which speech occurs and could affect use of ellipsis. It is true that after having done the task once,

the language which participants use might take different forms, which may result in more ellipsis in utterances. In that case, however, it is not mutual knowledge which may facilitate ellipsis, but the participant's own knowledge about the task and the map. In other words, the task familiarity variable is concerned with amount of knowledge about the task and the map which participants have used,[27] not about that of their partners (i.e. information from their association which comes from the familiarity or visual information). It then seems that the task familiarity variable does not play a significant role of a variable in examining effects between interlocutors which seem to affect occurrence of elliptical utterances. Therefore, I will not take the task familiarity variable as a variable for the present research.

Before ending this discussion of variables, a few remarks should be made concerning the idea of participant co-presence, which is a different notion of visibility in terms of physical presence of participants, and the treatment of it in the present research. Doherty-Sneddon, Anderson, O'Malley, Langton, Garrod and Bruce (1997) raise an issue of co-presence and remoteness of participants in the task. They show that the co-presence of participants affects the efficiency benefits of the task performed.[28] As Clark points out, however, 'face-to-face conversation is the basic setting for language use. It is universal, requires no special training and is essential in acquiring one's first language' (Clark 1996: 11). Visibility (participants can see each other) and instantaneity (participants can perceive each other's actions at no perceptible delay) are two of the features of face-to-face conversation. In the Chiba Map task Corpus design, the participants are not co-present (that is, they are not physically in the same room), but there was no delay in their linguistic interaction. Therefore, although participants are co-present in the HCRC Map Task Corpus design, and participants are not co-present in the Chiba Map Task Corpus, I will assume that the difference does not significantly affect the present research, and will not discuss this difference in the experimental set-up further. Additionally, it is too involved an argument to be

---

[27] A participant uses the same map twice as the Giver with different Followers. Every dialogue chosen for the quantitative analyses discussed in the coming chapters is the second performance for the Giver.

[28] Doherty-Sneddon et al. argue that 'high-quality VMC [abbreviation of video mediated communication] did not deliver the same efficiency benefits as face-to-face interaction (Doherty-Sneddon et al. 1997: 119).'

treated here in detail. Therefore, I would like to keep this co-present/not-co-present issue beyond the scope of the present discussion. The present study will then focus on the way in which eye contact and visibility conditions have influence on the choice of the form of utterances by task-oriented dialogue participants.

3.5 Summary and research questions

This chapter was dedicated to a description of the map task dialogues in both languages. The description consists of three parts: the task design of the corpora along with rearrangement process required for the present research, genre analysis of the map task dialogues and remarks on two variables in the corpora. First, I provided an overall description of the English and Japanese map task dialogues, including the aim and design of the corpora. The HCRC Map Task Dialogue Corpus and the Chiba Map Task Corpus are parallel corpora, sharing their designs and aims, although differences are found in the equipment used in recording dialogues, the distribution of participant gender and the way in which task dialogues are presented. This was followed by description of the procedure taken for modification of the dialogue data, which enables a comparative study of the forms and functions of ellipsis.

The second part of the corpus dialogue description was genre analysis of the map task dialogues. I followed the systemic functional approach towards genre analysis as it is well-balanced in terms of investigating social context and lexico-grammatical features compared with other schools. I found that there are three stages in the dialogues. Among them, the Task-performance stage is the major part of the dialogue and consists of recurring substages, which include at most three sub-substages in them; the former parallels the pre-request sequence with four position structures used in conversation analysis. It was also observed among other findings concerning lexico-grammatical features in the map task dialogues that there are a large number of adverbials in both languages. This form is used for both the Giver's issuing instructions and the Follower's confirming instructions. Also, the *-te* form to

link clauses is widely used for giving instructions in the Japanese dialogues. Differences in the referents of subjects in clauses in the two languages are also notable. In the English dialogues, personal pronouns are usual candidates for subjects, whereas in the Japanese dialogues subjects are mostly landmarks on maps, and personal subjects are rarely found.

Finally, the effects of visibility and familiarity among speakers, especially in task-oriented dialogues, were addressed. The discussion centres on establishing mutual understanding, i.e. 'grounding' in the Clarkian terminology. Remarks were made about the possible effects of visibility and familiarity in dialogues: visibility is another channel that contributes to establishing mutual understanding among speakers, which is indispensable for successful conversation; if speakers are familiar with each other, their performance is better than when two participants do not know each other, as the former can establish mutual understanding better than the latter. Previous studies also show that in task-oriented dialogues people are more cautious of identification of items in communication rather than in everyday conversation, which brings a larger number of confirmation request questions. These requests take a partial form in utterances to comply with a principle that least efforts should be made to establish mutual understanding. These findings from previous work about influences owed to availability of visibility and participant familiarity, i.e. two variables in the map task corpus design, could suggest that ellipsis could be observed more in dialogues without visibility than those with visibility (that is, the participants without visual information have to make confirmation more in elliptical utterances than the participants with visual information, as they have less opportunity for grounding) and that familiar pairs produce less ellipsis than unfamiliar pairs (that is, the familiar participants have more shared knowledge than the unfamiliar participants).

With this as background, I can now present the specific research questions addressed in the current research.

Research question 1

What types of ellipsis are observable in English and Japanese?

Research question 2

How do visibility and familiarity between interlocutors affect the occurrence of elliptical utterances?

Research question 3

For what speech acts do speakers use ellipsis?

Research question 4

Do types of ellipsis correlate with particular speech acts, such as giving instructions? In other words, is there any link between the particular types of constituents ellipted and particular speech acts?

Research question 5

What kinds of communicative/interpersonal effects are types of ellipsis associated with? Put another way, are types of ellipsis linked to particular communicative/interpersonal effects?

Research question 6

How is ellipsis used for speakers to form referential chains? In other words, how can ellipsis contribute to the realisation of topic chains?

Research question 7

To what extent are the findings regarding the above questions different and similar in English and Japanese?

I will address research questions 1, 2 and 3 by demonstrating the frequency of the occurrence of ellipsis in the different variable conditions in chapter 5. Research question 4 is addressed in both chapters 6 and 7. Research question 6 takes a different perspective in terms of the functions of ellipsis from research question 5, but both of them are discussed in the context of the functions of ellipsis in chapter 8.

Ultimately, I will try to incorporate cohesive and situational use of ellipsis using the idea of two types of topic. Research question 7 is addressed through the answers to research questions 1-6, as each of these questions is replied to in a cross-linguistic manner.

Chapter 4

Theoretical framework: functional analysis of elliptical utterances

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter gave descriptions of the map task dialogues, including the task design; differences and similarities regarding the design and equipment used to collect dialogues between English and Japanese versions; process of modification of the dialogues for the present analyses; and genre analysis of the map task dialogues. It also described the effects which visibility and familiarity among speakers have on their linguistic performance. Thus, the accounts offered a picture of the map task dialogues as data, in terms of the intentions of the corpus as well as the actual outcomes (i.e. dialogues produced).

This chapter provides a description of the framework used to analyse the dialogues described in the previous chapter. I will employ systemic functional grammar as a tool to investigate elliptical utterances from the viewpoints of the interpersonal and cohesive functions of ellipsis. The reason why systemic functional grammar is chosen for a grammatical analysis in this research is threefold. First, this framework makes it possible to examine paradigmatic aspects of language. Since the present research includes pragmatic study, which investigates ways of saying to accomplish a certain speech act, as well as factors influencing the choice of one way over another, a model which can deal with paradigmatic relations is suitable. Secondly, systemic grammar can be used to examine linguistic features both in micro- and macro- aspects of language. In other words, systemic functional grammar provides ways of describing language at the levels of both lexico-grammar and language use in context. Finally, as the first and second reasons show, systemic functional linguistics provides a particular view of language, which offers the means for functional evaluation of text, but it also provides formal categories (Subject, Finite

and so on) that allow comparative work to be carried out to investigate correlations between form and function. Since systemic functional grammar has been developed almost exclusively with regard to English, it needs modification to apply to Japanese. These reasons, however, make a strong case for the adoption of systemic functional grammar as the framework for this research.

From the three metafunctions in the Hallidayan grammar – ideational, interpersonal and textual – my analysis will focus on the interpersonal and textual metafunction, especially the former. This is because the interpersonal metafunction can serve as a device which reveals not only the interpersonal relations between speakers of the discourse in question, but also the social roles which speakers play in the discourse. Results from lexico-grammatical analyses can ultimately be transmitted to descriptions of social norms associated with the discourse type, through the notions of register and genre. Furthermore, the notable point regarding this metafunction is, as was recognised above as one of the advantages of using systemic functional linguistics, that both social and interpersonal accounts can be made through syntactic categories such as Subject, Finite and so on, through which the metafunction is achieved. Owing to the dissimilarity of the syntactic structures, it is likely that the distribution and arrangement of syntactic constituents in a clause such as Finite and Predicator differ in English and Japanese. After outlining the MOOD[29] system in English, then, I will discuss the Japanese MOOD system, based on Teruya (2004). The explanation of the functional structure of Japanese and the distribution of constituents, especially the relation of Predicator to Finite, will be presented.

After discussing the syntactic aspect of this metafunction, I will move on to the interpersonal meanings of clauses, which are explained using these syntactic categories. I will discuss how mood and modality as interpersonal meanings of the clause are explained in terms of these syntactic constituents in clauses. For this purpose, I will follow the discussion presented by Eggins (1994), as her account captures well the transmission model consisting of lexico-grammar, interpersonal

---

[29] MOOD refers to a system which decides mood (i.e. declarative, interrogative, imperative and so on). More details are given later in section 4.2.

meaning and social function, which are all present in the clause. Mood and modality are concepts which are essential to discuss interpersonal aspects of language use. The discussion in this chapter, then, will provide the basis for the analyses which aim to reveal the mechanism of the use of ellipsis in task-oriented dialogues.

4.1 Interpersonal metafunction

It is useful to describe a broad view of systemic functional grammar before discussing how it is reconciled with Japanese. In the systemic functional approach, every clause includes three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The metafunction is, in short, an idea of how speakers use language, and sheds light on the different aspects of meaning in language. These metafunctions are summarised below:

- **Ideational**
  We use language to talk about our experience of the world, including the world in our own minds, to describe events and states and the entities involved in them.
- **Interpersonal**
  We use language to interact with other people, to establish and maintain relations with them, to influence their behaviour, to express our own viewpoint on things in the world, and to elicit or change theirs.
- **Textual**
  In using language, we organize our messages in ways that indicate how they fit in with the other messages around them and with the wider context in which we are talking or writing. (Thompson 1996: 28 modified by Otsuki)

The important point is that all these three functions coexist simultaneously in a clause. The following clause can be analysed as an example: *Did Jim eat her chocolates?* The clause can be analysed according to the three metafunctions, as follows:

The clause analysis in **ideational** terms:

Did	Jim	eat	her chocolates?
	Actor	**Process**	**Goal**

The clause analysis in **interpersonal** terms:

Did	Jim	eat	her chocolates?
Finite	**Subject**	**Predicator**	**Complement**

The clause analysis in **textual** terms:

Did Jim	eat her cchocolates?
Theme	**Rheme**

Depending on the aspect of language which is being considered, the same constituent performs different functions in the clause, and therefore is given different labels. For instance, *Jim* is assigned as Actor in the experiential metafunction, i.e. an agent of the action of 'eating her chocolates', but is recognised as Subject from the interpersonal point of view.

Among these metafunctions, I will take the idea of the interpersonal metafunction as a framework for analysing elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues. The interpersonal metafunction, as mentioned above, is concerned with the function of a clause in interpersonal meanings among speakers, namely establishing the relationship between speakers. This 'interpersonal' meaning ranges from the lexico-grammar level, (e.g., MOOD system: choice between declarative, interrogative or imperative mood types), modality (i.e. the level of commitment to the proposition in question) to the social roles of speakers in a particular linguistic activity. This wide range of scrutiny of clauses is made possible through the notion of stratum of language.

The tenet of systemic functional linguistics is that using language is making choices for meaning-making in a particular context according to a particular social norm. According to systemic functionalists, language can be represented in strata. And when we look at a clause from the bottom stratum, a clause is realised by lexico-grammar, and articulated by phonology. The meaning of the clause in turn is understood in discourse, which is the next stratum of language. There is a unit of analysis for each stratum: for lexico-grammar, the unit is a clause; for meaning of discourse, the unit is text. At this point, text is recognised as belonging to a certain

register. Register is realised by collaboration of field, tenor and mode; in other words, these three components are situational variables of text. Field is associated with the ideational metafunction of language; tenor is associated with the interpersonal metafunction; mode is in relation to the textual metafunction. These three situational variables are phases of language use seen from ideational, interpersonal and textual viewpoints. Looking further upwards along the strata, there is a level of language in context: genre. Genre is concerned with how daily activities are done using language, as was discussed in chapter 3, and a genre analysis reveals that there are recognisable features to realise language which are manifest in each genre.

Turning back to the interpersonal aspects of language use, as revealed from the above accounts of the hierarchical arrangement of language, a focus on description of how language is analysed along interpersonal relations among speakers first leads us to the stratum of lexico-grammar of the interpersonal metafunction. At the bottom stratum of language, lexico-grammar gives forms to language, i.e. at the level of the clause, where the way of realising its mood and modality has effects on meaning of the clause in discourse. Up along the strata, language is something to be used in a particular discourse, which in turn is located in a particular genre, which has its own norm or pattern to make itself the particular genre. Observing or deviating from the norm is determined by language. Thus, the choice of lexico-grammar, which realises the mood structure in one way or another, ultimately reveals whether 'we have accepted the social roles' (Eggins 1994: 196), that is, speech roles which are accomplished in a socially constructed way. Figure 4.1 illustrates how the strata of the interpersonal metafunction, consisting of three levels of language, are captured.

Register variable of tenor

↓

Semantics of interpersonal meanings

↓

Grammatical patterns of mood
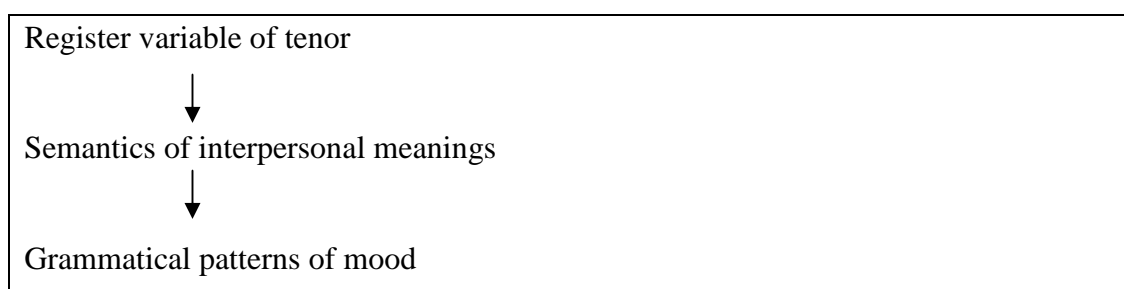
Figure 4.1 Interpersonal function stratum   (based on Eggins 1994: 193)

The figure illustrates that interpersonal dimensions (e.g., the power relationship between speakers) ultimately influence the lexico-grammatical choice of the clause, and the use of mood and modality systems. That is to say, grammatical choice is a realisation of tenor. From the viewpoint of description, these three ranks are in a traceable 'direct link' (Eggins 1994: 193); by looking up the levels of the stratum, it is possible to reveal interpersonal relationships between speech participants.

Furthermore, the interpersonal relation between participants can be identified and scrutinised in this model, showing such features as disinterest and egocentricism among speakers. For instance, Eggins and Slade (1997) executed quantitative analysis of several grammatical features in casual conversation: mood types, full/elliptical clauses, Subject choice, and modality. Some of their findings demonstrate that the use of modalities reveals aspects of human interaction; by looking at Subject choice, power relationships among speakers can be revealed (i.e. who are downplaying who), or even characteristics of the speaker, such as who is more assertive among speakers. Analysis of clauses from the interpersonal metafunction perspective, thus, also offers us insights into the characteristics of speakers.

4.2 Representation of Modality

In this section, I consider similarities and differences in interpersonal function analysis between the two languages in this study, Japanese and English. I employ Teruya's (2004) typological accounts of Japanese grammar as the basis of discussion since it is at the moment one of the few descriptions of Japanese language available that applies the systemic functional framework.

Before turning to a closer description of the interpersonal system, a few remarks should be made concerning MOOD and Mood in systemic functional grammar. Generally in linguistic terms, 'mood' refers to writer's or speaker's attitude to the

content of the linguistic product or the degree of certainty towards the content. This is also called 'modality' by some linguists. In systemic functional linguistics, MOOD refers to the interpersonal system offering the choices among declarative, interrogative, imperative and their subcategories (e.g., exclamative or non-exclamative) and is conventionally printed in small capitals (Bloor and Bloor 2004), while Mood is used for an element in the clause which contrasts with Residue element, and it is in charge of the choice that the MOOD system offers. In English, Mood consists of Subject and Finite.

4.2.1 The MOOD system in English

For the analysis of interpersonal function in clauses to be carried out, the structure of the clause should be understood and its constituents should be labelled. Halliday and his colleagues divide a clause into two parts: Mood and Residue elements, which are termed the interpersonal elements of clause structure. The Mood element, in turn, consists of Subject and Finite. The Subject 'specifies the entity in respect of which the assertion is claimed to have validity' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 117); the Subject refers to the entity which is affirmed or denied. The Finite makes the proposition definite in terms of tense, modality and polarity. It will be helpful to quote the description of Finite by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) to grasp the idea:

> The Finite element, as its name implies, has the function of making the proposition finite. That is to say, it circumscribes it; it brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about. A good way to make something arguable is to give it a point of reference in the here and now; and this is what the Finite does. It relates the proposition to its context in the speech event. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 115)

In English, the Finite element is equivalent to what is called the 'operator' in other approaches; for example, verbs such as *be* as well as auxiliary verbs including *do*, *can*, *may*, *must* and so on. However, the Finite does not always stand out on its own. It is sometimes 'fused' with the Predicator in the Residue element. For example:

(4.1) I <u>went</u> to the library this afternoon.

93

The verb *went* contains a Finite element which is bound to the lexical element of the verb. In the case of the verb *went*, then, the Finite is not visible and what is there is only a lexical verb. The 'fusion' of the Finite and the lexical element in a verb is discussed further below with regard to the formal independence of the Japanese Finite.

The Residue is the rest of the clause, as its name suggests. It comprises Predicator, Complement and Adjunct, if applicable. The Predicator is the 'lexical or content part of the verbal group' (Eggins 1994: 161). The Predicator constitutes the verbal group together with the Finite. As was discussed above, with some verbal groups, Finite and Predicator are 'fused', but others are not:

(4.2) a. I received a letter from the University.
　　　 b. I have received a letter from the University.
　　　 c. I must have received a letter from the University.

The first example (4.2a) shows an example of 'fused' Finite and Predicator. The rest include Finite and Predicator separately: *have* and *must* in the second and third examples are the Finite elements. Thus, no matter how long the verbal group is, the first element is the Finite and the rest is the Predicator.

Complement and Adjunct are also elements in the Residue. The difference between them is that whereas the Complement could become a Subject, as found in the passive sentence structure, an Adjunct cannot. At first sight a Complement looks like a constituent which is widely recognised as an 'object'.

(4.3) He sent <u>a parcel</u>　　　<u>to his uncle</u>.
　　　　　　　 Complement　　Complement

However it also can function as 'complement' in other approaches.

(4.4) She is <u>kind</u>.
　　　　　 Complement

An Adjunct is, as the name suggests, a grammatically optional element. It is defined as 'an element that has not got the potential of being Subject' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 123). There are three types of Adjuncts, as follows:

(4.5) I got a parcel <u>from my uncle</u>. (Circumstantial Adjunct)
(4.6) <u>Personally</u>, I like this story.   (Modal Adjunct)
(4.7) <u>So</u>, tell me the news.   (Conjunctive Adjunct)

These types of Adjunct correspond to the three metafunctions. Simply put, a Circumstantial Adjunct describes the information about events, such as time, manner, place and so on (ideational metafunction); a Modal Adjunct realises the speaker's attitudes towards the proposition (interpersonal metafunction); and a Conjunctive Adjunct arranges the message in text (textual metafunction).

4.2.2 The MOOD system in Japanese

Systemic functional linguistics is a descriptive system primarily with regard to English. In English, the Mood element can be identified by making a tag question, such as *He gave it away, didn't he?* The tagged part *didn't he* represents the Mood element in the clause: *he* is Subject; and *did* is Finite. This diagnosis does not work in Japanese because of the different grammatical system. Therefore, it will not be as straightforward to recognise what constituent is found in the Mood element in Japanese, as in English. How, then, is the Mood element recognised in Japanese?

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 113), Mood, which consists of Subject and Finite, is a part of the clause which is in charge of determining mood in the MOOD system, i.e. the interpersonal function of the clause. It, however, seems that Japanese does not have an independent Finite such as *do*, *be* and auxiliary verbs in English. Where then does Japanese control tense, modality and polarity? I will address this question by looking at the following Japanese clause.

(4.8) *Kare wa   sentaku   o   shi-ta*.
         he   TOP laundry ACC do-PAST
         'He did laundry.'

We know that the laundry is already finished from the form of the verb *shita,* as it includes a morpheme which denotes the past tense.[30] The Japanese tense is realised by a lexical verb from the viewpoint of form; the Japanese Predicator includes morphemes which express temporality. This is the case with determining mood type (interpersonal function) as well. For instance, the Predicator in the speech act 'command'- suggestive *Nihongo de hanasoo* 'Let's talk in Japanese' is *hanasoo* 'let's talk', which consists of two morphemes: *hanasu* (verb stem 'speak') plus *shiyoo* (suffix which features the subject's volition). Due to its SOV word order, the Predicator in Japanese appears at the end of the clause, that is, interpersonal functions are realised towards the end of the clause. This is contrary to English clauses, whose interpersonal functions are recognised at the beginning in the form of Subject and Finite.

At first sight, it may seem that the Japanese Predicator is in charge of determining mood, modality, temporality, polarity and also politeness.[31] This heavy burden imposed on the Japanese Predicator is enabled by its complex morphological system. The verbal group in Japanese is in general built up by adding a series of auxiliary verbs (morphologically bound morphemes) which represent modality, polarity, temporality and so on. The examples below show how meanings which are realised by morphemes are amalgamated in a verbal group. The second line, i.e. 'segmentation into morphemes', represents how a verbal group, *hanasanakattandaroo* 'would not have spoken', is divided according to morphemes which are constituents of this verbal group. The third line, 'original form of the morphemes', in turn, shows the plain forms of those morphemes, whose meanings are found in the fourth line, 'meaning'.

---

[30] It has been argued that *ta* is a perfect aspect marker, rather than expressing past tense (Iwasaki 2002). However, in this thesis *ta* is mainly glossed as a past tense marker for consistency with the English tense system.

[31] In this case, politeness means honorifics, not a strategy of mitigating face threats. Honorifics are a special use of language which encodes social relations between participants and each other, or between them and individuals referred to. In Japanese, honorifics are realised by certain linguistic features, such as suffixes to the verb stem.

Verbal group
(4.9) declarative   *hanasanakattandaroo*
segmentation into morphemes: hanasa - nakat   -   ta   -   n   -   daro- o
original form of the morpheme: hanasu   nai   ta   no   da   u
meaning: speak   NEG   past   NMLS COP SUP
                                                                      (plain)
                          'would not have spoken'

(4.10) interrogative   *hanashitandesuka*
segmentation into morphemes: hanashi - ta - n   - desu - ka
original form of the morpheme: hanasu   ta   no   desu   ka
meaning: speak   PAST   NMLS   COP(POL) FP_i
                          'Has (somebody honourable) spoken?'

Since in the English translation in (4.10), it is not easy to show politeness in the

clause, the gloss, especially the fourth line, will be more helpful to see how it is made

possible for Japanese verbal groups to show complex meanings by making use of

morphemes. It should be noted that those morphemes cannot be used separately

from each other in the clause and they make up a verbal group as a whole. This

'adding' scheme to construct a morphologically complex verbal group is applied to

nominal and adjectival groups which can also serve as a Predicator.

Nominal group
(4.11)   *usagidattakamoshirenai*
segmentation into morphemes: usagi - da - tta - kamoshirenai
original form of the morpheme: usagi   da   ta   kamoshirenai
meaning of the morpheme: rabbit COP   PAST   SUP
                                        (plain)
                          '(It) may have been a rabbit.'

Adjectival group
(4.12)   *akadeshita*
segmentation into morphemes: aka – deshi – ta
original form of the morpheme: akai desu   ta
meaning of the morpheme: red   POL(T) PAST
                                 '(It) was red.'

Along with Predicator, final particles play a significant role in determining Japanese

mood. As will be seen in the following example, by adding the final particle *ka* at

the end of a clause, the clause will change its mood from declarative to interrogative.

(4.13) *Shichuu   wa   oishii desu*
     stew   TOP   tasty POL(T)
     'The stew is tasty.'

(4.14) *Shichuu   wa   oishii desu* **ka**
     stew   TOP tasty POL(T) FP$_i$
     'Is the stew tasty?'

Adding the final particle, *ka*, is a typical way of making an interrogative, besides making use of rising tone in speech. Also, politeness is found in verbal groups. For instance, along with the plain imperative form, Japanese imperative has a polite form, which features the polite marker *-kudasai* following the *-te* form of verb. The following illustrate these two types of imperative.

Command
(4.15) *Mado- o   akero*
     window-ACC   open-IMP-DIR
     'Open the window.'

Polite command
(4.16) *Mado-o   <u>aketekudasai</u>.*
     window-ACC open-IMP-DIR-**POL**
     'Can you open the window, please?'

In the polite command form (4.16), *-kudasai* is found at the end of the verb *akeru* 'open'. From these observations, I summarise the difference in interpersonal elements of clause structure between English and Japanese, as in Table 4.1 and 4.2.

Interpersonal function structure	Mood		Residue		
Constituent	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Determiner of:	mood modality temporality polarity				

Table 4.1 English (SVO word order) interpersonal function structure

Interpersonal function structure	Mood	Residue	Mood	
Constituent	Subject	Complement, Adjunct	Predicator	(final particle)
Determiner of:			mood, modality polarity, temporality politeness	mood

Table 4.2 Japanese (SOV word order) interpersonal function structure

Since Japanese syntax does not require all the constituents to be explicit as strictly as English, it is often observed that not every constituent is realised, especially in spoken language. Also, Japanese word order is not as rigid as English. Apart from these syntactic differences, the significant difference lies in the fact that it seems that in Japanese the MOOD system is, with regard to the form, realised through the Predicator and final particles without the Finite, since, as discussed above, the Predicator fulfils the role which in English the Finite plays. This will lead us into a consideration of whether Finite is really not recognised in the structure of Japanese.

I suggest that Finite should be recognised as an independent constituent of the Predicator. The reason to suggest that Finite should be recognised in Japanese is that Japanese does have a distinction between Finite / Non-Finite.[32] It then seems acceptable to propose having a Finite in the structure and recognise its concept as a determiner of tense, polarity, modality and politeness in the clause although it is bound with the Predicator from the viewpoint of 'form'. The reason is validated by the Japanese copula, *da*/*desu*. *Desu* has in fact two functions: (i) it serves as a polite form of copula *da*; (ii) it accompanies an adjective to make the expression polite, which is categorised into *teineigo* (polite form) as see in chapter 2. These two functions are illustrated in (4.17) and (4.18) respectively.

---

[32] It is generally recognised that *te*-form of Japanese verb is non-finite. One of its functions is for clause chaining: *te* linking (Hasegawa 1996). The *-te* form is in fact quite versatile. The following is an example of temporal sequence of verbs with *te* linking.

  Kao- o   ara<u>tte</u> gohan-o tabe<u>te</u> sorekara gakkou-e   kita.
  face-ACC   wash   meal-ACC eat   and.then school-LOC come-PAST
   '(I) washed my face, ate meal and then came to school.'

Other than temporal sequence, the *-te* form can express various relations between verbs: additive, cause, means, contrastive, concessive and conditional (Hasegawa 1996: 7).

(4.17) *Kore wa hon* <u>*desu*</u>.
　　　 this　 TOP book COP(POL)
　　　 'This is a book.'

(4.18) *Kono hon wa omoshiroi* <u>*desu*</u>.
　　　 this　 book TOP interesting HON(T)
　　　 'This book is interesting.'

In both cases, the copula *desu* does not have a lexical meaning, but the two examples of *desu* in (4.17) and (4.18) are different in the function. In (4.17), it works simply as a copula, following the noun phrase, *hon* 'book'. It also accompanies nouns and adjectival nouns for the predicate. In (4.18) it is not a copula, but simply makes the expression polite by following *omoshiroi* 'interesting', as *omoshiroi* 'interesting' can be a predicate by itself and *Kono hon wa omoshiroi* <u>*da*</u> is not grammatical. Thus, *da/desu* functions as a copula and does not have a lexical meaning itself. Moreover, it can be conjugated according to temporality, modality and polarity.

Plain: *da / desu*
Modal form: *daroo / deshoo*
Negative form: *janai / dewanai*
Past: *data / deshita*
Future: *daroo / deshoo*

Da/desu functions to express finiteness as English *do*, *have* and modal auxiliaries such as *will* do. Thus, looking at the behaviour of *da / desu*, it seems to be acceptable to postulate that the Finite can be identified in Japanese.

Teruya (2004) argues that unlike in English, only the Predicator is recognised in the Mood element and that the Finite is not found in the Japanese interpersonal function structure; '(T)hus while in English the Finite and the Predicator are often separated, in Japanese they never are, so there is no need to posit a distinct Finite element in the interpersonal structure of the clause' (Teruya 2004: 194). Considering the fact that Mood is defined as an element which determines the mood of the clause, it sounds acceptable to recognise only the Predicator in the Mood element in the Japanese clause structure since it is, at least in terms of the form, the Predicator which decides mood. However, the problem is that if we locate only the Predicator as a determiner

of mood, the Finite, which deals with tense, modality, polarity, aspect, mood and politeness, will not be recognised anywhere in the clause simply because it is bound up with the Predicator in Japanese. This seems problematic as Finite is responsible for the choice which the MOOD system offers and in that sense, its behaviour (conjugated form and location in the clause) determines the nature of the clause. In contrast, the Predicator simply represents the actual action and state which the verb specifies. Considering the roles which they play in the clause, especially the role of the Finite for determining mood, I would propose that Finite and Predicator should be recognised as two distinct units in Japanese.

4.3 Clause as exchange: relation between goods-and-services / information and giving / demanding

So far I have focused on the formal aspect of the interpersonal metafunction: the syntactic category which is especially formulated to deal with the MOOD system. In this section, I move on to discussing the meaning of the clause. I introduce the relationship of four primary speech functions in the Hallidayan approach to grammatical structures. This is followed by a discussion of markedness of correlation between form and function. I will first discuss English modality and then move on to Japanese. The section closes with accounts of the correlation between the four speech acts in the systemic functional model and the move types found in the map task corpus annotation.

When language is used, it creates a certain kind of interaction between interlocutors (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). This interaction is carried out by choosing either of two speech roles, namely 'giving' or 'demanding', as speakers are, through the process of linguistic activity, giving something to listeners or demanding something from then. Furthermore, for speakers to perform a certain speech act by giving or demanding something, a commodity to be exchanged is needed. There are two types

of commodity in exchange: information and goods&services, as illustrated in (4.19)-(4.22).

Information:
(4.19) He's giving her the teapot.   (Giving)
(4.20) What is he giving her?   (Demanding)

Goods & services:
(4.21) Would you like this teapot? (Giving)
(4.22) Give me that teapot!   (Demanding)

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 107)

As a result, a table can be drawn of speech functions consisting of two dimensions (speech role and commodity) and their cross-classification. Table 4.3 includes four speech functions: 'statement', 'question', 'offer' and 'command'.

Commodity / Speech role	Information (proposition)	Goods & services (proposal)
Giving	Statement	Offer
Demanding	Question	Command

Table 4.3 Speech roles and commodities in the speech function system

The four speech functions are determined by the combination of speech role ('giving' or 'demanding') and the commodity dealt with in the communication (information or goods&services). When the commodity exchanged is information, the semantic function of a clause is referred to as proposition. When goods&services are exchanged, the semantic function of a clause is proposal. Proposition and proposal are both semantic functions of the clause. Proposition involves an exchange of information, which is realised in 'statement' and 'question' speech functions. Proposal is a parallel word to proposition in the sense that it refers to 'offer' and 'command' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 110-111).

There is a typical choice in the MOOD system which realises each of those speech functions: statement is expressed as a declarative sentence, a question as an interrogative, an offer as an interrogative, and a command as an imperative. This is exemplified as follows:

Statement
(4.23) It's by Henry James.

Command
(4.24) Here, take it!

Offer
(4.25) Would you like to borrow my copy?

Question
(4.26) Have you ever read "The Bostonians"?   (Eggins 1994: 111)

As responses to these speech functions, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) set out eight responding speech functions, which are categorised into two groups. The categorisation is based on whether a response approves or disapproves an act which is carried out by an initiating move. Table 4.4 summarises the system in which semantic choices are made regarding speech roles performed, commodities exchanged, and initiating and responding moves including approving and disapproving functions.

Speech role	Commodities	Initiating function	Responding function	
			Approving function	**Disapproving function**
Demanding	Goods&services	Command	Undertaking	Refusal
	Information	Question	Answer	Disclaimer
Giving	Goods&services	Offer	Acceptance	Rejection
	Information	Statement	Acknowledgement	Contradiction

Table 4.4 System of choices and speech functions realised

Now I have identified twelve speech functions: four initiating functions and eight responding functions. In fact, there is a relation between functions and forms. Typical realisations of those speech functions which can be observed are that: most initiating moves are in the form of a full clause, while most responding moves include ellipsis or minor clauses,[33] and are therefore relatively brief (Eggins 1994).

---

[33] A minor clause is a clause which does not include a Mood+Residue structure, an opposite of major

So far, I have discussed two dimensions for typical[34] realisation of speech functions, in terms of form. One is concerned with mood types which a speaker chooses so as to accomplish a speech act for initiating moves. The other is concerned with the number of constituents in a clause; it is claimed that clauses with initiating moves are, typically, full clauses, while those with responding moves are elliptical or minor clauses. Needless to say, it is not all the time the case that there is a one-to-one correlation between speech acts, these mood types (declarative, interrogative and imperative) and clause structures. In fact, it is often observed that the question speech act can be realised in declarative, instead of interrogative form, as in: *I was wondering whether you have already done that translation*. Questions then arise: when is a speech function performed in a typical form and when is it not? why does a speaker use a marked form? In order to answer these questions, we need an idea of modality, which is, besides MOOD, the other important component in an analysis of the interpersonal metafunction.

Modality in the Hallidayan approach comprises two grammatical areas: modalization and modulation.[35] The difference between modalization and modulation comes originally from whether the commodity exchanged is information or goods&services. Modalization deals with how certain the proposition is or how often events or states described in the proposition take places. On the other hand, modulation focuses on how much an action described in the proposal is required and how much the speaker is willing to do it. The two types of modality is summarised as '(W)hen Modality is used to argue about the probability or frequency of propositions, it is referred to as modalization. When Modality is used to argue about the obligation or inclination of proposals, it is referred to as modulation…' (Eggins 1994: 179). I will start by describing what modalization is, and move on to providing a picture of modulation.

---

clause. Therefore, it is distinguished from an elliptical clause, which is a result of leaving out constituents in Mood and/or Residue elements. Its speech functions are exclamations, calls, greetings and alarms (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

[34] The Hallidayan approach postulates that there is a strong association between forms and functions, such as declarative and 'statement.' An expression which is incongruent with the form is recognised as a 'selection of words that is different from that which is in some sense typical or unmarked' (Halliday 1985: 20).

[35] Modalization and modulation correspond to epistemic and deontic modality, which are probably more familiar terms to readers.

As discussed above, there are two types of semantic function which the MOOD system creates, depending on the commodities exchanged in the linguistic activity: proposition and proposal. With regard to a proposition, it is something which interlocutors can affirm or deny. However, in many cases where propositions are presented, the issue is not always a simple one. Between positive and negative propositions, there are a great deal of intermediate possibilities with various degrees of 'probability ('possibly/probably/certainly')' or 'usuality ('sometimes/ usually/always')' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 147). In Hallidayan terms, the scales of probability and usuality are referred to as modalization. They are explained as follows:

- Degrees of probability are equivalent to 'either yes or no', that is, maybe yes, maybe no, with different degrees of likelihood attached.
- Degrees of usuality are equivalent to 'both yes and no', that is, sometimes yes, sometimes no, with different degrees of oftenness attached.

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 147)

To realise modalization, there are three possible ways (Eggins 1994: 179).

1. through the choice of a finite modal operator

   "The Bostonians" <u>might</u> have been written by Henry James.

2. through the use of Mood Adjuncts[36] of probability, certainty, etc.

   "The Bostonians" was <u>possibly</u> written by Henry James.

3. through both together: a modal Finite and a mood Adjunct

   "The Bostonians" <u>might possibly</u> have been written by Henry James.

---

[36] Mood Adjuncts are one of the main types of Adjuncts in systemic functional grammar. They are related to modality, temporality and intensity, which are dealt with in the mood system, and include five categories. (i) expressions of probability (*perhaps*, *maybe*, *probably*); (ii) expressions of usuality (*sometimes, usually*); (iii) expressions of intensification or minimisation (*really, absolutely, just, somewhat*); (iv) expressions of presumption (*evidently, presumably, obviously*); (v) expressions of inclination (*happily, willingly*) (Eggins 1994: 67)

Besides modal operators and Mood Adjuncts, there are other means to express modalization: use of the clauses, such as *I think, I'm sure, It is probable, It is possible.* The contrast between the use of modal operators (e.g., *might*) and/or Mood Adjuncts (e.g., *possibly)* and the use of clauses is referred to as implicit and explicit orientation.

When a proposal is made, the imperative (*Wash the dishes!*) and interrogative (*Shall I wash the dishes?*) forms are not the only resources that can be used. Declaratives and interrogatives with certain kinds of Finite and Predicator can also function for getting others to do something for speakers or for offering goods&services for others, as illustrated in (4.27)-(4.30).

(4.27) We <u>must</u> read "The Bostonians".
(4.28) You're <u>required to read</u> "The Bostonians".
(4.29) I <u>want to lend</u> you "The Bostonians".
(4.30) I'm <u>willing to lend</u> you "The Bostonians".   (Eggins 1994: 187)

These clauses include particular types of Finite or Predicator which express how the action is required or how willing the speaker is to take that action. They are found in the underlined words in the above clauses. While modalization deals with the scale between positive and negative in propositions, modulation directs the degree of obligation and inclination about the proposals. Eggins makes a concise remark about modalization and modulation: '…with proposals, we do not just argue about *do* or *don't*. There is also a scale in between, but this time the scale is not of possibility or usuality, but of obligation and inclination' (Eggins 1994: 189). As modalization has implicit and explicit expressions, modulation of obligation is also realised in these two manners, as exemplified in (4.31) and (4.32).

(4.31) John's supposed to go.   (implicit)
(4.32) I want John to go.   (explicit)
                              (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 620)

Whatever the form used for expressing modalization or modulation, the speaker has varying degrees of commitment to the proposition or proposal. These are expressed as values of modality: Low, Median and High, summarised in Table 4.5.

	Probability	**Usuality**	**Obligation**	**Inclination**
High	certain	always	required	determined
Median	probable	usually	supposed	keen
Low	possible	sometimes	allowed	willing

Table 4.5 Three values of modality (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 620)

Those variants which have been looked at (i.e. modalization, modulation, implicit/explicit expression, values of modality) are combined to form the network of modality systems. What to note at this point is that the analysis of mood and modality in text could reveal the interpersonal relationship between interlocutors. For instance, saying *You might want to clean the room this weekend* is an indirect way of giving a command. Which form is used to accomplish a speech act depends on who addressee is, on which occasion communication takes place, including such intangibles as playfulness and humour.

I move on to describing the Japanese mood system, where there are four speech functions: statement, offer, question and command, including 'desideration', as in English. While, in English, the Subject and Finite play a decisive role in determining the mood of the clause by using the word order and form of Finite, in Japanese, mood is realised by the Finite and Negotiator, both of which are located at the end of the clause. The Negotiator is a morpheme which attaches attitudinal value of the clause, such as question, empathy or assertion. The Japanese Negotiator takes a form of finite particles and is added at the end of the predicate, such as *ka* (interrogative or confirmation Negotiator), *no* (assertive Negotiator) or *ne* (Confirmation). A Negotiator has more than one function. For example, the Negotiator *ka*, together with rising tone in the case of speech, indicates that the clause is interrogative, and in this sense the Negotiator realises interrogative mood, e.g., *Ame ga futteta no ka.* ('Was it raining?'). Also, the Negotiator *ka* serves to express confirmation, as *Ame ga futteta ka.* ('Oh, I see, it was raining.')

Table 4.6 shows the Japanese MOOD system including four types of speech functions. The table includes both MOOD and modality systems; modality in turn contains modalization and modulation. The Finite, Predicator and Negotiator which realise each mood are highlighted. The example of the optative mood is controversial. Because the form expresses the speaker's volition, it does not seem to function as a command. Probably, Teruya's (2004) intention to locate this form in the 'command' cell, although it is in fact named 'desideration', is that by declaring one's volition, the speaker makes the addressee accept the wish, and in this sense it serves to function as a command. However, as the mood system is concerned with forms, not meaning, it seems better for this form to be categorised in the 'statement' function.

	Propositions (information)	**Proposals (goods & services)**
Giving	**'statement' declarative: conclusive** (watasi-wa) *Nihongo de* hanasita. I　　TOP Japanese in　spoke "(I) spoke in Japanese"	**'offer' oblative** *Nihongo de* hanasoo　ka. Japanese in　speak-VOL FP_i "Shall we speak in Japanese?"
	'statement' declarative: suppositive *Watasi wa　Nihongo de* hanasita I　　TOP Japanese in　spoke "I would speak in Japanese." *daroo*. SUP	
Demanding	**'question' indicative: interrogative: yes/no** (*Anata wa) Nihongo　de* hanasita 　you　TOP　Japanese in　spoken "Did you speak in Japanese?" *ka*. FP_i	**'command' jussive[37]** *Nihongo de* hanase. Japanese in　speak-IMP-DIR "Speak in Japanese."
	'question' indicative: interrogative: elemental *Dare-ga　Nihongo de* hanasita who-NOM Japanese in　spoken "Who spoke in Japanese?" *ka?* FP_i	**'command' prohibitive** *Nihongo de* hanasuna. Japanese in　speak-PROH "Don't speak in Japanese."
		'command' suggestive *Nihongo de* hanasoo. Japanese in　speak-VOL "Let's speak in Japanese."
		'desideration' optative *Nihongo de* hanasitai. Japanese in　want to speak "(I) want to speak in Japanese."

Table 4.6 Japanese MOOD and modality system (Teruya 2004: 195, modified by Otsuki for clarity)

---

[37] As discussed in the previous chapter, 'command' jussive, has both plain and polite forms. In many cases the polite form includes –*kudasai* following the infinitive form of the verb:

　Plain form: *Nihongo de* hanase.
　　　　　　　Japanese in　speak-IMP-DIR
　　　　　　　"Speak in Japanese."
　Polite form: *Nihongo　de* hanasi te kudasai.
　　　　　　　　Japanese　in　speak-IMP-DIR-POL
　　　　　　　"Speak in Japanese, please."

I will end this chapter with locating the moves in the map task dialogues in the four speech functions introduced at the beginning of this section. There are six types of initiating move in the annotation scheme in the HCRC Map Task Corpus: [instruct], [explain], [check], [align], [query-yn] and [query-w]. They are distributed in the speech function system as found in Table 4.7.

Commodity / Speech role	Information (proposition)	Goods and services (proposal)
Giving	Statement [instruct] [explain]	Offer
Demanding	Question [check] [align][query-yn] [query-w]	Command

Table 4.7 Correlation between speech functions and the Map Task Corpus moves

Note that the [instruct] move is not categorised as a 'command' speech function, but as a 'statement'. This is because there is no power relation between speakers in the map task dialogues; they are simply task participants in the equal position. Although it might look as if the instruction giver gives commands to the follower during the task, what the former does is only giving information regarding how to draw a route. Therefore, what is going on in the map task dialogues is simply giving and demanding information among task participants. Accordingly, speech acts regarding goods-and-services will not be dealt with in this study.   In the next chapter, I will apply the forms and functions in the English and Japanese MOOD systems to an examination of the use of ellipsis in the map task corpus dialogues.

4.4 Conclusion

To investigate the interpersonal effects of ellipsis, the interpersonal metafunction within systemic functional linguistics has been examined. This function deals with interpersonal meanings in the clause, which are explained using syntactic categories, including Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct. Since systemic functional grammar has developed mainly with respect to English, Japanese grammar

does not allow these syntactic categories to be applied directly, but needs consideration, especially regarding the status of the Finite. I suggest that the Finite in Japanese would be better recognised independently, rather than bound with the Predicator, contrary to Teruya (2004).

With regard to meanings realised by the lexico-grammar, mood and modality play key roles in realising tenor. These two grammatical features located in the clause are thought to be realisations of interpersonal relationship. This is made possible by MOOD systems along with elaborated modality systems which illustrate the degree of speakers' commitment to propositions/proposals.

I also found that initiating moves in the map task dialogue annotation are all located in the dimensions of giving/demanding information; goods&services are not exchanged. This means that what task participants are doing during the task is simply exchange of information about how to draw a route. In the following chapters, I will apply the above concepts to clauses in the actual dialogues in both languages.

Chapter 5

Method and quantitative results: overview of ellipsis in the map task dialogues

5.0 Introduction

One of the aims of this research is to provide descriptions of elliptical clauses in terms of the correlation of forms with functions. The previous chapter presented descriptions of the framework which is suitable for this research, focusing on the idea of interpersonal relationships and systematic devices to realise them: mood and modality. This means that now we have tools (systemic functional grammar) and material (the map task dialogues) to do research into ellipsis. The next step is to show how the system operates, once data is supplied. For this purpose, I will present the following three points in this chapter, based on the syntactic categories of systemic functional grammar: (1) a methodology of processing elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues; (2) an illustration of elliptical clauses in both languages; (3) the correlation of occurrence of elliptical clauses to the two variables which are derived from the corpora design.

The first task to be done is counting the whole clauses, which is followed by recognising elliptical clauses. At this point, the key issue is the definition of ellipsis; as we saw earlier ellipsis can be defined from different viewpoints. For instance, from the functional perspective, it is claimed that 'nothing is missing' (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 181). I will take the more formal view that an elliptical clause is a clause where it is recognised that something is omitted from the full clause. In the sense that the recognition of ellipted elements relies on speakers' grammar knowledge, it may be said that this is sort of a cognitive approach.

Ellipted elements are coded, which is where the syntactic categories in the systemic functional approach are employed. The number of ellipted elements in the clause

ranges from one to as many as four. Five types of ellipsis are commonly observed in both languages, while there are a few types which are specific to each language. Each type of ellipsis will be extensively discussed in chapter 6 and 7. Furthermore, some types of ellipsis occur by far more than others, and the frequency of the occurrence of the types of ellipsis across speech functions is never even. I will examine the relations between the frequency of the occurrence of ellipsis and different settings whose variables are availability of visibility, participant familiarity and language. In the end, this chapter serves to introduce ellipsis types which are going to be examined as well as present the panorama of elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues.

5.1 Get the data operationalised

In this section, the procedure in which ellipsis is categorised in terms of ellipted elements is presented. There are preliminary processes for counting elliptical clauses. I will first describe the way of identifying and counting clauses in dialogues in both languages. Also I will give an explanation of the methodology for recognising and reconstructing elliptical clauses, along with the practical problems accompanying the procedure.

5.1.1 Counting clauses and elliptical clauses

First of all, clauses are counted for the purpose of quantitative analysis, that is, finding out the proportion of elliptical clauses to the total number of clauses in a dialogue. Clauses are generally defined as: 'a noun phrase and a verb phrase' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 758). Although this definition works well most of the time for the present task[38], in some cases it is not straightforward to know whether

---

[38] The embedded clause is not counted as a clause for this research. This is because some embedded clauses, such as non-finite clauses, do not have all the constituents which are required by the grammar at the surface structure. For instance, if the embedded clause is non-finite, such as a *to* infinitive (e.g., *I want to be there*), the embedded clause is not counted because in this context an overt Subject is excluded by the grammar of the language. Although Subject does not exist in the clause, it is not appropriate to recognise it as Subject ellipsis. The analysis, then,

the segment is an elliptical clause or simply a 'minor clause' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Since this issue is concerned with what is recognised as ellipsis, I will present a definition of ellipsis now. The definition of an elliptical clause in this study derives from the syntactic categories in systemic functional grammar and is as follows:

- An elliptical clause is a clause which does not contain one or more of the following constituents in it:
  Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct
- The ellipted constituents are recoverable from the previous or following utterance, or non-linguistic context in which the ellipsis occurs

As for an Adjunct, it is true that some adverbials are not an obligatory element in a clause. However, reconstruction of an elliptical clause into a full clause (which is explained in section 5.1.2) is done based on the preceding clause, where possible. The omission of an Adjunct is in fact observed if the preceding clause includes an Adjunct which is not found in the following elliptical clause.

I exclude the following from the consideration of elliptical clauses:
- Backchannel utterances
- Joint constructions
- Minor clauses

(i) Backchannel utterances
It is well-known that backchannel functions in two ways: to show the hearer's understanding and to encourage the speaker to keep speaking (Goodwin 1986; Jefferson 1984; Schegloff 1982; Yngve 1970). English backchannel utterances typically include o*kay, yes, yeah, aye, uh-huh* and *right*. It may be possible to argue that *right* is originally *that's right*. However, *right* is already established as one word reply in English discourse; it is hardly recognised that something is missing in *right*. Some fixed expressions are, although they are not backchannel, similarly excluded

---

focuses on interpersonal structures of the clause realised through constituents in the matrix clause.

from consideration, such as *you know*. In Japanese, backchannels are extremely common (Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki and Tao 1996; Maynard 1986, 1997). Examples of Japanese backchannel utterances include *un, hai, soo desu ka* 'right.' *Soo desu ka* could be reconstructed as (*sore wa*) *soo desu ka* '(that's) right.', but, like the counterpart English backchannel, it is already established as a fixed expression as a backchannel utterance, and not treated as ellipsis.

(ii) Joint utterance construction

Speakers sometimes make up utterances jointly in the map task dialogues. Especially this was often observed in Japanese dialogues. A speaker initiates an utterance, but for some reason the utterance is taken over by the interlocutor, as seen in (5.1).

(5.1) S: There's, he has a, um, uh, like a,
      A: a rack.   (Ricento 1987: 762)

This phenomenon is called variously depending on author 'collaborative construction' (Ricento 1987), 'collaborative finish' (Lerner 1991), 'co-participant completion' (Lerner and Takagi 1999), 'conversational duet' (Falk 1980), 'joint production' (Ferrara 1992; Sacks and Jefferson 1992), and 'joint utterance construction' (Hayashi 2003). Although it is a collaborative sequence of utterances by interlocutors, some approaches take joint construction as ellipsis (Yoneha 2003). In this study, I will not include joint constructions in ellipsis. I will explain the reason for it, illustrating examples in the map task dialogues.

In the English map task dialogues, joint construction often appears at the level of the phrase; the object of a preposition of a previous utterance is provided by the interlocutor, as seen in the excerpts (5.2) and (5.3). The left column indicates the Giver's utterance and the right column the Follower)'s.

(5.2)

	Move 103 check And then round?
Move 104 reply-y	

The top of the banana tree	

<div align="right">Dialogue q8nc8</div>

(5.3)

	Move 72 acknowledge right okay
	Move 73 query-w and across to?
Move 74 reply-w the pyramid	

<div align="right">Dialogue q3nc6</div>

In (5.2) the Giver completed a prepositional phrase by providing a complement for the preposition *round* provided by the Follower, *the top of the banana tree*. In (5.3) *the pyramid* in Move 74 is a complement for the preposition, *to*, in the previous utterance (Move 73). In any case, since this is a phenomenon at the level of the phrase, it is excluded from consideration of ellipsis in this study. In contrast, the Japanese dialogues provide examples of joint construction more often at the level of the clause; an example is seen in (5.4).

(5.4)

Move 105 instruct *De toodai ga* then lighthouse NOM 'Then, the lighthouse'	
	Move 106 explain *Aru* there.is 'is.'
Aru kara sono toodai there.is as that lighthouse 'As there is (a lighthouse), go towards the lighthouse, right-handside.' *no hoo ni mukatte migigawa ni* GEN direction LOC go right-hand LOC	

<div align="right">Dialogue J5n6</div>

The utterance in Move 105 by the Giver stops when the speaker provides the subject case marker *ga*, which is followed by *aru* 'there is' by the Follower.

> *Toodai ga - Aru*
>
> speaker   the Giver   the Follower
>
> syntax   Subject   Finite and Predicator

As a result, Move 106 in fact provides the information that the Follower's map has a lighthouse on it, although the Giver does not really ask about it; what the Giver was about to say was interrupted by the Follower, whose utterance serves as a confirmation that s/he has a lighthouse on the map. With this confirmation, the Giver proceeds to giving an instruction (i.e. go towards the lighthouse) in the next utterance. What is happening here is that the constituents in the clause are provided by different speakers to make up a clause, and therefore there is no ellipsis. Recall the definition of ellipsis provided at the beginning of this section: ellipted elements have to be recovered by interlocutors. In case of (5.4), the Giver does not ellipt the Finite and Predicator, with the intention of making the Follower retrieve them from somewhere else in the linguistic or non-linguistic context. The Follower simply offers information, which results in forming a full clause. Furthermore, the Follower does not ellipt the Subject, but simply follows the Giver's Subject by providing a Finite and Predicator. This kind of collaborative utterance, therefore, is excluded from the consideration of ellipsis.

(iii) Minor clauses

Speakers do not always issue full clauses in their utterances; there are utterances without a verb. Since this type of clauses does not belong to major clause types (i.e. declaratives, closed and open interrogatives, exclamatives and imperatives), they are treated as minor clauses (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). The following is a list of minor clauses.

Optatives
So be it.

Clauses with the subordinate form

That it should have come to this!

Conditional fragments
If only you'd told me earlier!

Verbless directives
Out of my way! / On your feet! / This way!

Parallel structures
The sooner, the better. / The most haste, less speed. / No work no pay.

<div align="right">(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 944-945)</div>

Halliday and Matthissen (2004) also refer to 'minor clauses', which are defined as 'a clause does not display a Mood+Residue structure' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 153). The following is some examples of their 'minor clauses':

Exclamation
Wow! / Ouch!

Calls
Charlie! / You here! / Madam President

Greetings
Hullo! / Good morning! / Welcome!

Alarms
Look out! / Quick! / Careful!

<div align="right">(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 153)</div>

As discussed in chapter 2, if the ellipted element is recoverable from the previous part of the text it is textual ellipsis, and if from the non-linguistic context it is situational ellipsis (Quirk et al. 1985). These two types of minor clauses from Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) have something in common; most of them cannot be reconstructed either linguistically or non-linguistically. In this vein, I also exclude formulaic expressions, such as *thank you* and *sorry*. It is in fact not impossible to reconstruct the missing elements in these expressions (*I thank you*; *I'm sorry*). However, they are in general not recognised as an omission of subject and operator (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), as with certain types of backchannel expressions (e.g., *right*) discussed above. On the other hand, it will be possible to reconstruct some types of minor clauses; for instance, *out of my*

way! could be expanded into (g*et*) *out of my way!* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 945). Among these minor clauses, I will take them an ellipsis in case where reconstruction is possible.

Finally, I add a further point about each language. In English there is a particular sentence structure to be excluded from the study. As for (5.5), at first sight, the second clause in coordinated structures seems to include ellipted elements which are categorised as textual ellipsis in Quirk et al's (1985) terms. Once, however, the omitted elements are reconstructed, the meaning of the structure will be different. This is seen in the following example:

(5.5)
Move 45 [query-w]
How can I go to the left and be beneath?   (Dialogue q6ec6)

It appears that the utterance comprises two clauses, and the second one consists only of *be beneath*. However, two predicates ('go to the left' and 'be beneath') have a cause and effect relation; 'going to the left' results in 'being beneath'. If *how can I* is inserted in the second clause, the meaning of the sentence of the utterance will be different, *How can I go to the left and how can I be beneath?* In other words, if the missing elements are inserted in the second clause, the relation of cause ('go to the left') and effect ('be beneath') which the original two clauses hold will be lost. This is then not counted as ellipsis.

With regard to Japanese, the following should be added as an example which is not considered as ellipsis. In the Japanese dialogues, there are examples in which only a case marker particle is found without a noun phrase (e.g., only subject marker *ga* is observed, but no noun phrase which should precede the marker and refer to an entity is found in a clause), as seen in (5.6)

(5.6)
ga   *mokuhyoo chiten ne*
NOM finish   FP$_c$
'(That is) the finish.'   (j4n7; Move 395)

This is a sort of a playful way of speech and not a grammatical use. I will exclude it from the idea of elliptical clauses. In general, the omission of noun phrases and particles attached to them in the clause are recognised as argument ellipsis.

5.1.2 Reconstructing elliptical clauses

Reconstructing and labelling ellipted constituents was done according to the syntactic category for constituents in systemic functional grammar, i.e. Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct. In the case of textual ellipsis, whereby ellipted items are recovered linguistically, reconstruction was carried out by looking back at the syntactic structure of the clause in the same or previous utterance with some modification, depending on the context in which it occurred. In the cases of situational ellipsis, whereby ellipted items are recovered non-linguistically, reconstruction was done only when the clause structure was clear; what was reconstructed is not exactly ellipted words but simply constituents which can be assumed to be ellipted. The excerpt (5.7) includes both textual and situational ellipsis.

(5.7)

Move 9 query-yn and ... have you got a graveyard in the middle no ... of the fast flowing river and the diamond mine?	
	Move 10 reply-n no I don't
Move 11 acknowledge No	
	Move 12 check am I am I going round ... the diamond mine and down?
Move 13 clarify Just	
Move 15 reply-n down ... no	

Dialogue q1nc5

In Move 12 the Follower is asking for more information about the direction to be taken. The move consists of two clauses, of which the second is elliptical: *down*. It can be reconstructed using the structure in the first clause, as follows.

Move 12 check
am I am I going round ... the diamond mine and (am I going) down?

In Move 9 the Giver asks whether the Follower has a graveyard on the map, using the structure *have you got*… However, the Follower's answer (Move 10) uses *do*, instead of *have,* for a Finite element. For the elliptical clause in Move 10, then, *have it* can be inserted.

Move 10 reply-n
no I don't (*have it*).

Since the reconstruction does not make use of clues in the neighbouring text, this is situational ellipsis. The items which are reconstructed nonlinguistically are in italics.

There are also examples where reconstruction is impossible as the existing constituents are not enough for reconstruction. For instance, the utterance of Move 7 in (5.8) includes ellipsis.

(5.8)

Move 6.9 align right is is the guy walking along?	
	Move 7 query-yn how can I?

Dialogue q5ec5

As *can* is Finite, at least we can say that Predicator is ellipted. There, however, is no knowing what is ellipted after *I*. In this case, reconstruction was not done. As the above examples show, reconstruction operates well in general. However, there are some cases where problems were raised through the process and call for remarks. I will point out two issues from English and Japanese respectively.

 (i) Collapsing ellipsis types

Some elliptical clauses do not fall into any major categories. The excerpt (5.9) is an example of ellipsis including Subject, Finite and other elements.

(5.9)

Move 20 instruct so you want to go like round the well	
	Move 21 query-w to the left or the right?
Move 22 reply-w the left	
	Move 23 acknowledge left

Dialogue q6ec7

In this excerpt, clauses in Move 21, 22 and 23 are elliptical. They are reconstructed based on the structure found in Move 20. In this case modification is necessary for reconstruction. As *do I want to go to the left…?* sounds less usual than *should I go to the left*, the latter is taken up.

Move 20
so you want to go like round the well.

Move 21
(Should   I   go) to the left or the right?
 Finite   Subject Predicator

Move 22
(You   should go   to) the left
 Subject   Finite Predicator 'to'

Move 23
(I   should go   to the) left.
 Subject Finite Predicator 'to the'

From this reconstruction, we have three types of ellipsis: Subject+Finite+Predicator, Subject+Finite+Predicator+*to* and Subject+Finite+Predicator+*to the*.   For the sake of clarity and also to avoid increasing ellipsis categories, in this case, these three reconstructed parts are taken to fall in the same category, i.e. Subject+Finite+Predicator, without considering the preposition and article.

(ii) Japanese non-finite form (the *-te* form)

With regard to the Japanese non-finite form *-te,* the following point should be made clear in the process of reconstruction: one of the key functions of the *-te* form is to link clauses, as was discussed in section 4.2.2. The *-te* form can also be used for imperatives. Therefore, it can not be straightforward, especially when the Giver was giving instructions, to distinguish whether the speaker finishes the utterance with an imperative marker, or she intends to try to continue the instructions by linking another action in the form of *–te*, and the utterance is simply paused. Whether the *-te* form (gerundive form) is imperative or the non-finite form of the verb is determined by the speech style which the speaker takes. For instance, (5.10) is the Giver's utterance which is found in Move 173 in j4n7.

(5.10)
*Ueni   toriaezu massugu   **agatte***
above   anyway straight   go.up
'Anyway, go straight up.'

Since the speaker in the above clause speaks quite casually without honorifics in the rest of the dialogue, it is determined that the clause including *–te* is recognised as a imperative, not non-finite. However, in the map task dialogues, in fact, most of the time the *-te* form is used as a non-finite form which links several verbs used for instructions.

Those are two main issues which were brought up in the process of reconstruction. Through the process of reconstructing elliptical clauses and identifying ellipted constituents, it was observed that there are basically the following patterns for ellipted constituents in elliptical clauses in each language, which is summarised in Table 5.1.

English	Japanese
Subject	Subject
Finite	Finite
Predicator	Predicator
Subject+Finite	Subject+Finite
Subject+Finite+Predicator	Subject+Finite+Predicator
Complement	
Predicator+Complement	
Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct	
Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement	
	Subject+Complement
	Finite+Predicator
Others	Others

Table 5.1 Possible types of ellipsis in English and Japanese

The category 'others' includes types of ellipsis which were generally observed too few times to set up categories. The actual number of occurrence of those forms in the sixteen dialogues which were examined in each corpus is as follows (number shown in parenthesis is occurrence): for the English dialogues: Subject+Finite+Predicator+*to* infinitive (4), Adjunct (1); for the Japanese dialogues: Subject+Adjunct (8), Complement+Finite (5), Subject+Predicator (1) and Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct (1). In the next section, examples of each ellipsis type in Table 5.1 are presented.

5.2 Examples of clauses in each type of ellipsis

5.2.1 Elliptical forms in English

The following (1)-(9) describe each type of ellipsis found in the English dialogues. The category (9) is titled 'others' because their examples are not many enough to establish a category. In cases where reconstruction of ellipted items is done non-linguistically, these items are in italics.

(1) Subject ellipsis

(5.11)

Move 43 instruct and ... come back down to go just ... above ... the top of the train crossing	
	Move 44 explain don't have a train crossing

<div align="right">Dialogue q3nc5</div>

An elliptical clause in Move 44 shows an example of subject ellipsis. The reconstructed form will be:

  (*I*) don't have a train crossing.

Although there is no evidence in the previous utterance that the missing subject is *I*, from the non-linguistic context it can be reconstructed (situational ellipsis).

(2) Predicator ellipsis

(5.12)

Move 78 instruct diagonally go down towards the left ... about another two centimetres continue your line for about another two centimetres	
	Move 79 acknowledge okay
Move 80 instruct Down	

<div align="right">Dialogue q4nc7</div>

From the previous utterance including the expression, *go down towards the left*…, Move 80 can be reconstructed as follows.

  (Go) down.

Therefore, Predicator ellipsis is identified in the clause in Move 80.

(3) Subject+Finite ellipsis

(5.13)

Move 46 check	

it's directly beneath it?	
	Move 45 reply-w it's ... to the right-hand side
Move 47 acknowledge to the right-hand side of safari truck	
	Move 48 clarify slightly to the right-hand side

Dialogue q4ec8

From the sentence structure in Move 45 and 46, elliptical clauses in Move 47 and 48 are reconstructed to have Subject and Finite as follows:

Move 47
(It   is)   *to the right-hand side of safari truck*
 Subject   Finite
Move 48
(It   is)   slightly to the right-hand side
 Subject   Finite

This is the most common type of ellipsis in the English dialogues. Because of the syntactic difference in the realisation of Finite between English and Japanese, this type of ellipsis is not common in Japanese.

(4) Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis

(5.14)

Move 30 instruct go round the slate mountain	
	Move 31 check up?

Dialogue q3ec6

Based on the imperative clause in Move 30, the reconstructed form of the elliptical clause in Move 31 includes Subject, Finite and Predicator.

(*Should   I   go*)   up?
 Finite   Subject   Predicator

(5) Predicator+Complement ellipsis

(5.15)

Move 68 query-yn ehm ... have you got a safari truck?	

126

	Move 69 reply-y yes I have

<div align="right">Dialogue q4nc8</div>

In systemic functional grammar, the clause in Mood 69 ellipts the Predicator (*got*) and the Complement (*a safari truck*). Therefore, the reconstructed form will be as follows:

yes I have (got   a safari truck).
              Predicator   Complement

(6) Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis

(5.16)

Move 73 clarify but right first before you come to the bakery do another wee lump	
	Move 74 query-w why?

<div align="right">Dialogue q5ec6</div>

Based on the structure of the imperative clause found at the end of Move 73, *why* in Move 74 can be expanded by reconstruction.

Why (*should I   do   another wee lump*)?
        Finite   Subject   Predicator   Complement

(7) Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis

(5.17)

Move 56 instruct go down ... eh about an inch and a half ... directly down	
	Move 57 query-yn from the abandoned truck?
Move 58 reply-y Yeah	
	Move 59 acknowledge right

<div align="right">Dialogue q3nc6</div>

The clause in Move 57 can be reconstructed as follows:

(*should I   go   down*) from the abandoned truck?
   Finite   Subject   Predicator   Adjunct

Since in systemic functional grammar, an adverb is treated as Adjunct, the ellipted constituents are: *should* (Finite), *I* (Subject), *go* (Predicator) and *down* (Adjunct).

(8) Finite ellipsis

(5.18)

Move 120 instruct and you go down diagonal ... ano-- ... and ... underneath ... the bottom of ... dead tree which'll be ... the dutch elm ... probably	
Move 121 align you there?	
	Move 122 explain the stile ... right i've got a stile i've to go up or whatever ... i've got ... the popular tourist spot ... on that side

Dialogue q6nc8

There are not many examples of Finite ellipsis in the English dialogues.

In the clause in Move 121, the verb *be* is ellipted.

    (*Are*) you there?
     Finite

(9) Complement ellipsis

(5.19)

Move 442 explain that's the cross and that's the finish	
	Move 443 check is it?

Dialogue q4nc7

The clause in Move 443 does not include the Complement.

    Is it (the finish)?
        Complement

(10) Others

- Predicator+Complement+Adjunct ellipsis

(5.20)

Move 93 explain right I've got a canal there	

Move 94 query-yn have you?	

<div align="right">Dialogue q5ec6</div>

Considering the constituents found in the previous clause, the clause in Move 94 ellipts *got* (Predicator), *a canal* (Complement) and *there* (Adjunct).

Have you (got a canal there)?
     Predicator Complement Adjunct

- **Subject+Finite+Complement ellipsis**

(5.21)

Move 79 check it's up slightly?	
	Move 80 reply-y aye ... just slightly ... aye

<div align="right">Dialogue q4nc8</div>

The ellipted constituents in Move 80 are determined by looking at the clause in Move 79.

aye…(it is up)   just slightly…aye
    Subject Finite Complement

5.2.2 Elliptical forms in Japanese

There are seven main types of ellipsis in Japanese. Generally, far more examples where ellipted items are recovered non-linguistically, are observed in the Japanese dialogues than in the English dialogues. Here I introduce five types of ellipsis in common with English as well as two types which are specific to Japanese.

(1) Subject ellipsis

This is the most common type of ellipsis in the Japanese discourse. The National Language Research Institute in Japan reports that the subject of a Japanese sentence is ellipted as much as 74% of the time in conversational discourse (Makino, 1991; Martin, 1975). Examples of this are seen in (5.22) and (5.23).

(5.22)

Move 97 query-yn	

Jarimich-ga ari masu cobbled.street-NOM there.is HON(T) 'Is there a cobbled street?'	
	Move 98 reply-n *Nai desu.* there.is-NEG HON(T) 'There is not (a cobbled street).'

Dialogue j3n6

In this excerpt the Giver and Follower are talking about a landmark (*jarimichi* 'cobbled street'). The Giver asks about the existence of the landmark on the Follower's map and the Follower replies to the question in an elliptical clause only consisting of Finite and Predicator.

(5.23)

Move 32 instruct *A... nooka-no mon-no hidari gurai* well farmer-GEN gate-GEN left-hand around 'Well, (ø) go up to around the left-hand side of the farmer's gate.' *made agaru n desu yo* to go.up NMLS COP(POL) FP_a	
	Move 33 acknowledge *Hai.* right 'Right.'

Dialogue j6n8

The utterance in Move 32 shows a clause without a Subject. It includes an instruction in the declarative form without referring to an agent of the action.

The identification of the ellipted Subject falls into two categories: landmarks on the maps and the entity of taking an action denoted in instructions. What to note is that what the ellipted Subject is in the second category (i.e. an agent of the action) is not disclosed in almost all the Japanese map task dialogues. For instance, the agent of the verb *agaru* 'go up' in Move 32 in (5.23) is not explicit, and keeps implicit throughout the dialogue. Since there is no antecedent in the text, Subject ellipsis in the Move 32 of the [instruct] is situational ellipsis. The interlocutors retrieve the entity of the ellipted Subject from the context, or interpret it from the predicator part

of the clause if available, using systems which are discussed as part of systems which

encourage ellipsis in Japanese in chapter 2.

(2) Predicator ellipsis

(5.24)

Move 156 instruct *Jarimichi to piramiddo-no* cobbled.street and pyramid-GEN 'Just like you're going through between the cobbled street and pyramid.' *aida-o tooru yooni* interspace-ACC go.through like	
	Move 157 acknowledge *Hai* right 'Right.'

<div align="right">Dialogue j3e6</div>

In Move 156 the Giver describes the manner in which the route is drawn. It

functions as an instruction although the clause does not verbalise any action which

should be taken in the concerned manner.

Jarimichi   to   piramiddo-no   aida-o   tooru   yooni (ø)
cobbled street and   pyramid-GEN   interspace-ACC   go.through   like
'(ø) Just like you're going through between the cobbled street and pyramid.'

From the context, we can interpret that the ellipted verb will be a certain motion verb.

(3) Finite+Predicator ellipsis

This type of ellipsis is mostly used for asking whether there is a landmark on an

interlocutor's map. The common pattern of the clause includes only the Subject

whose existence is questioned. This is seen in (5.25).

(5.25)

Move 165 query-yn *Shite gakekuzure do ooki…ogakuzure…* then rockfall F F F 'Then, there shouldn't be rockfall, or is there?'	

nai deshoo atta ka there.is-NEG HON(T)-SUP there.is-PAST FP$_i$	
	Move 166 reply-y *aru aru.* there.is there.is 'There is. There is.'
Move 167 query-yn *Ookina mizuumi wa* great lake TOP 'Great lake?'	
	Move 168 reply-y *Aru.* there.is 'There is.'

<div align="right">Dialogue j4e8</div>

In Move 166, a Subject for *aru* 'there is/exist' is ellipted (Subject ellipsis). This is in fact followed by another question from the Giver (Move 167):

  Ookina mizuumi wa?
  great   lake   TOP
  'What about great lake?'

The suitable English translation *How about the great lake?* would bring a flavour of this Japanese question utterance. Here the Giver asks whether there is a great lake on the Follower's map only by providing the topic, i.e. great lake. The predicate part labelled Finite and Predicator is ellipted.

(4) Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis

This is also a very common type of ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues. The ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Predicator results in clauses which consist only of adverbials, as exemplified in (5.26):

(5.26)

Move 49 instruct *De<…>sokokara wa...hidari ni* then from there TOP left towards 'Then, (you) go straight towards the left' *massugu iku n da kedo* straight go NMLS COP FP$_{indr}$	
	Move 50 check

	Un<…>zutto chokusende right all.the.way on.the.beam 'Right, (should I go) on the beam all the way to the point you just said?' *sakki yutta chiten made* now say-PAST point to

<div align="right">Dialogue j4n7</div>

Move 49 in fact includes Subject ellipsis. A Subject for the Finite and Predicator *iku* 'go' is ellipted. In Move 50, the clause consists only of adverbials: *zutto chokusen de* 'by a straight line all the way' and *sakki yutta chiten made* 'to the point you just mentioned'. The clause does not include 'who does what on the beam to the point which the Giver has mentioned'; in widely recognised terms, subject and verb are ellipted. In the framework of systemic functional grammar, it is recognised that the Subject, Finite and Predicator are ellipted.

(5) Subject+Complement ellipsis

There are mainly two kinds of sentence structure for this type of ellipsis. One is those which are caused by ellipting an object for a transitive verb as well as a Subject, as seen in (5.27):

(5.27)

Move 1 ready *Hajime masu.* start HON(T) '(We) start (the task).'	
	Move 2 acknowledge *Hai.* right 'Right'.

<div align="right">Dialogue j3n6</div>

This is the very start of a dialogue, where the Giver declares that they are going to start a task in Move 1. The Subject of the clause in Move 1 is ellipted, and it is not verbalised anywhere in the clause. The form *hajime* is a conjugated form of the verb *hajimeru* 'start'. Since the verb *hajimeru* is a transitive verb, it requires a direct object, which is ellipted in this clause. Therefore the clause in Move 1 is an example

of ellipsis of Subject and Complement. This is a situational ellipsis as it is the very first utterance of the dialogue, and there is no knowing exactly what the missing Subject and Complement are from the preceding text. However, it is possible to interpret the clause in some possible ways. One of them can be:

> (*watashitachi wa)*   *(tasuku o)*   *hajime*   *masu.*
> we   TOP   task   ACC   start   HON(T)
> '(we) start (the task)'

The other kind of Subject and Complement ellipsis is found in a particular expression in Japanese. Japanese *-te morau* is a common structure for asking a favour as it mitigates the order-like flavour of the speech act. An example is found in (5.28).

(5.28)

Move 33 explain *De…* *kit-no* *numa-no<…>* and.then…north-GEN swamp-GEN 'And then, this time (you) meet the north swamp' *kondo* *wa<…>butsukaru n* this.time TOP meet NMLS *desu* *kedomo* COP(POL) FP$_{indr}$	
	Move 34 acknowledge *Hai* right 'Right.'
Move 35 instruct *Soko-o* *watatte* that.point-ACC cross 'Could you give me a favour to cross it for me?' *morae-masu* *ka* *ne* receive-the-favour-of-HON(T) FP$_i$ FP$_c$	

Dialogue j6e7

Move 35 (instruct)
Soko-o   *watatte **morae**-masu*   *ka*   *ne*
that point-ACC cross   receive-the-favour-of-HON(T) FP$_i$ FP$_c$
'Could you give me a favour to cross it for me?'

By using the verb *morau* 'receive', there is connotation that a speaker receives a favour from the interlocutor who does something for the speaker. In this case, it sounds like the Giver receives a favour from somebody by the latter crossing the river. There is an embedded clause in this type of sentence, as exemplified in (5.29):

(5.29)
John ga Mary ni [*Mary ga tegami o kak*] *morat-ta.*
                            letter   write   receive-the-favour-of
John ga Mary ni tegami o kaite moratta.
'John asked for, and received, from Mary the favour of writing a letter.'
                                               (Kuno 1973: 297)

Needless to say, the ellipted subject of the embedded clause is not counted as Subject ellipsis, as this research is concerned with ellipsis on the surface structure of clauses, as I have discussed in section 5.1.1. Kuno explains that '…the transformation of deleting the subject of the embedded sentence under identity with the indirect object of the main sentence is needed independently…' (Kuno 1973: 297). In the case of the above clause in Move 35, besides Subject ellipsis, the omission of the indirect object marked with *-ni* is considered as a Complement ellipsis.

Similarly, the structure is found in a clause with the verb *hoshii* 'want', as seen in (5.30):

(5.30)
Sokoni mukatte<…>itte hoshii n   da   keredomo
there go.towards   want NMLS COP FP$_W$
'(I) wish (you) to go towards it'.
                                        (j5n5; Move 26 [instruct])

There is an embedded clause with this sentence structure as we found with the *-te morau* structure. The following (5.31) is an illustration of how the clause is embedded.

(5.31)
John ga Mary ni [Mary ga sokoni mukau]   hoshii
                                there   go   want
John ga Mary ni sokoe itte hoshii
'John asks Mary to go there.'

The embedded clause expresses the content of John's wish, that is, 'Mary's going there', and the agent of *sokoni iku* 'to go there' is Mary, which is identical with the indirect object of the matrix clause. Similarly, the embedded structure of the above clause from dialogue j5n5 will be found in (5.32):

(5.32)

$$\text{\textit{Soko ni mukatte <...> itte hoshiin da keredomo}}$$

$\emptyset_1$ wa $\emptyset_2$ ni [$\emptyset_2$ ga sononi mukatte <...> iku] hoshii n da keredomo

there   go.towards   want

'$\emptyset_1$ want $\emptyset_2$ to go towards there.'

In this clause, a subject and indirect object of the matrix clause are ellipted. Therefore this clause is also categorised as Subject and Complement ellipsis. This pattern of ellipsis in Japanese is parallel to what is observed in the similar sentence structure in an English expression such as *I want John to go to the post office*. Both subjects of the matrix and embedded clauses need to be explicit when they are different. As generative grammar explains, in the case where the subjects of the matrix clause and embedded clause are identical, the subject of the embedded clause can be omitted. This is one of the examples where patterns of ellipsis are affected by the grammar of the language. English does not allow the agents of verbs to be ellipted as freely as Japanese.

5.3 Occurrence of ellipsis in the map task dialogues

In this section I will look at the occurrence of elliptical clauses in relation to three variables: eye contact, participant familiarity and language. First, the overall numbers of elliptical clauses in general and in each variable setting are offered. This is followed by an analysis of effects of each variable on the occurrence of ellipsis, which is discussed in terms of speech acts in the dialogues.

For the following quantitative analysis, sixteen dialogues were chosen from each corpus. Each variable is realised in equal condition, namely, eight dialogues stand for each variable setting: eight dialogues produced in eye contact and non eye contact settings respectively; eight dialogues produced by familiar and unfamiliar pairs respectively. Participants in corresponding dialogues used the same map. For instance, dialogues q1nc5 and q1ec5 in the HCRC Map Task dialogues correspond to each other in terms of the eye contact variable; dialogue q1nc5 was collected without eye contact between the participants, while in dialogue q1ec5 the participants did have eye contact[39]. Participants in both the dialogues q1nc5 and q1ec5 used map number 6. Similarly, dialogues q3nc7 and q7nc7 are associated with each other in terms of participant familiarity, and the participants in each of them used map number 14. In total, therefore, four maps are involved in the dialogues to be examined.

There is a naming problem about the eye contact variable. As discussed at the end of section 3.4, the distinction between co-presence and non-co-presence is not taken into consideration in this research. Additionally, although the name of the variable is 'eye contact', for the present research what matters is whether participant can see each other or not. I will, then, call the 'eye contact' variable the 'visibility' variable from now on.

5.3.1 Occurrence of ellipsis in terms of visibility, participant familiarity and language

The total numbers of clauses included in each language set of sixteen dialogues are 1838 in English and 2404 in Japanese; the mean number of clauses in each dialogue is 114.9 for the English set and 150.3 for the Japanese. The English dialogue which includes most clauses has 238 clauses (dialogue q4nc8), while the one with least clauses has only 67 clauses (dialogue q3nc7). The Japanese dialogue with most clauses is j5e5 with 244 clauses, while the one with least clauses is j7e7, which has only 60 clauses. First, I present the overall figure of the whole number of clauses

---

[39] 'Nc' and 'ec' in the dialogue names (e.g., q1nc5 and q1ec5) represent whether participants could have eye contact or not when they were performing the task.

and the number of elliptical clauses in each language. This is followed by
comparison of the occurrence of ellipsis in terms of visibility and participant
familiarity variables.

Out of total clauses in the sixteen dialogues from each language corpus, the numbers
of elliptical clauses are 506 in English data set and 1625 in Japanese data set.

	Total clauses	*Elliptical clauses*	*Percentage*	*Maximum percentage*	**Minimum percentage**
English[40]	1838	506	27.5%	41.9%	20.0%
Japanese	2404	1625	67.7%	81.7%	55.9%

Table 5.2 Occurrence of elliptical clauses in the English and Japanese dialogues

The percentage of Japanese elliptical clauses is far higher than in the English
dialogues. It is reported that 73.2% of the reference found in the Japanese data is
made by ellipsis, which contrasts with the English counterparts, 20.5% (Clancy
1980). Both Clancy's and the present analyses indicate that Japanese speech
includes far more ellipsis than English speech. Another thing to note is that
although it is claimed that one of the contributions which ellipsis makes in discourse
is economy, this is not the case with the Japanese dialogues. The Japanese
participants use more ellipsis, and their utterances include far more clauses than
English equivalents. Looking at the number of clauses is not enough to conclude that
the Japanese dialogues are not efficient, because the number of words may be the
same between the English and Japanese dialogues. In fact, the average time for the
sixteen dialogues chosen to be examined is 312.188 seconds for the English
dialogues, 599.13 seconds for the Japanese dialogues. It follows that the Japanese
dialogues contain more clauses and take more time. All this means that the Japanese
participants are not as efficient as the English participants in terms of the amount of
speech required to complete the task. The Japanese dialogues take far longer than
the English ones. Although the Japanese participants used much more ellipsis than

---

[40] The word 'English' or 'Japanese' in reporting the analyses is used to mean 'English speaking'
or 'Japanese speaking', not refer to the participants in the dialogues of each language.

the English participants, the former spent twice longer time than the latter. It is not possible to say for certain that the Japanese speakers use ellipsis for purposes other than economy, but the observation has room for further investigation.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 indicate the occurrence and percentage of elliptical clauses in the English and Japanese dialogues by participants under both conditions.

With visibility				Without visibility			
Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
q1ec5	106	34	32.1%	q1nc5	127	26	20.5%
q2ec6	109	22	20.2%	q2nc6	91	21	23.1%
q3ec7	83	20	24.1%	q3nc7	67	24	35.8%
q4ec8	125	28	22.4%	q4nc8	237	76	32.1%
q5ec5	110	22	20.0%	q5nc5	89	30	33.7%
q6ec6	100	36	36.0%	q6nc6	155	36	23.2%
q7ec7	85	20	23.5%	q7nc7	124	52	41.9%
q8ec8	115	26	22.6%	q8nc8	115	33	28.7%
Total	833	208	25.0%	Total	1005	298	29.7%

Table 5.3 Percentage of elliptical clauses in the visibility condition (English)

With visibility				Without visibility			
Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
j1e5	122	78	63.9%	j1n5	108	72	66.7%
j2e6	93	76	81.7%	j2n6	131	84	64.1%
j3e7	213	149	70.0%	j3n7	63	42	66.7%
j4e8	120	88	73.3%	j4n8	235	170	72.3%
j5e5	244	162	66.4%	j5n5	179	130	72.6%
j6e6	121	71	58.7%	j6n6	216	155	71.8%
j7e7	60	42	70.0%	j7n7	180	120	66.7%
j8e8	167	101	60.5%	j8n8	152	85	55.9%
Total	1140	767	67.3%	Total	1264	858	67.9%

Table 5.4 Percentage of elliptical clauses in the visibility condition (Japanese)

Whereas almost same percentage is observed between visibility and non-visibility settings in the Japanese dialogues (67.3% and 67.9%), in the English dialogues, the percentage of elliptical clauses under non-visibility setting (29.7%) is higher than that under visibility setting (25.0%). Although there is no significant difference found between these two figures[41], it seems that it could be suggested that whereas the participants who did not see each other used more ellipsis than those who did in the English dialogues, in the Japanese dialogues it is not the case. A possible reason why there is not significant difference will be that the number of dialogues examined is only eight, which could be too small to conducting statistical test for significance. Thus, the present analysis shows that in the English dialogues, there seems to be more ellipsis found in the non-visibility setting, and this finding is compatible with an effect of visibility on dialogues and task performance (Boyle et al. 1994). Their examination of the English map task dialogues suggests that dialogues with visibility are more efficient at transferring information than dialogues without visibility, as the number of turns included in the dialogues is smaller in the former setting than the latter.[42] Additionally, the number of word tokens is higher in dialogues without visibility than in those with visibility.[43] When it comes to the length of a turn, however, dialogues with visibility have more words per turn than those without visibility.[44] This suggests that in dialogues without visibility, turns are shorter although more words are used in the dialogues than those with visibility. As it is expected that higher number of turns are associated with more words in a dialogue, it can be considered that participants without visibility say less in each turn. Their claim and the present analysis seem to lead us to speculating that participants who cannot see each other use more ellipsis than those who can. Another thing to note is that this is not the case with Japanese; obviously the Japanese speakers are not affected by the visibility condition with regard to the use of elliptical clauses. I will further discuss the distribution of elliptical clauses across moves between with / without visibility in the English and Japanese dialogues in section 5.3.2.

---

[41] $t = -1.43$, df=14, $p > .05$

[42] Examining the 128 dialogues in the HCRC Map Task Corpus dialogues, it is reported that there are 142.5 turns per dialogue with visibility, and 182.9 turns per dialogue without visibility.

[43] The participants who could not see the partner said more words (1261 per dialogue) than those who did have visibility (1049 words per dialogue).

[44] Speakers who could see each other used far more words per turn (7.44 words per turn) than those who could not see each other (6.84 words per turn).

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 indicate the frequency of occurrence of elliptical clauses in dialogues with / without participant familiarity in both languages.

With familiarity				Without familiarity			
Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
q3nc7	67	24	35.8%	q1nc5	127	26	20.5%
q3ec7	83	20	24.1%	q1ec5	106	34	32.1%
q4nc8	237	76	32.1%	q2nc6	91	21	23.1%
q4ec8	125	28	22.4%	q2ec6	109	22	20.2%
q5nc5	89	30	33.7%	q7nc7	124	52	41.9%
q5ec5	110	22	20.0%	q7ec7	85	20	23.5%
q6nc6	155	36	23.2%	q8nc8	115	33	28.7%
q6ec6	100	36	36.0%	q8ec8	115	26	22.6%
Total	966	272	28.2%	Total	872	234	26.8%

Table 5.5 Percentage of elliptical clauses in the familiarity condition (English)

With familiarity				Without familiarity			
Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Dialogue	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
j3n7	63	42	66.7%	j1n5	108	72	66.75
j3e7	213	149	70.0%	j1e5	122	78	63.9%
j4n8	235	170	72.3%	j2n6	131	84	64.1%
j4e8	120	88	73.3%	j2e6	93	76	81.7%
j5n5	179	130	72.6%	j7n7	180	120	66.7%
j5e5	244	162	66.4%	j7e7	60	42	70.0%
j6n6	216	155	71.8%	j8n8	152	85	55.9%
j6e6	121	71	58.7%	j8e8	167	101	60.5%
Total	1391	967	69.5%	Total	1013	658	65.0%

Table 5.6 Percentage of elliptical clauses in the familiar condition (Japanese)

It can be suggested that participant familiarity does not have an effect on the occurrence of ellipsis in the English map task dialogues[45]. This is again compatible with Boyle et al. (1994). They report that dialogues by familiar participants include more turns and more word tokens than those by unfamiliar participants, while the number of words by per turn does not show significant difference between dialogues with and without participant familiarity. In other words, familiar pairs use more turns and more words, but put the same amount of words in one turn as unfamiliar pairs. This means that the length of turns is not affected by whether participants are familiar or not. Assuming a correlation between length of turns and use of ellipsis, then, it seems to indicate that familiar and unfamiliar pairs use the same amount of elliptical clauses in the dialogues.

As with the English visibility condition, there is no significant difference between familiar and unfamiliar pairs in terms of the amount of use of ellipsis in Japanese[46], although the figures (69.5% for familiar pairs and 65.0% for unfamiliar pairs) seems to illustrate that participants who were familiar with each other tended to use more elliptical clauses than those who did not know each other.

From the observations so far, the distribution of elliptical clauses among those variables can be summarised as in Table 5.7. The equality signs indicate that there is no significant difference between these two conditions.

	English	Japanese
Visibility	with ≈ without	With = without
Participant familiarity	familiar = unfamiliar	Familiar ≈ unfamiliar

Table 5.7 Effect of each variable on use of ellipsis in the two languages

It may be pointed out that the English speakers seem to be affected by visibility, but not by familiarity with each other. But this is not the case with the Japanese speakers. As for familiarity, the English and Japanese speakers do not seem to respond to this

---

[45] t=.523, df=14, p>.05
[46] t=.872, df=14, p>.05

condition although the Japanese speakers seem to tend use more ellipsis to familiar partners. This finding leads us to the next question: how ellipsis is actually used by speakers in the dialogues and what makes for the difference in occurrence of ellipsis between conditions with regard to its usage. To address this question, I will discuss how elliptical clauses and their functions are correlated, in other words, how ellipsis is favoured in different moves.

5.3.2 Relation of ellipsis to moves

There are twelve moves in the corpus annotation: six initiating moves, five responding moves and one pre-initiating move. Figure 5.1 and Table 5.8 represent how each move favours elliptical clauses in the English and Japanese dialogues. The Y axis indicates percentage of elliptical clauses out of the total clauses in each move. As it indicates, with all the moves, the Japanese dialogues have more elliptical clauses than the English dialogues. There are no examples of elliptical clauses with the [ready] move in the English dialogues examined.
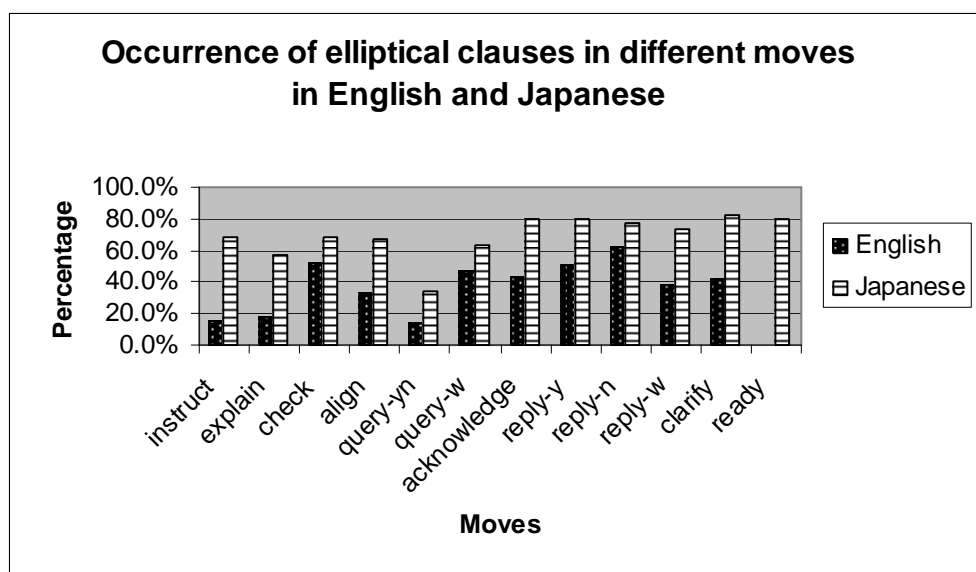
Figure 5.1 Percentage of elliptical clauses in different moves in English and Japanese

	English			Japanese		
	Total clause	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
Instruct	625	91	14.6%	450	310	68.9%
Explain	273	49	17.9%	334	192	57.5%
Check	198	104	52.5%	455	313	68.8%
Align	55	18	32.7%	95	64	67.4%
Query-yn	194	28	14.4%	201	70	34.8%
Query-w	89	42	47.2%	99	63	63.6%
Acknowledge	90	39	43.3%	304	243	79.9%
Reply-y	55	28	50.9%	246	197	80.1%
Reply-n	16	10	62.5%	81	63	77.8%
Rely-w	121	46	38.0%	49	36	73.5%
Clarify	121	51	42.1%	85	70	82.4%
Ready	1	0	0.0%	5	4	80.0%
Total	1838	506	27.5%	2404	1625	67.6%

Table 5.8 Distribution of elliptical clauses in different moves

There are two points to be made. First, the [query-yn] move has the least rate of elliptical clauses in both languages. The move is mainly concerned with asking whether an interlocutor has a certain landmark on his/her map. The confirmation of existence and location of a landmark is vital for task success as the Giver gives instructions using landmarks as a clue; avoiding mismatch between landmarks on the Giver's and Follower's maps is a key for more successful communication so that different strategies are operated in the map task dialogues (Anderson et al. 1991). It then can be speculated that participants are eager to avoid misunderstanding, which makes them use less ellipsis.

Secondly, speakers use more ellipsis in responding moves, which are: the moves [acknowledge], [reply-y], [reply-n], [reply-w] and [clarify]. Especially in the English dialogues, the difference in the occurrence of elliptical clauses between initiating and responding moves is clear. This results supports Eggins' (1994) claim

regarding the form of clauses in initiating and responding moves made in section 4.3 in chapter 4.

	Initiating moves			Responding moves		
	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
English	1434	332	23.2%	403	174	43.2%
Japanese	1634	1012	61.9%	765	609	79.6%

Table 5.9 Distribution of elliptical clauses in initiating and responding moves

Obviously in the responding moves, it is easy to ellipt elements in the clause as some of them have been already introduced in the previous initiating move. One specific reason for the English dialogues to have less ellipsis in the initiating move is that, among initiating moves, the [instruct] and [explain] moves have quite a small number of elliptical clauses. This is very different from the same moves in Japanese, as Figure 5.1 illustrates. In the English dialogues, these two moves favour ellipsis least, next to the [query-yn] move. Recall that these two moves belong to the 'statement' speech act in the Hallidayan system. This means that in the English dialogues when information is given, it is mostly realised in full clauses. In contrast, the Japanese speakers make use of ellipsis for these two moves as much as they do for other moves. These moves, [query-yn], [instruct] and [explain], are mainly associated with the Giver. Remember the discourse structure introduced in section 3.3.2 in chapter 3, which is reproduced below as Figure 5.2. The [query-yn] move serves to ask about landmarks, which is equivalent to a Pre-request in the structure; the [instruct] move is a key component of the Giver's task, which is associated with Request. The [explain] move is concerned with the Giver's giving information about the task.

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌─────────────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────┐│
│  │ Pre-request (G) – Go ahead (F)│   │  Request (G)   –   Compliance (F)││
│  │                             │  –   │            ↑             ││
│  │      Querying landmarks     │      │    ┌─────────────┐       ││
│  └─────────────────────────────┘      │    │  Insertion  │       ││
│                                       │    │  sequence   │       ││
│                                       │    │ (Querying   │       ││
│                                       │    │ instructions)│      ││
│                                       │    └─────────────┘       ││
│                                       └──────────────────────────┘│
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
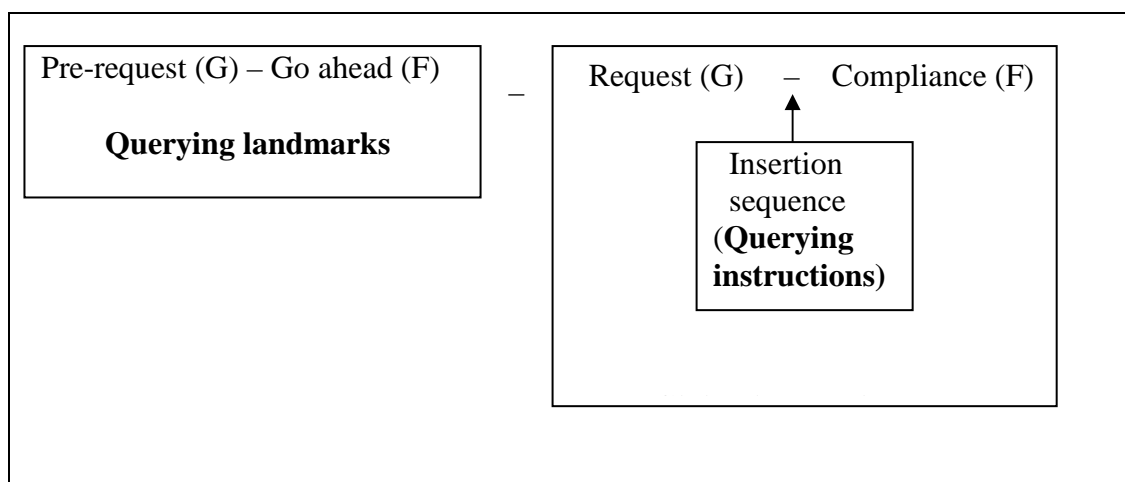
Figure 5.2 Task-performance substage and its three sub-substages

It has been discussed in the previous section that the English participants use far less ellipsis than the Japanese participants. Furthermore, from these two points just now mentioned, it seems to follow that the Givers in the English dialogues use less ellipsis, compared with those in the Japanese dialogues.

5.3.3 Relation of moves to visibility and familiarity

5.3.3.1 Visibility condition

Figures 5.3 and 5.4, together with Tables 5.10 and 5.11, show the distribution of elliptical clauses in relation to moves in the visibility variable in the English and Japanese dialogues.
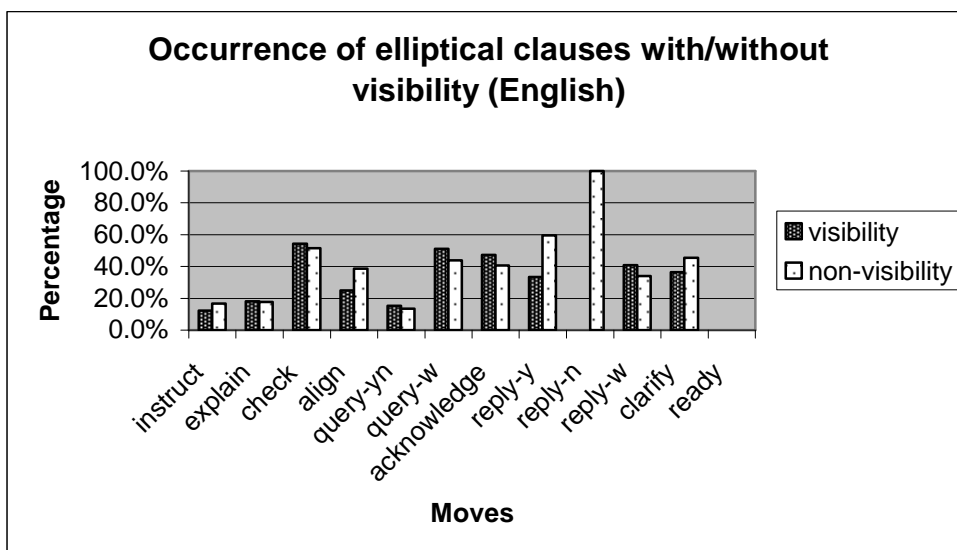
Figure 5.3 Ellipsis in relation to move types with visibility variable in English

	Visibility			**Non-visibility**		
	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
Instruct	292	36	12.3%	332	55	16.6%
Explain	132	24	18.2%	141	25	17.7%
Check	70	38	54.3%	128	66	51.6%
Align	24	6	25.0%	31	12	38.7%
Query-yn	98	15	15.3%	96	13	13.5%
Query-w	41	21	51.2%	48	21	43.8%
Acknowledge	36	17	47.2%	54	23	40.6%
Reply-y	18	6	33.3%	37	21	59.5%
Reply-n	6	0	0%	10	10	100.0%
Rely-w	71	29	40.8%	50	17	34.0%
Clarify	44	16	36.4%	77	35	45.5%
Ready	0	0	0%	1	0	0%
Total	833	208	25.0%	1005	298	29.7%

Table 5.10 Percentage of elliptical clauses in different move types with visibility variable in English
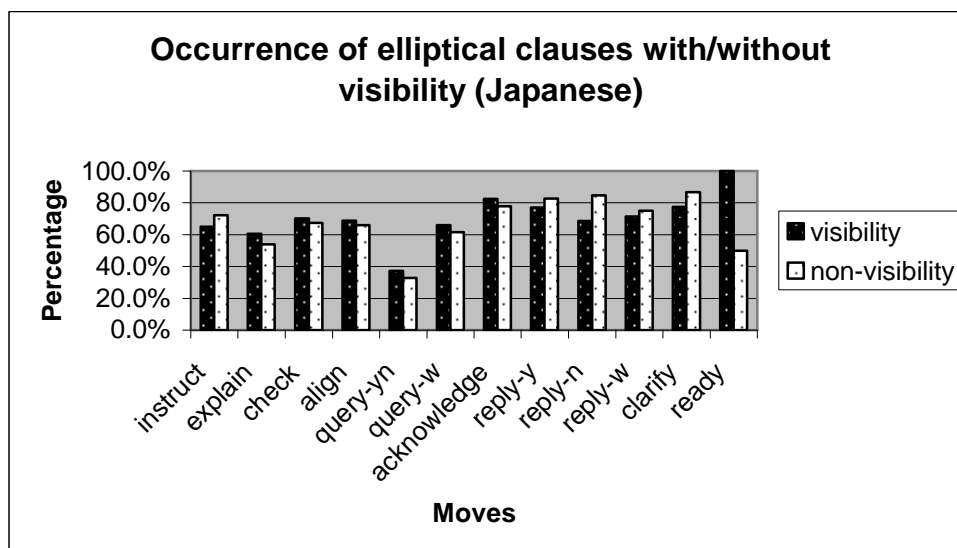
Figure 5.4 Ellipsis in relation to move types with visibility variable in Japanese

	Visibility			**Non-visibility**		
	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
Instruct	202	131	64.9%	248	179	72.2%
Explain	180	109	60.6%	154	83	53.9%
Check	215	151	70.2%	240	162	67.5%
Align	48	33	68.8%	47	31	66.0%
Query-yn	94	35	37.2%	107	35	32.7%
Query-w	47	31	66.0%	52	32	61.5%
Acknowledge	142	117	82.4%	162	126	77.8%
Reply-y	113	87	77.0%	133	110	82.7%
Reply-n	35	24	68.6%	46	39	84.8%
Rely-w	21	15	71.4%	28	21	75.0%
Clarify	40	31	77.5%	45	39	86.7%
Ready	3	3	100.0%	2	1	50.0%
Total	1140	767	67.3%	1264	858	67.9%

Table 5.11 Percentage of elliptical clauses in different move types with visibility variable in Japanese

I start by looking at the Japanese data. There is not drastic difference in the distribution of elliptical clauses among moves between with / without visibility. Although it appears that there is a major difference with the [ready] move (100% in

the visibility condition vs. 50% in the non-visibility condition), there are so few clauses in this move (3 in the "visibility" condition and 2 in the "non-visibility" condition) that we cannot draw any conclusions from this apparent difference.

As for the English dialogues, the striking fact regarding the correlation between the visibility variable and move types is found in the [reply-n] move. In the eight dialogues without participant visibility, all the clauses in the move are realised in the form of ellipsis, while in the eight dialogues with participant visibility, none of the clauses takes the form of ellipsis. This difference is certainly a key factor to the tentatively more occurrence of ellipsis in the English non-visibility condition (25% in visibility and 29.7% in non-visibility condition), as discussed in section 5.3.1. The following excerpts (5.33) and (5.34) from dialogues in the "non-visibility" condition include examples of the [reply-n] move with ellipsis.

(5.33)

Move 16 query-yn do you have that?	
	Move 17 reply-n no ... I don't (have it).

Dialogue q2nc6

(5.34)

Move 185 query-yn have you got a gold mine?	
	Move 186 reply-n no I certainly haven't (got it).

Dialogue q4nc8

The words inside parenthesis represent reconstructed elements in clauses; ellipsis of the Predicator and Complement is observed. Seven out of ten examples of elliptical clauses with the [reply-n] move are realised in the form of this type of ellipsis.

With regard to the [reply-n] move in the eight dialogues in the "visibility" condition, six examples are found and all of them are not elliptical. Some examples are given in (5.35) - (5.37).

(5.35)

Move 10 explain I have a graveyard on mine	
Move 11 query-yn which I don't believe you have on yours?	
	Move 13 reply-n No I haven't got it

Dialogue q3ec7

(5.36)

Move 19 query-yn there's a graveyard on your left-hand side?	
	Move 20 reply-n No
	Move 21 explain the diamond mine's on my left-hand side

Dialogue q5ec5

(5.37)

Move 10 query-yn you don't have a wagon wheel do you?	
	Move 11 reply-n No
	Move 12 explain I've got a swamp on the left-hand side

Dialogue q2ec6

A closer look at how elliptical clauses with the [reply-n] move are used in the dialogues tells us that fourteen out of sixteen examples are for giving negative answers to questions whether the interlocutor has landmarks on the map. When participants cannot see each other, as the excerpts (5.33) and (5.34) show, the form of these answers is the most common type of negative answers: *No, I haven't. / No I don't*. In contrast, when they can see each other, the answers are simply saying *no,* or saying the full sentence such as *No, I haven't got it / No, I don't have it.* However, in fact when the answers are simply *no*, the answers are followed by description of what he has on his map as seen in (5.36) and (5.37). In this sense, the answers in the "visibility" conditions are more detailed and informative. Also it is more efficient as the Follower volunteers more information about the landmark without having been asked for, which is not the case with the dialogues in the "non-visibility" condition.

In fact, in (5.38) after the Follower's negative answer (Move 186), the Giver asks back about another landmark.

(5.38)

Move 185 query-yn have you got a gold mine?	
	Move 186 reply-n no I certainly haven't
Move 187 acknowledge no you don't	
Move 188 query-yn have you got a rock fall at the bottom?	
	Move 189 reply-y I have yes
Move 190 acknowledge right okay	

Dialogue q4nc8

Even the answer is simply *No, I haven't got it /No, I don't have it,* and no explanation follows, it may still sound like participants show more commitment to the task than simply saying *No, I haven't / No I don't have,* as it is claimed that a full noun form answers sound more 'vehement' (Wilson 2000: 148). It follows from the above observation that when participants can see each other, the dialogue is more efficient and well-organised, as interlocutors provide more information than just polarity once they are asked questions. Or even when they do not present such information, their way of issuing negative answers shows more commitment to the task as seen in (5.35). Again, this observation is compatible with the result from Boyle et al. (1994) that there are less turns and total number of word tokens, but more words in a turn when participants can see each other than when they cannot see each other. As for task performance (i.e. success of the task), there is no difference between the with and without visibility setting. It seems that when participants can see each other, their task performance is more efficient with more cooperative linguistic performances.

5.3.3.2 Familiarity condition

Let us now look at the relation of the occurrence of elliptical clauses to the participant familiarity variable with regard to move types in Figure 5.5 and 5.6 and Table 5.12 and 5.13.
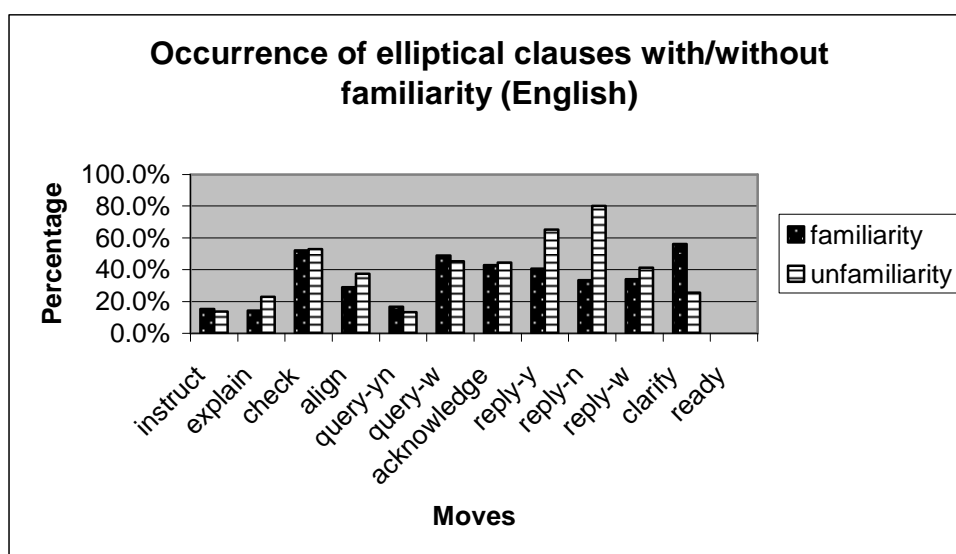
Figure 5.5 Ellipsis in relation to move types with familiarity variable in English

	Familiarity			**Unfamiliarity**		
	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
Instruct	334	51	15.3%	291	40	13.75
Explain	155	22	14.2%	118	27	22.9%
Check	113	59	52.2%	85	45	52.9%
Align	31	9	29.0%	24	9	37.5%
Query-yn	66	11	16.7%	128	17	13.3%
Query-w	47	23	48.9%	42	19	45.2%
Acknowledge	63	27	42.9%	27	12	44.4%
Reply-y	32	13	40.6%	23	15	65.2%
Reply-n	6	2	33.3%	10	8	80.0%
Rely-w	53	18	34.0%	68	28	41.2%
Clarify	66	37	56.1%	55	14	25.5%
Ready	0	0	0%	1	0	0%
Total	966	272	28.2%	872	234	26.8%

Table 5.12 Percentage of elliptical clauses in different move types with familiarity variable in English
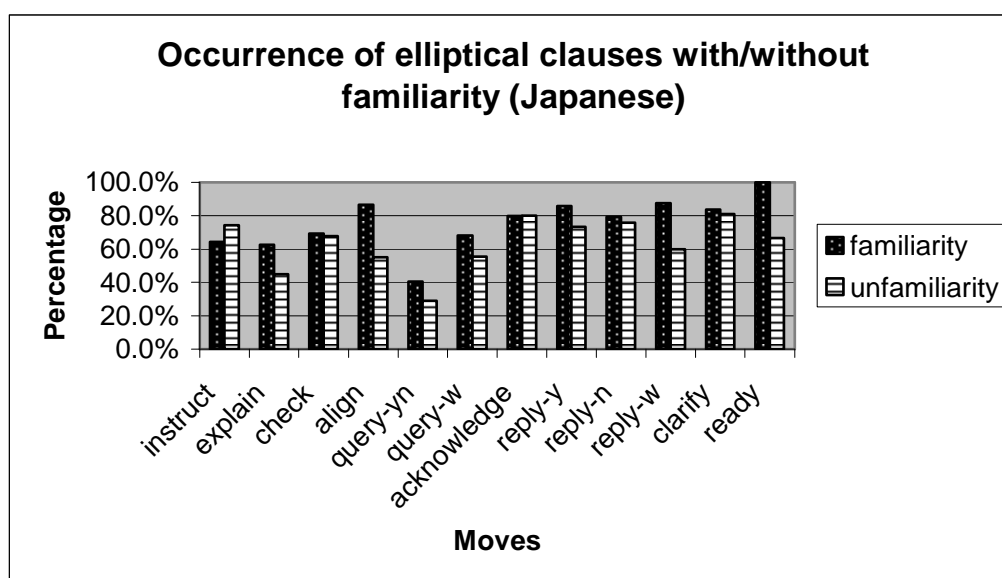
Figure 5.6 Ellipsis in relation to move types with familiarity variable in Japanese

	Familiarity			**Unfamiliarity**		
	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage	Total clauses	Elliptical clauses	Percentage
Instruct	241	155	64.3%	209	155	74.2%
Explain	238	149	62.6%	96	43	44.8%
Check	293	203	69.3%	162	110	67.9%
Align	37	32	86.5%	58	32	55.2%
Query-yn	104	42	40.4%	97	28	28.9%
Query-w	63	43	68.3%	36	20	55.6%
Acknowledge	164	131	79.9%	140	112	80.0%
Reply-y	134	115	85.8%	112	82	73.2%
Reply-n	48	38	79.2%	33	25	75.8%
Rely-w	24	21	87.5%	25	15	60.0%
Clarify	43	36	83.7%	42	34	81.0%
Ready	2	2	100.0%	3	2	66.7%
Total	1391	967	69.5%	1013	658	65.0%

Table 5.13 Percentage of elliptical clauses in different move types with familiarity variable in Japanese

Figure 5.5 and Table 5.12 show that in the English dialogues again there is a major difference observed in the [reply-n] move regarding the familiarity variable; although tokens are low, considering the fraction of elliptical clauses out of total clauses in the

153

two conditions (3/1 vs 4/5), participants who are familiar with each other seem to use less ellipsis than those who are not familiar with each other to express negative polarity. Assuming that cooperativeness is associated with the frequency of elliptical clauses in the [reply-n] move, which was just discussed, one might say that the greater use of elliptical clauses with the [reply-n] move in the unfamiliarity condition illustrates that the unfamiliar pairs are less cooperative than the familiar pairs.

As for the Japanese participants, the familiar pairs are likely to use more ellipsis than to unfamiliar pairs. Figure 5.6 illustrates that in most of the moves, the greater use of ellipsis is observed in dialogues produced by familiar pairs. An exception is the [instruct] move, in which unfamiliar pairs use more ellipsis. Detailed discussion of the way in which speakers give instructions with elliptical clauses will be presented later.

We have seen an overview of the distribution of elliptical clauses among the moves and the effects of visibility and participant familiarity on the distribution of ellipsis. The most notable finding is that the way of giving negative answers seems to be associated with more efficient communication, although this is not the case with the Japanese participants.

5.4 Conclusion

I started this chapter by presenting the methodology of counting clauses and identifying elliptical clauses in the map task dialogues. Several issues accompanying the reconstruction procedure were also presented. Among them was a definition of ellipsis. This research takes a formal, not functional, approach in terms of definition. The description of methodology was followed by the demonstration of elliptical clauses in both languages; examples of each type of ellipsis were provided.

Two types of quantitative analysis were presented. One of them is about the occurrence of elliptical clauses in relation to the three variables which are included in

the present research design: availability of visibility, participant familiarity and language. Although there is no significant difference observed, the result potentially suggests that the English speakers respond to visibility more than participant familiarity while the Japanese speakers respond more to familiarity than to visibility. This would also plausibly suggest that Japanese linguistic performance can be more sensitive to interpersonal relationships than English. The other is distribution of elliptical clauses across twelve moves regarding the three variables. To analyse the English dialogues, the [reply-n] move plays a key role, as it may be possible to suggest degrees of efficiency for performing the task and for assessing collaboration between participants. Thus, it can be potentially suggested that the use of ellipsis in the dialogues is not random, but is affected by physical and interpersonal conditions as well as language.

Chapter 6

Results I: ellipsis types and their functions in dialogues

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter revealed that the frequency of occurrence of elliptical clauses in dialogues is affected by physical and interpersonal conditions; also quantitative analyses of elliptical utterances in both corpora were conducted, in relation to mutual visibility, participant familiarity, ellipsis types, move types and language. The previous chapter also illustrated actual examples of each type of ellipsis in both languages. Among them I will focus on five types of ellipsis which are common to both English and Japanese, together with four types specific to English and two types specific to Japanese. In this and following chapter I will extensively describe the ways each type of ellipsis is used and how the use of the ellipsis type is associated with speech functions.

In this chapter, I focus on ellipsis types which are common to both English and Japanese. I present categorisation of examples of ellipsis types according to the two elements in the clause: Mood and Residue. I will present ellipsis types which are found in the Mood element first. The introduction of systemic functional grammar in Chapter 4 made us familiar with the two elements which make up a clause; the Mood element is the component of a clause which determines mood, e.g., indicative or imperative.[47] Omission of this part of the clause will affect the expression of the mood of the clause, whether indicative or imperative; and further, if it is indicative, whether it is declarative or interrogative; and if it is declarative, whether it is exclamative or non-exclamative. The description of ellipsis types whose ellipted

---

[47] Here I include a summary of the terminology for the interpersonal system of the systemic functional grammar again, as it can be rather confusing. MOOD is a system which offers selection between indicative and imperative. With regard to the indicative, the choice between declarative and interrogative is made; in turn, for the declarative, non-exclamative and exclamative should be selected, and so on. The choice is obligatory to realise a certain clause. Mood is a component which comprises Subject and Finite, and deals with MOOD choice.

elements derive from the Mood component is followed by a description of ellipsis types whose ellipted elements derive from Residue. Only one type of ellipsis is found for constituents in Residue, namely, Predicator ellipsis. Finally, ellipsis of elements which belong to both Mood and Residue components are examined.

6.1 Ellipsis of constituents in the Mood element

6.1.1 Subject ellipsis

6.1.1.1 Subject ellipsis in English

In English, Subject ellipsis is not a widespread phenomenon. In the sixteen dialogues I investigated there were only 12 examples of Subject ellipsis; twelve occurrences is equivalent to 0.7% of the total number of clauses in the 16 dialogues. The following figure and table indicate the distribution of Subject ellipsis in different moves:
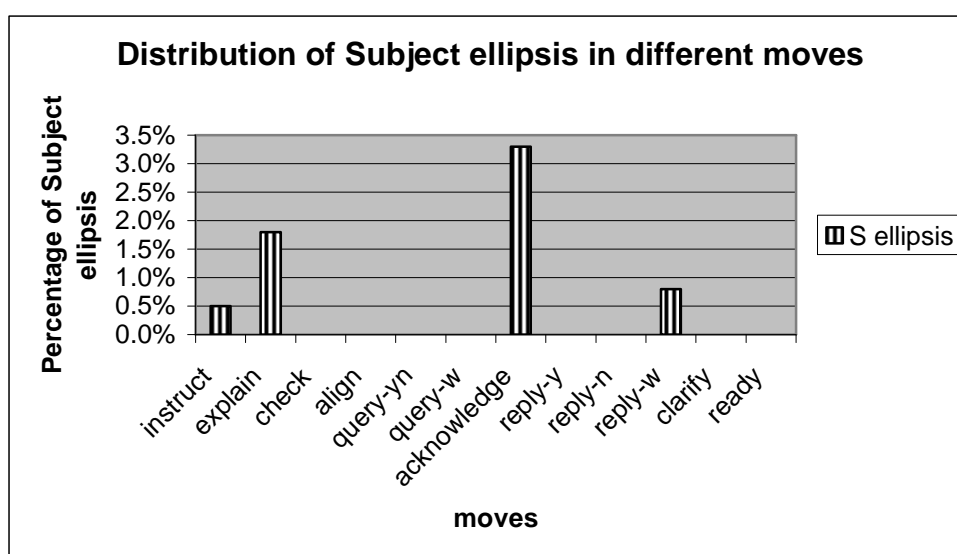
Figure 6.1 Percentage of Subject ellipsis in different moves (English)

	Total clauses	Subject ellipsis	Percentage
Instruct	625	3	0.5%
Explain	273	5	1.8%
Check	198	0	0%
Align	55	0	0%
Query-yn	194	0	0%
Query-w	89	0	0%
Acknowledge	90	3	3.3%
Reply-y	55	0	0%
Reply-n	16	0	0%
Reply-w	121	1	0.8%
Clarify	121	0	0%
Ready	1	0	0%
Total	1838	12	0.7%

Table 6.1 Subject ellipsis in different moves (English)

Subject ellipsis occurs only in limited linguistic environments, and occurs with low frequency: it takes place only in four types of moves out of twelve. The relatively larger part of the distribution of Subject ellipsis is found in the moves [acknowledge] (3.3%) and [explain] (1.8%). They are followed by the [reply-w] (0.8%) and [instruct] (0.5%).

Let us look at the [acknowledge] move, to which Subject ellipsis contributes most among the all moves. The following excerpts (6.1), (6.2) and (6.3) include all the examples of Subject ellipsis in the [acknowledge] move. Reconstructed elements in italics indicate that the ellipsis in question is situational ellipsis. Therefore, inserted constituents are deduced from the context. The left column in each excerpt stands for utterances from the Giver and the right column from the Follower.

(6.1)

Move 45 instruct right and you circuit it	
	Move 46 acknowledge circuit it

Dialogue q5ec5

Move 46
(I) circuit it

(6.2)

Move 114 instruct so ... you head for the fort	
	Move 115 acknowledge head for the fort

Dialogue q5ec5

Move 115 acknowledge
(I) head for the fort

(6.3)

Move 184 instruct if you come down so you're about ... ... a centimetre below the great lake ... and just move underneath the great lake	
	Move 185 check so I'm going back down again?
	Move 187 acknowledge oh right go underneath it

Dialogue q8nc8

Move 187 acknowledge
oh right *(I)* go underneath it

All the ellipted Subjects could be interpreted as the first person pronoun, which means that these are instances of situational ellipsis which come from an exophoric reference made by the speaker. This is compatible with the claim that the common combination of the ellipted subject and sentence type is that ellipsis of the first person is associated with declarative (Nariyama 2004). These examples seem to comply with her explanations which are based on different genres from task-oriented dialogues, i.e. TV drama scripts, family conversation and written text (letters).

Subject ellipsis in the [explain] move can be analysed in the same way; the example of Subject ellipsis in (6.4) indicates that Subject ellipsis occurs with the declarative.

(6.4)

Move 62 query-yn do you see the carved wooden pole?	
	Move 64 reply-n ehm no
	Move 65 explain

	don't have one

The reconstructed form of the clause in Move 65 in the excerpt (6.4) will be:

(I) don't have one

The Follower provides the information that s/he does not have the carved wooden pole on the map.

An example of Subject ellipsis with the [reply-w] move is shown in (6.5).

(6.5)

Move 8 query-yn and then underneath the ... you don't have a forge ... underneath the cliff what is there nothing?	
	Move 9 reply-w just says sandstone cliffs

Dialogue q5ec6

The expanded form of the ellipted clause will be:

(It) just says sandstone cliffs

Since the [reply-w] moves are for answering questions which are not yes-no questions, the topic is already established, and in English topic is frequently coincident with subject of the clause. It seems likely that it is this identification of topic and subject which prompts Subject ellipsis with the [reply-w] move.

From the above examples, it can be observed that in the English map task dialogues the ellipted Subject is identified non-linguistically. Furthermore, Subject ellipsis takes place only in particular linguistic circumstances (i.e. giving information), which makes a sharp contrast with Japanese Subject ellipsis, as will be discussed in the following subsection.

6.1.1.2 Subject ellipsis in Japanese

In the Japanese dialogues, Subject ellipsis is, unlike in the English dialogues, the most common type of ellipsis, in terms of frequency of occurrence. In fact, 46.9% of the total clauses of the 16 dialogues, as Table 6.2 indicates, include Subject ellipsis. Also Figure 6.2 below indicates that it occurs across all the 12 types of move, which

is not the case with English Subject ellipsis. It can also be seen that in the Japanese dialogues, Subject ellipsis is used throughout the two key speech roles found in the map task dialogues, i.e. both statement and question.

Distribution of Subject ellipsis in different moves
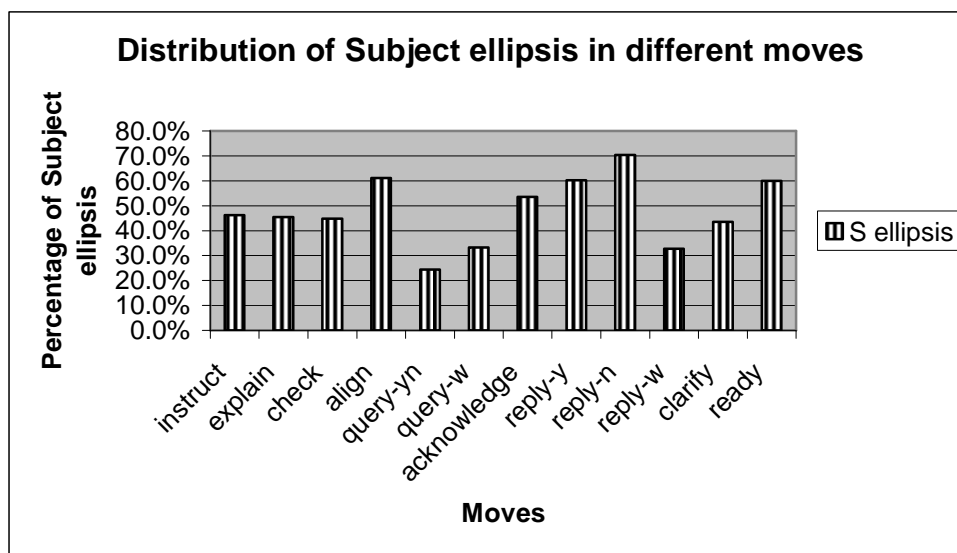
Figure 6.2 Percentage of Subject ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

	Total clauses	*Subject ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	208	46.2%
Explain	334	152	45.5%
Check	455	204	44.8%
Align	95	58	61.1%
Query-yn	201	49	24.4%
Query-w	99	33	33.3%
Acknowledge	304	163	53.6%
Reply-y	246	148	60.2%
Reply-n	81	57	70.4%
Reply-w	49	16	32.7%
Clarify	85	37	43.5%
Ready	5	3	60.0%
Total	2404	1128	46.9%

Table 6.2 Subject ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

Several points to be remarked are as follows. First, Subject ellipsis is extremely common in the [reply-n] moves. Seventy percent of the total clauses (57 out of 81) in the move are realised in the form of Subject ellipsis. The [reply-n] move serves to

function for any reply to 'a query with a yes/no surface form which means "no"'
(Carletta et al. 1996; 1997). In many cases those replies respond to questions about
whether a certain landmark is on the map of one of the participants. This is
exemplified in (6.6). The asterisk (*) represents the point when overlapping starts.
As is the case with English, the left column indicates the Giver's utterances and the
right the Follower's.

(6.6)

Move 90 query-yn *Hai kondo kiheitaino···toride···-te* well next cavalry-QUOT 'Well, next, is there something called "cavalry"?' *yuu no-ga ari masu ka* called NMLS-NOM there.is HON(T) FP_i	
	Move 91 reply-n *Nai de*su* there.is-NEG HON(T) There is not ("cavalry").
Move 92 acknowledge **Nai desu* there.is-NEG HON(T) There is not ("cavalry").	

<div align="right">Dialogue j3n7</div>

Move 91 reply-n
Nai de*su
there.is-NEG HON(T)
 There is not (ø).

Move 92 acknowledge
*Nai desu
 there.is-NEG HON(T)
 There is not (ø).

Since the topic is already established, i.e. the landmark in question (i.e. cavalry), in
the previous question utterance (Move 90), it is not necessary to repeat it. In
Japanese the position in which topic appears in the clause is very often identical to
the subject position. Topics established in the subject position, then, are ellipted in
replies.

As found in the [reply-n] move, the fact that Japanese sentence topic appears in the position of subject boosts the number of Subject ellipsis cases across the moves. However, topic marking and topic continuity are not the sole functions of Subject ellipsis. I will show the way in which Subject ellipsis is exploited in the [check] and [instruct] moves is as follows. The [check] move is observed when the speaker wants a confirmation about the information which s/he has received, but is not entirely sure about. In the map task dialogues, this move is issued mostly by the Follower, and the questions asked are generally about clarification or confirmation (1) of the location of a landmark feature on the map which the Giver has mentioned or (2) of an instruction which the Follower has just received from the Giver. The following (6.7) is an excerpt from dialogue j5e5, which includes both types of questions realised by the [check] move (Move 148 and 152) as well as the [instruct] move with Subject ellipsis (Move 151).

(6.7)

Move 146 instruct *De<…>soko-no kibori-no… hashira-* then that-GEN curved-GEN wooden.pole- 'Then, going through under that curved wooden pole' *no shita-o too…tte* GEN under-ACC go.through	
	Move 147 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'
	Move 148 check **A ue-ni-agaru no ja* oh go.up FP$_i$ then 'Oh, (*I*) go up then?'

*jooheki
  wall
  'Wall.'	

Move 149 check *E* what 'What?'	
	Move 150 uncodable *A fue*

	F
Move 151 instruct *Kibori-no hashira-no shita-o* curved-GEN wooden.pole-GEN under-ACC '(*you*) go through under the "curved wooden pole".' *tooru n da yo* go.through NMLS COP FP_a	
	Move 152 check *Datte apacchi zoku-no mura yoriue-ni...* but apache tribe-GEN camp over-LOC 'But, (*it*) is above the "apache camp", eh?' *aru n da yone* there.is NMLS COP FP_{ac}
Move 153 reply-y *Un...hashira wa ne* yes pole TOP FP_c 'Yeah, if you talk about the pole.'	
	Move 154 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'

Dialogue j5e5

In Move 148 the Follower asks about the direction to be taken, interrupting the Giver's instruction utterance. The Follower omits the Subject, i.e. the agent of the motion of 'going up'.

Move 148 check
*A   ue-ni-agaru no   ja
 oh   go.up   FP_i then
'Oh, (*I*) go up then?*'*

The question in Move 148 is answered in Move 151 by the Giver, which again omits who takes the action 'go through'.

Move 151 instruct
Kibori-no   hashira-no   shita- o   tooru   n   da   yo
curved-GEN wooden.pole-GEN under-ACC go.through   NMLS COP FP_a
'(*you*) go through under the curved wooden pole.'

It is possible to recognise that the ellipted Subject is the route which is being drawn by the Follower from the verbs found in Move 148 and 151 (*agaru* 'go up' and *tooru* 'go through') since what they are talking about is the route to be drawn. Also, it

should be able to be deduced from the accompanying verbs, which are motion verbs, and what is moving around is, in this context, only the route on the Follower's map (never the Follower him/herself). If the omitted constituent can be identified without difficulty, it is normal in Japanese that the subject is ellipted. Rather, if there is an explicit subject, it will introduce the connotation that the speakers want to emphasise whatever the subject refers to.

In contrast, Subject ellipsis in the clause of Move 152, where the Follower asks about the location of a certain landmark, does not work as well as the speaker expected.

Move 152 check
Datte apacchi zoku-no   mura yoriue-ni… aru   n   da   yone
but   apache tribe-GEN camp over-LOC   there.is NMLS COP FP$_{ac}$
 'But (ø) is above the apache camp, eh?'

Here the Subject is ellipted. Unlike in the previous examples, however, the hearer (the Giver) is not sure what the ellipted Subject is, namely, what the Follower was talking about, and requested clarification in the form of elliptical clause in Move 153. This is because between Move 151 and 152, the topic has been changed: while before Move 151 the topic is the one that moves around on the map (which is supposed to be the route), in Move 152 it is a carved wooden pole that is being talked about.

So far we can see that Subject ellipsis serves for topic continuity, but it is worthwhile holding a further discussion on Subject ellipsis in the [instruct] moves, since it takes place in the Japanese dialogues far more frequently than in the English dialogues, where the contribution of Subject ellipsis in the [instruct] move is the smallest among the moves. In the above excerpt, we have seen an example of the [instruct] move in which the ellipted Subject is retrieved without much difficulty. There are other examples where it is not straightforward to figure out what the ellipted Subject is in a clause with the [instruct] move. In the Japanese dialogues, typical forms for giving instructions can be realised through Finite and Predicator, both of which come at the end of clause, as for example at the end of Move 114 (shown in (6.8)), where the -*kudasai* form (*hiite kudasai* 'please draw') is found. This is a polite form of the

Japanese imperative: *hiite* is a non-finite form of the verb *hiku* 'draw' and *kudasai* is a suffix which is taken as Finite because it makes the imperative form polite when it accompanies the verb.

(6.8)

Move 114 instruct *Sono nire-no…ki-no no migi* that elm-GEN tree-GEN GEN right-hand '*(I)* want to go through right-hand side of the "elm tree" to that point all the way.' *gawa…-o toori-tai n* side-ACC go.through-want.to NMLS *desu kedo*…* COP(POL) FP_w *soko made zutto.* that.point to all.the.way	

	Move 115 acknowledge
	 *Hai
	  yep
	  'Yep.'

Nan-te yuu…naname su…-no sen what-QUOT say diagonal F-GEN line 'What should I say…diagonal…line…draw a descending 45 degree angle line vigorously.' *naname yonjuugo do ni sagaru* diagonal 45 degree in descend *sen de gatte hiite-kudasai.* line with vigorously draw-IMP-DIR-POL	

Dialogue j6n8

There are two clauses found in Move 114, broken into by Move 115. The first clause includes Subject ellipsis:

Sono nire no…ki-no   no migi   gawa…-o   toori-tai
that   elm GEN tree-GEN GEN right-hand side-ACC   go.through-want.to
'(ø) would like to go through right-hand side of the elm tree.'

n   desu   kedo
NMLS   COP(POL) FP_w

The utterance itself sounds as if the speaker him/herself would like to take the action of 'going through right-hand side of the elm tree,' because the Finite and Predicator *tooritai-n-desu* includes optative *-tai* 'want to', which expresses the speaker's volition. It seems possible, then, to determine that the ellipted Subject, owing to these volitional expressions, is the speaker of the utterance (Move 114). Unlike Move 151 in the above (6.6), the ellipted Subject cannot be a route, which pragmatically cannot have volition. It should be the speaker, i.e. the Giver. However, in actuality, the agent of the act 'going through' is not the speaker (the Giver), but the route to be drawn on the Follower's map, as the Giver in reality neither moves around on the map him/herself nor draws a route on his/her map. It is the Follower whom the Giver wants to draw a route on the map. Why, then, did the Giver use the volitional form although it is not the Giver who personally takes that action? In other words, why did the Giver try to sound as if it is the Giver who goes to the right-hand side of the elm tree? It seems that although the optative serve to express the speaker's wish, omitting the Subject makes it unclear whose wish it is. Especially in the context of the map task dialogues, the Giver and Follower are collaborating towards the completion of the task. The completion of the task is only achieved by their collaboration. Although the Giver gives instructions to the Follower, they are not his/her commands which are issued to realise his/her wish, but instructions for the latter to pursue in his/her role as the Follower. Once they have agreed to do the task, they are supposed to achieve one thing together: to recreate the route on the Follower's map. Subject ellipsis can contribute to this overall goal by presenting the proposition as though it is both the Giver and Follower's wish. By making use of Subject ellipsis, the Giver can assimilate him/herself into the Follower's task, which makes the former's instruction less command-like as well as establishing solidarity between the Giver and Follower.

So far I have discussed Subject ellipsis in different moves in the map task dialogues. The examples I have presented showed that it can happen that when the topic of discourse is a landmark, Subject ellipsis seems to serve purely as a cohesive marker (e.g., as in the [reply-n] move). In contrast, when speakers are talking about instructions, the Subject in these clauses is the agent of motion verbs. It seems that,

in this case, Subject ellipsis has an effect on the interpersonal relations between the speakers, rather than acting as a cohesive marker. In fact, there is no antecedent for the ellipted Subject when speakers are giving instructions. This means that in this case Subject ellipsis is situational ellipsis, whereby the ellipted elements are retrieved from non-linguistic context. It can then be speculated that the type of topic (i.e. whether they are talking about landmarks or instructions) is associated with whether the Subject ellipsis will be textual or situational (in Quirk et al.'s (1985) taxonomy of ellipsis). If the ellipted Subject serves as a marker of cohesion, ellipted Subject is identified in the text. If the ellipted Subject is the agent of the motion verb in instructions, it will be situational ellipsis, which can have effects on the interpersonal relation of the Giver and Follower, as we saw in (6.8). I will discuss this point further in chapter 8.

By way of closing this subsection, I will show how Subject ellipsis is prevalent in Japanese by showing utterances which include the Subject rather than omit it. Throughout the sixteen dialogues which have been examined here, the agent of the motion verbs is not revealed, apart from in three utterances: Move 207 in dialogue j6e6, Move 114 and Move 117 in dialogue j7n7. The former includes the Subject, which is *michi* 'route', while the latter includes *sen* 'line', all of which are shown inside boxes in the excerpts in (6.9) and (6.10).

(6.9)

Move 206 align *Hai⋯hobo⋯ soosuruto* right approximately then 'Right…approximately…then, will be right below.' *mashita n nari-masu yone* right.below NMLS become-HON(T) FP_{ac}	
	Move 207 reply-y *Hai soo su+* yeah right 'Yeah, right.'
+*michi-ga* route-NOM 'the route'	

<div align="right">Dialogue j6e6</div>

(6.10)

Move 114 check *Unto fu daitai* well F approximately 'Well, (you) descend to around…to the similar height as the "two rocks", doesn't it?' *futatsuno iwa to on-naji gurai-no* two rocks as similar about-GEN *hen<…>takasa made *oritekuru janai* point height to descend isn't it	
	Move 115 acknowledge **un* right 'Right.'
	Move 116 reply-y *Un…*oriteki-ta… un* right descend-PERF right 'Right, (*I*) have descended, right.'

*naname-no sen-ga
  diagonal   line-NOM
  'the diagonal line.'	

Move 117 instruct *Soshitara kondo wa hidari-yoko* then this time TOP left-hand.side 'Then, this time, going horizontally towards the left' *Hidar-no…no yoko-hookoo ni muka…tte+* left-GEN GEN horizontally in go	
	Move 118 acknowledge *+Un* right 'Right.'
Sono iwaba-o nagareru kawa to that stone-ACC flowing creek and 'Since (you) avoids that "stone creek" and "white water",' *"kyuuryuu"-o… sakeru kara* white water-ACC avoid since	
	Move 119 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'
dakoo suru no ne sen-ga wind.its.way do NMLS FP$_c$ line-NOM 'Winds its way, the line.'	

Dialogue j6n6

169

Interestingly, all three of these examples of explicit Subject include a marked word order: the Subjects are added at the end of the utterances. In fact, in two of them (Move 206 in (6.9) and Move 114 in (6.10)) the speaker adds the subjects although it is after the interlocutor's backchannel or replying utterance. As Japanese is an SOV language, in the normal word order Subject comes at the beginning of the sentence. It can be speculated that in those utterances the speaker did not mean to make the Subjects explicit, but changed his/her mind while s/he was producing the utterance, perhaps for a reason such as the clarification of the Subject. From this observation, it seems to indicate that Subject ellipsis is unmarked in Japanese.

6.1.2 Finite ellipsis

6.1.2.1 Finite ellipsis in English

Finite is defined as 'one of a small number of verbal operators expressing tense or modality' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 111).[48] Finite and Predicator are very often bound. Finite ellipsis is observed when Finite and Predicator are realised in separate forms; in other words, it can be observed only if Finite and Predicator are realised independently. Finite includes temporal operators (e.g., *did, will*) or modal operators (e.g., *must, could*). Figure 6.3 and Table 6.3 indicate which moves are associated with this type of ellipsis.

---

[48] Polarity is another concomitant feature which is expressed by Finite (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 116).
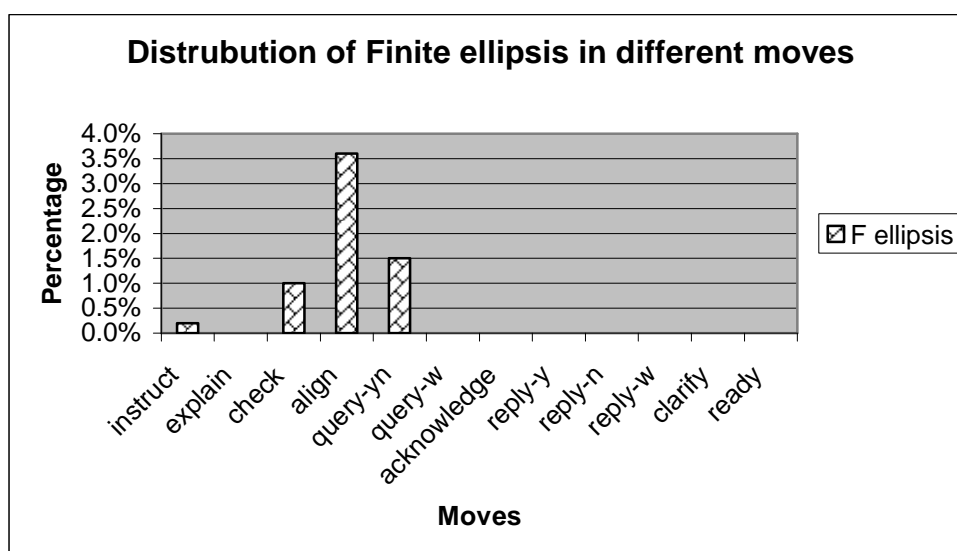
Figure 6.3 Percentage of Finite ellipsis in different moves (English)

	Total clauses	*Finite ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	625	1	0.2%
Explain	273	0	0%
Check	198	2	1.0%
Align	55	2	3.6%
Query-yn	194	3	1.5%
Query-w	89	0	0%
Acknowledge	90	0	0%
Reply-y	55	0	0%
Reply-n	16	0	0%
Reply-w	121	0	0%
Clarify	121	0	0%
Ready	1	0	0%
Total	1838	8	0.4%

Table 6.3 Finite ellipsis in different moves (English)

Finite ellipsis is a very minor type of ellipsis in the English dialogues (only eight examples are found through the sixteen dialogues) and it is exclusively found in the initiating moves, especially when speakers ask questions (the [check], [align] and [query-yn] moves). Carter and McCarthy (2006) explain that an auxiliary (i.e. Finite) is often not necessary with an explicit subject (i.e. Subject) in interrogatives. The map task dialogues reveal that among the question moves ([check], [align] and [query-yn]), this type of ellipsis is most favoured when the speaker checks whether the interlocutor agrees with the speaker or is ready for the next action, as found in the following excerpts (6.11) and (6.12):

(6.11)

Move 131 instruct and then just up a wee bit and it's the finish on a sort of level with the carved wooden pole	
	Move 132 Okay
Move 133 explain that's you	
	Move 134 check right that me?
Move 135 reply-y mmm	

Dialogue q5ec5

Move 134 check
right (is) that me?

(6.12)

Move 98 clarify a slight curve basically s-- ... basically straight down and then curve slightly ... so you're ... eh right underneath the white water and just slightly above the level of the stone slabs ... ... it should be in the ... sort of shape of an eye	
Move 98.2 align you know the sideways shape of an eye you get at school?	
Move 98.5 clarify that sort of idea of a curve	
Move 99 align right are you there?	
	Move 100 explain right I'm underneath the manned fort on a level

Dialogue q6nc6

Move 98.2 align
(*Do*) you know the sideways shape of an eye you get at school?

In Move 98.2, it seems that the Giver expects the answer to be positive, as s/he is talking about the object (i.e. shape of an eye) which s/he believes should be familiar to the Follower. This can be seen from the Giver's way of speaking: 'the sideways shape of an eye you get at school'. It may be even claimed that the Giver asks for

agreement with his/her assumption that the Follower knows the 'sideways shape of an eye'.

The Giver's expectation of a positive answer is realised in a question which asks whether the Follower is ready for the next action, as seen in (6.13).

(6.13)

Move 145 align you know the writing at the bottom the "n" "a" "q" "c" "6" stuff?	
	Move 146 reply-y yeah
Move 147 instruct you want to be just above that ... and your level is about ... ... roughly the middle of the saloon bar ... ... has your level	
	Move 148 acknowledge right I'm there

Dialogue q6nc6

Move 145 align
(*Do*) you know the writing at the bottom the "n" "a" "q" "c" "6" stuff ?

In Move 145, the Giver wants to make sure that the Follower knows the writing at the bottom of the map, which the Giver assumes should be visible to the Follower as well, so as to find out whether the Follower is prepared for the next instruction. This use of Finite ellipsis is in fact an example of a declarative question, namely, a question which does not have an interrogative form, but has the form of a declarative clause with rising intonation. It may be claimed that the omission of operators in the [align] move is used for getting confirmation for propositions which speakers think are true, as questions in positive declarative form show an epistemic bias towards a positive answer (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 883).

6.1.2.2 Finite ellipsis in Japanese

In Japanese, Finite determines not only tense and polarity but also the politeness of the clause. Finite is a controversial concept in Japanese systemic functional grammar. As discussed in chapter 4, Teruya (2004) postulates that there is no Finite for

173

Japanese clauses on the ground that Finite is not separated from the verb stem but is rather bound with it at all times. However, it seems that this is not entirely true. There is a form which encodes these elements and still exists independently of a verb in the clause: that form is *da*, which I will now discuss briefly.

In Japanese the predicate part in a clause takes one of the following forms:

- verb
- adjective
- adjectival noun[49] + copula (*da*)
- noun phrase+ copula (*da*)
- verbal noun + *suru* 'do'

Copula *da* is only found with predicates headed by a noun or adjectival noun. Although *desu,* the polite form of *da,* is also found with adjectival predicates, *desu* with adjectives serves simply to make the expression polite, which is different from adjectival nouns and nouns. Note that while adjective+*desu* and noun+*desu* are both grammatical, adjective+*da* is not (e.g., **umai* 'tasty' +*da*) as there are two predicates in it. *Desu* then is not required for an adjective to serve as a predicate. Conversely, in the case of nouns and adjectival nouns, *desu / da* is required for them to function as predicates, although the copula is sometimes ellipted in spoken language. For this reason, in the present work, the copulas, *da* and *desu* for noun predicates and adjectival noun predicates, are taken as Finite. If, then, either of these is ellipted from the predicate of adjectival noun or noun, I consider this to be an instance of Finite ellipsis. Figure 6.4 and Table 6.4 indicate for which speech acts nouns and adjectival nouns omit their Finite element, that is, when they often appear without *da / desu*.

---

[49] Adjective and adjectival noun are two types of adjective in Japanese. In some Japanese textbooks, they are called *i*-adjectives (*aka-**i** hana* 'a red flower') and *na*-adjectives (*kenkoo-**na** kodomo* 'a healthy kid') owing to their inflectional ending for modifying a noun. The term 'adjectival noun' originates from the characteristics of the two classes of words which are included in adjectival nouns: adjectival nouns contain the characteristics of both adjective and noun. Because they modify nouns, they include the feature of adjective, but at the same time they share with nouns their declensional pattern: the declensional ending pattern of adjectival nouns is identical to that of nouns (Tsujimura 2007).

Distribution of Finite ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)
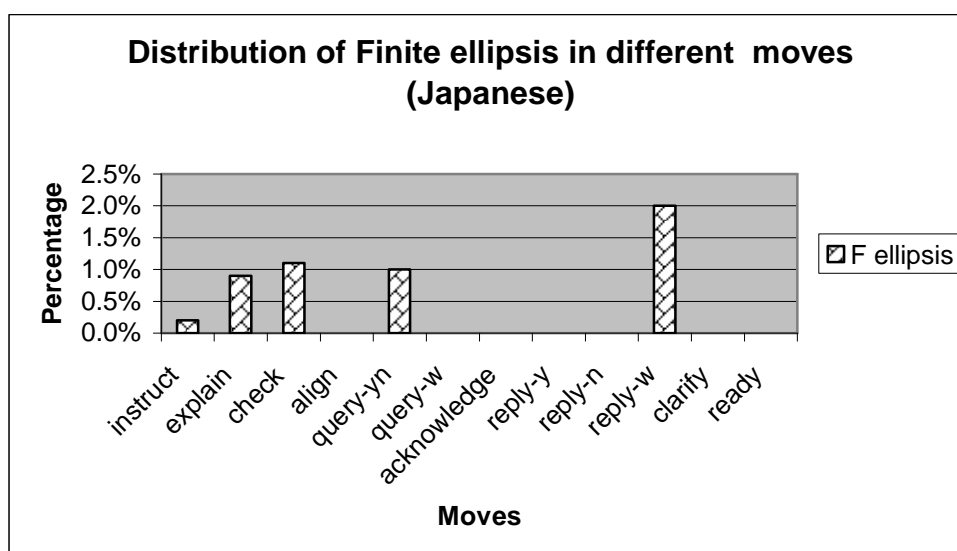
Figure 6.4 Percentage of Finite ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

	Total clauses	*Finite ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	1	0.2%
Explain	334	3	0.9%
Check	455	5	1.1%
Align	95	0	0%
Query-yn	201	2	1.0%
Query-w	99	0	0%
Acknowledge	304	0	0%
Reply-y	246	0	0%
Reply-n	81	0	0%
Reply-w	49	1	2.0%
Clarify	85	0	0%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	12	0.5%

Table 6.4 Finite ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

There are only 12 examples of Finite ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues. The figure and table indicate that this type of ellipsis is favoured in the [reply-w] move. What to note is that there is only a relatively small number of clauses in this move, i.e. 49 clauses, and there is only one example of an elliptical clause out of the 49 clauses. Although, then, it appears from the figure and table that elliptical clauses are favoured in this move, the correlation of elliptical clauses with the [reply-w] is in fact

not very high. The following is the only example of Finite ellipsis in the [reply-w] move.

(6.14)

	Move 198 query-w *Ichi wa* location TOP 'Location?'
Move 199 reply-w *Ichi wa... e dakara* location TOP well so 'The location (*is*) well, somewhere a bit lower exactly between "Indian country" and "cattle stockade".' *Indian-no mura to bokujoo-no kakoi…-* Indian-GEN country and ranch-GEN stockade- *no choodo…aida-no chotto shita kurai* GEN exactly between-GEN a.bit low about	

<div align="right">Dialogueuej3e7</div>

Move 199
Ichi   wa... e   dakara Indian-no   mura   to   bokujoo-no   kakoi…-no
location   TOP well so   Indian-GEN country and   ranch-GEN   stockade-GEN
Location, well, (is) around somewhere a bit lower exactly between "Indian country" and "cattle stockade".'

choodo…aida-no   chotto shita kurai   (da/desu)
exactly   between-GEN a.bit   low   around   (is)

As a result of this type of ellipsis, the clause finishes with a noun phrase without a predicate (in this case, Finite). This is called *taigen-dome* ('substantive ending; nominal ending') in Japanese rhetoric; one of its functions is for putting emphasis on the noun phrase. This type of ellipsis is related to Subject+Finite ellipsis because the difference between two is whether the Subject is also ellipted or not, and Subject is in fact very frequently ellipted in Japanese discourse.

6.1.3 Subject+Finite ellipsis

6.1.3.1 Subject+Finite ellipsis in English

Ellipsis of Subject and Finite is the most common type of ellipsis in the English dialogues; in this sense it is equivalent to Subject ellipsis in Japanese. Recall that in systemic functional grammar, the English clause is divided into two parts: Mood and Residue elements. Halliday and Hasan (1976) argue that ellipsis of the Mood element is found when no mood choice is made, or in other words, when mood (declarative, interrogative or imperative) is already determined. Additionally, in the case of Mood ellipsis, the subject can be retrieved from the text and polarity is also already established. A response to a *wh*-question is a typical example of this type of ellipsis: *What were they doing? – Holding hands.* (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 198). An alternative is ellipsis of the Residue element, in which the mood and polarity of the clause are central issues in the message (ibid.), as in responses to statements and yes/no questions: *The plane has landed. – Has it?*; *Has the plane landed? – Yes, it has.* (ibid.). Ellipsis of the Residue element is discussed further in sections 6.2, 6.3 and in chapter 7 below.

Figure 6.5 and Table 6.5 indicate the distribution of Subject+Finite ellipsis across the twelve moves in the English map task dialogues.
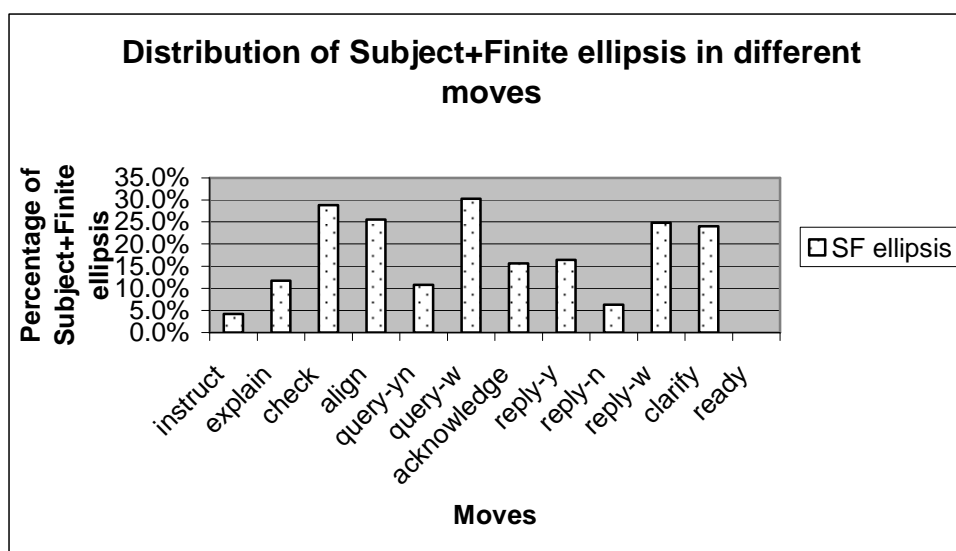
Figure 6.5 Percentage of Subject+Finite ellipsis in different moves (English)

	Total clauses	*Subject+ Finite ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	625	26	4.2%
Explain	273	32	11.7%
Check	198	57	28.8%
Align	55	14	25.5%
Query-yn	194	21	10.8%
Query-w	89	27	30.3%
Acknowledge	90	14	15.6%
Reply-y	55	9	16.4%
Reply-n	16	1	6.3%
Reply-w	121	30	24.8%
Clarify	121	29	24.0%
Ready	1	0	0%
Total	1838	260	14.15%

Table 6.5 Subject+Finite ellipsis in different moves (English)

Consistent with Halliday and Hasan (1976)'s observation that a typical construction where ellipsis of the Mood element takes place is in responses to *wh*-questions, my data shows that the [reply-w] move is one of the moves which includes relatively frequent occurrences of Subject+Finite ellipsis. The other moves which are realised with Subject+Finite ellipsis are [check] (28.8%), [align] (25.5%), [query-w] (30.3%), and [clarify] (24.0%). This type of ellipsis is favoured in the 'question' speech function in the Hallidayan speech act system.

The [query-w] move includes any questions which do not require a yes/no answer. Utterances including the [query-w] move are mostly used when (1) the Giver asks for information about landmarks which s/he does not have on his/her map, but the Follower does or (2) the Follower wants more precise information about the instruction. The usages are illustrated in excerpts (6.15) and (6.16)

(6.15)

	Move 75 explain right I've got a gold mine here
Move 76 acknowledge a gold mine	
Move 77 query-w where about?	
	Move 78 reply-w

	er just ehm just ... to the right and above it

<div align="right">Dialogue q2nc6</div>

Move 77 query-w
where about (*is it*)?

Move 78 reply-w
er just ehm just ... (*it is*) to the right and above it

(6.16)

Move 83 instruct you want to ... ... eh curve down to your ... at at the side of the ... at the rapids a few centimetres out from them	
	Move 84 query-w how many?
Move 85 reply-w ehm sort of five centimetres	

<div align="right">Dialogue q6nc6</div>

Move 84 query-w
how many (*is it*)?[50]

Move 85 reply-w
ehm (*it is*) sort of five centimetres

The Follower asks for more precise information about the instruction, i.e. how far s/he should curve down, which is followed by the Giver's answer, and both of the utterances include Subject and Finite ellipsis.

Besides the [query-w] move, the [check] and [clarify] moves favour this type of ellipsis. In many cases the [check] move is followed by the [clarify] move, both of which are realised in elliptical clauses, as found in the sequence of Move 15 and 16 in (6.17).

(6.17)

Move 12 query-yn you got a picnic site there?	
	Move 13 reply-n

---

[50] In Move 84 'centimetre' is also omitted after 'how many', but, since this is at the level of the noun phrase, it is not dealt with here.

	no i haven't
Move 14 acknowledge no ... okay ... ehm	
	Move 15 check almost to the bottom?
Move 16 clarify almost to the bottom of the page	

<div align="right">Dialogue q3ec5</div>

Move 15 and 16 are realised in Subject+Finite ellipsis clauses. The two utterances including these moves build up an adjacency pair, which takes the same type of ellipsis.

Move 15 check
(Is it) almost to the bottom?
Move 16 clarify
(It is) almost to the bottom of the page.

The [align] move also favour Subject+Finite ellipsis (25.5%). An instance of this type of ellipsis in the move is seen in (6.18).

(6.18)

Move 7 align see the start?	
	Move 8 check it's above the diamond mine?
Move 9 reply-y Right	
	Move 10 reply-y Right

<div align="right">Dialogue q5nc5</div>

The reconstructed form will be:

 (Do you) see the start?

Thus, the moves [check], [align], [query-w], [reply-w] and [clarify] especially favour Subject+Finite ellipsis.

The examples so far have showed that Subject+Finite ellipsis is associated with pronominal subject (e.g., *it*) and the verb *be*, apart from in the [align] move, where combination of the second person pronoun plus auxiliary *do* is common. Moreover, Subject+Finite ellipsis is readily associated with a particular type of ellipsis whereby *it is* is elipted. In this case, it refers to the content of the instruction which has been

issued as seen in (6.16). This type of ellipsis is also used when participants are talking about landmarks, as seen in (6.15) and (6.17). Considering the fact that queries relating to landmarks and instructions are one of the key speech acts in the map task dialogues, it is not surprising that Subject+Finite ellipsis frequently occurs in the map task dialogues, and is used in requests for information.

6.1.3.2 Subject+Finite ellipsis in Japanese

Turning to Japanese, Figure 6.6 and Table 6.6 indicate how ellipsis of Subject and Finite is distributed in the different moves.
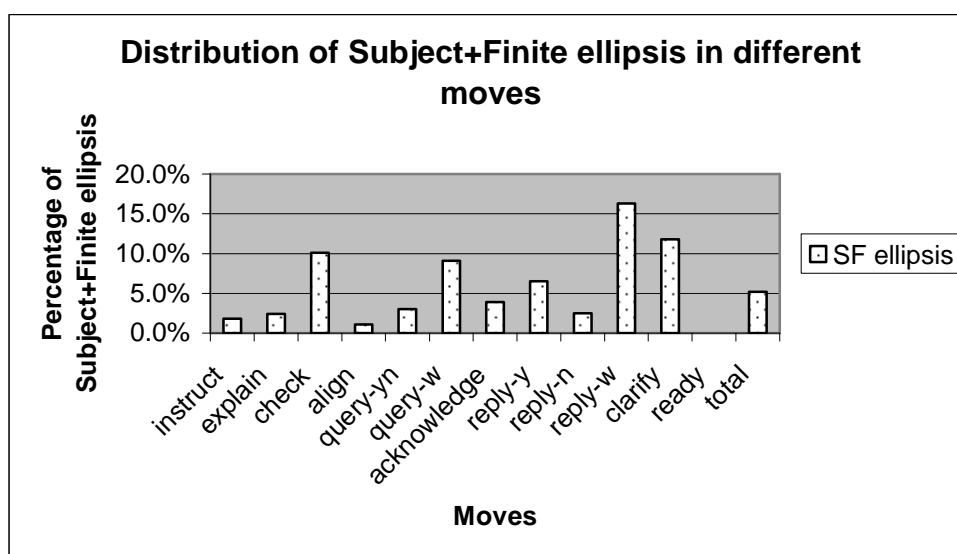
Figure 6.6 Percentage of Subject+Finite ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

	Total clauses	*Subject+ Finite ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	8	1.8%
Explain	334	8	2.4%
Check	455	46	10.1%
Align	95	1	1.1%
Query-yn	201	6	3.0%
Query-w	99	9	9.1%
Acknowledge	304	12	3.9%
Reply-y	246	16	6.5%
Reply-n	81	2	2.5%
Reply-w	49	8	16.3%
Clarify	85	10	11.8%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	126	5.25%

Table 6.6 Subject+Finite ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

This type of ellipsis is not as common as in the English dialogues, where it is used to ask information and reply to it. Japanese Subject+Finite ellipsis is also used to ask for information. Although the frequency of occurrence and its distribution in the different moves are not exactly the same as English Subject+Finite ellipsis, the moves which are associated with this type of ellipsis show similarity with English counterpart. The [check], [query-w] and [clarify] moves favour this type of ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, too; on the other hand, unlike the English dialogues, the [align] move does not favour this type of ellipsis and the [reply-w] move does. Examples of the [explain], [check] and [reply-y] moves are found in excerpt (6.19).

(6.19)

Move 1 check *Un...to shu...ppatsu chiten* well start point 'Well, there is a starting point, right.'	
	Move 2 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'
aru yone there.is FP$_{ac}$	
	Move 3 reply-y *Un* yes 'Yes.'
Move 4 explain	

E...to gin...koo-no... ue well silver mine-GEN above 'Well, (it is) above the silver mine.'	
	Move 5 check *Un...hidari *ue* yes upper.left 'Yes, (is it) upper left?'
Move 6 reply-y **hidari ue...u*n* upper.left yes '(it is) Upper left, yes.'	
	Move 7 acknowledge **un* right 'Right.'

Dialogue j4n8

Elliptical clauses in move 4, 5 and 6 could be expanded as follows:

Move 4 explain
E...to (shuppatsuchiten wa) gin...koo-no... ue (desu)
well (starting point TOP) silver.mine-GEN above (COP(POL))
'Well, (the starting point is) above the silver mine.'

Move 5 check
Un...(shuppatsuchiten) hidari *ue (desu)
yes (starting point) upper.left (COP(POL))
'Yes, (is it) upper left?'

Move 6 reply-y
*hidari ue...u*n
 upper.left yes
'(it is) Upper left, yes.'

Because Japanese Finite is realised in the form of a copula, Subject+Finite ellipsis results in clauses consisting only of noun phrases (in Japanese, *hidari ue* 'upper left' is a noun, unlike in English). As introduced in section 6.1.2.2, this is another form of *taigen-dome* ('substantive ending; nominal ending'), in Japanese rhetoric, which has the effect of emphasising the noun phrase at the end. It shows that the information which the noun phrase carries is the highlighted message in the discourse.

6.2 Ellipsis of constituents in the Residue element

Now I move on to ellipsis which includes an omission of constituents in the Residue element. There is only one type of ellipsis in this category, ellipsis of the Predicator. In many cases both in English and Japanese, the Predicator is bound with the Finite. In the case where the Predicator is independent of the Finite, this is mostly when the Predicator is found in imperatives, such as *Have some chocolate!*   This is the case with the Predicator in the map task dialogues; this type of ellipsis is mostly found when the Giver is giving instructions.

6.2.1 Predicator ellipsis in English

Predicator ellipsis shows quite uneven distribution across the move types. It is favoured by the [instruct], [reply-y] and [clarify] moves, as seen in Figure 6.7 and Table 6.7. All these moves are for giving information. This is straightforward with the [instruct] move. As for the [reply-y] and [clarify] moves, these moves are responding moves which also present information which has been asked for in initiating moves.
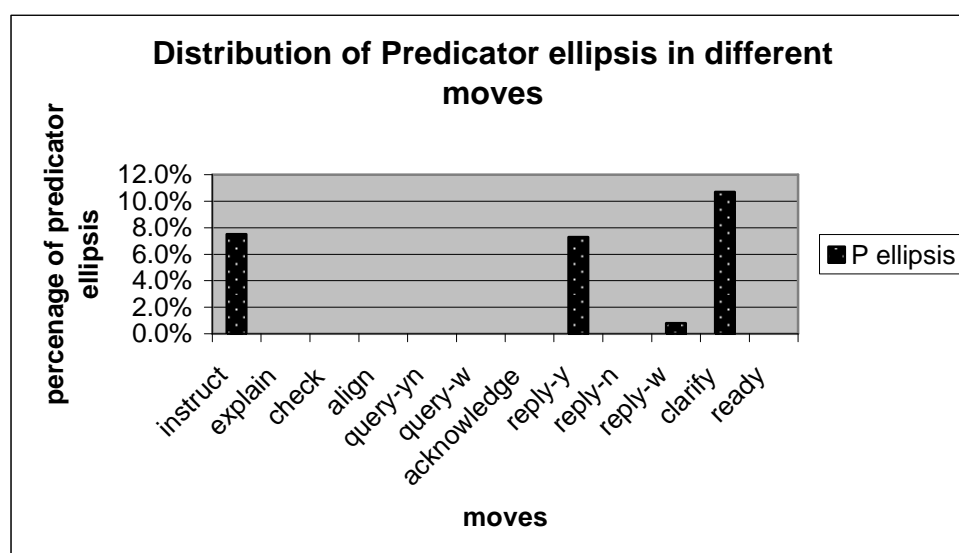
Figure 6.7 Percentage of Predicator ellipsis in different moves (English)

184

	Total clauses	*Predicator ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	625	47	7.5%
Explain	273	0	0%
Check	198	0	0%
Align	55	0	0%
Query-yn	194	0	0%
Query-w	89	0	0%
Acknowledge	90	0	0%
Reply-y	55	4	7.3%
Reply-n	16	0	0%
Reply-w	121	1	0.8%
Clarify	121	13	10.7%
Ready	1	0	0%
Total	1838	65	3.5%

Table 6.7 Predicator ellipsis in different moves (English)

The excerpt (6.20) includes an example of Predicator ellipsis in the [instruct] move.

(6.20)

Move 56 instruct go down ... eh about an inch and a half ... directly down	
	Move 57 query-yn from the abandoned truck?
Move 58 reply-y yeah	

Dialogue q3nc6

Move 56 instruct
go down ... eh about an inch and a half ... (go) directly down

This is an example of textual ellipsis as the ellipted Predicator is reconstructed by looking back the preceding part of the utterance. This type of ellipsis can also occur as situational ellipsis, where clues for reconstruction are not available in the linguistic context, as seen in (6.21).

(6.21)

Move 34 align are you at the top of indian country?	
	Move 35 reply-y yeah
Move 36 clarify right ... slope ... down ... ... ehm ...	

towards the left	
Move 37 align okay?	
	Move 38 reply-y mmhmm
Move 39 instruct and then horizontally along above the gold mine	
	Move 42 acknowledge mmhmm
Move 41 instruct ehm ... round ... the left-hand side of the gold mine ... direct-- ... down for about five inches	
	Move 42.9 check past the totem pole?

Dialogue q3nc7

Move 39 instruct
and then (*go*) horizontally along above the gold mine
Move 41 instruct
ehm ... (*go*) round ... the left-hand side of the gold mine ... direct-- ... down for about five inches

Here, there are no preceding verbs suitable for reconstructing the ellipted Predicator.
Another move which is associated with this type of ellipsis is the [clarify] move.
The difference between the [instruct] and [clarify] moves is sometimes subtle,
especially when the Giver is responding to a question in a [check] move issued by
the Follower, as exemplified in (6.22).

(6.22)

Move 168 instruct and then go across and round the top of the banana ... ... go left ... to ... ... across and round	
	Move 169 acknowledge right okay
	Move 170 check so quite a ... quite a long line?
Move 173 instruct Round the top	
Move 174 reply-y Yeah	

In Move 173 the Giver responds to the Follower's question (Move 170) by giving another instruction without a Predicator. Move 173 will be reconstructed as:

  (Go) round the top

The missing Predicator *go* can be retrieved from Move 168. Predicator ellipsis is also used when detailed information is presented in responses to questions. The excerpt (6.23) starts with the Giver's instruction, which is followed by the Follower's asking for clarification twice.

(6.23)

Move 30 instruct go round the slate mountain	
	Move 31 check up?
Move 32 instruct go ... go--	
	Move 33 check just go straight up past it?
Move 34 reply-y Yeah	
Move 35 clarify a curve ... just immediately round it	

Ellipsis is found in Move 35 with [clarify]:

   (Do) a curve ... just immediately round it

This type of ellipsis can be used for simply giving instruction and clarifying the existing information following checking of understanding.

6.2.2 Predicator ellipsis in Japanese

Figure 6.8 and Table 6.8 show that there is a similarity regarding distribution of Predicator ellipsis across move types between the English and Japanese dialogues.
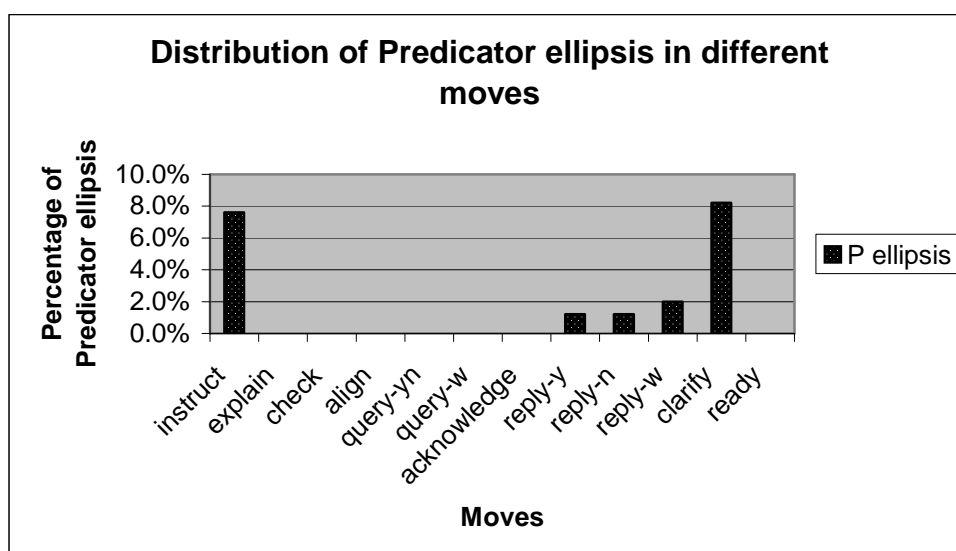
Figure 6.8 Percentage of Predicator ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

	Total clauses	*Predicator ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	34	7.6%
Explain	334	0	0%
Check	455	0	0%
Align	95	0	0%
Query-yn	201	0	0%
Query-w	99	0	0%
Acknowledge	304	0	0%
Reply-y	246	3	1.2%
Reply-n	81	1	1.2%
Reply-w	49	1	2.0%
Clarify	85	7	8.2%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	46	1.9%

Table 6.8 Predicator ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

This type of ellipsis is favoured in the [instruct] and [clarify] moves, as seen in the English dialogues. Also, ellipted items are recovered either linguistically or non-linguistically in the Japanese dialogues too. Excerpt (6.24) shows an example of textual Predicator ellipsis.

188

(6.24)

Move 188 instruct *E...to...migiue ni aga...tte-iku no ne* well upper right go.up FP_a FP_c 'Well, (*you*) go up towards the upper right.'	
	Move 189 acknowledge *Taira na iwa- o tooru yooni* migiue* flat rock-ACC pass like upper.right 'Upper right, like passing through "flat rocks".'
Move 190 instruct **Tairana iwa-no * ji- no sugu shita* flat rock-GEN word-GEN right below '(Go) Like passing the area right below the word of "flat rocks"'.	
	Move 191 acknowledge **Un* right 'Right.'
atari-o tooru yooni+ area-ACC pass like	
	Move 192 acknowledge *+Un* right 'Right.'

Dialogue j5n5

As in Move 188, the lexical content of the predicate (*agatteiku* 'go up') is introduced, it serves for specifying the action to be sought for Move 190.

Move 190 instruct
*Taira na iwa-no   * ji-no   sugu shita atari-o   tooru yooni (ittekudasai)+
 flat   rock-GEN word-GEN right below area-ACC   pass like (go-IMP-POL)
 '(Go) like passing the area right below the word of "flat rocks".'

As the Predicator is identified using the preceding part of the text, this Predicator ellipsis is textual ellipsis.

The excerpt (6.25) includes Predicator ellipsis in the [instruct] moves. The ellipted constituents can be retrieved from the non-linguistic context.

(6.25)

Move 1 check *Ja mazu*... shu...patsu chiten* well first.of.all start point 'Well, first of all, from the start point. There is a "silver mine", isn't it?'	

	Move 2 acknowledge
	*Un
	  right
	   'Right.'

	Move 3 acknowledge *U un* right 'Right.'
kara ginkoo from silver.mine	

	Move 4 acknowledge
	*Un
	  right
	   'Right.*'*

	Move 5 acknowledge *Un+* right 'Right.'
+*aru yone*+ there.is FP$_{ac}$	

	Move 6 reply-y
	+*Un*
	  right
	   'Right.'

Move 7 instruct *Sono hidari gawa-o... tooru* its left-hand side-ACC go.through 'Like going through the left-hand side of it, (*go*) down.' *yooni shi*te shita-ni* like down	

	Move 8 acknowledge
	*Un
	  right
	   'Right.'

	Move 9 acknowledge *Hidari gawa-o too...*tte* left-hand side-ACC go.through 'Going through thee left-hand side'
Move 10 instruct *De shita ni then down 'Then, (*go*) down.*'*	

Dialogue j5n5

190

In this excerpt, Moves 7 and 10 include elliptical clauses, consisting only of adverbials. It should be noted that throughout the sequence, there is no Predicator which actually denotes the action which the Follower should take. Although the verb 'go' is found in the English translation in Move 7, this 'go' is simply for suggesting the specified way the Follower should draw a route, as *yooni* 'like' follows it; it is not directly telling him/her to take that action. The Predicator is normally responsible for indicating the action specified in the imperative clause. From the viewpoint of form, then, the speaker does not make it explicit which action s/he wants the interlocutor to accomplish. Obviously, even without Finite and Predicator, they can communicate well as the context provides enough information for the participants to work out the message which the interlocutor sends. One possible explanation for the motivation for this formal deviation seems to lie in the relationship between the participants. The participants in this dialogue (j5n5) are familiar with each other. Although giving instructions in the map task dialogues has nothing to do with their real life relationship, it seems that the Giver tries to avoid the use of the imperative direct form for giving instructions. It can be speculated that they might be feeling awkward about using the imperative direct form to give instructions, because the imperative is easily associated with power relationship. Even the polite form *-kudasai* 'please' is not useful in this case, as it makes the instruct sound too polite, which may make the Follower feel that the Giver is so polite that a degree of psychological distance is introduced, which is also not conducive to maintaining their familiar relationship. In order to make the personal relationship between the speaker and interlocutor obscure, in other words, not to indicate the interpersonal relationship, such as a power relationship, elliptical utterances without a Predicator are suitable as they omit the element which makes the utterance imperative.

6.3 Ellipsis of constituents across the Mood and Residue elements

In this section I will show a type of ellipsis whereby ellipted constituents are in both the Mood and Residue elements, i.e. ellipsis of Subject, Finite and Predicator.

6.3.1 Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in English

Figure 6.9 and Table 6.9 indicate the distribution of Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis across the different move types.
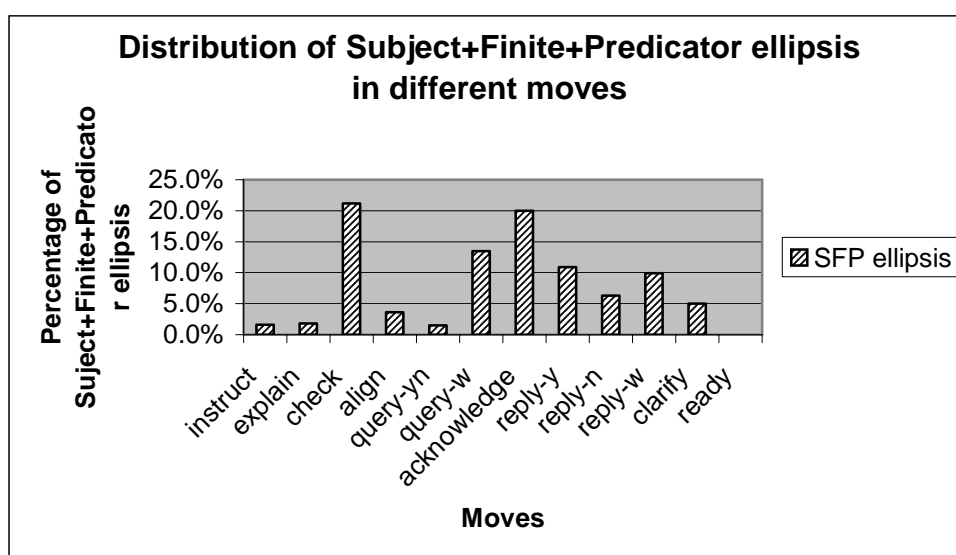
Figure 6.9 Percentage of Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves (English)

	Total clauses	*Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	10	1.6%
Explain	334	5	1.8%
Check	455	42	21.2%
Align	95	2	3.6%
Query-yn	201	3	1.5%
Query-w	99	12	13.5%
Acknowledge	304	18	20.0%
Reply-y	246	6	10.9%
Reply-n	81	1	6.3%
Reply-w	49	12	9.9%
Clarify	85	6	5.0%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	117	6.45%

Table 6.9 Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves (English)

Because the map task requires one of the participants to draw a route correctly according to the information which the interlocutor provides him or her with, participants very often need to make sure of the manner in which a route should be drawn; for instance, whether the route should be straight or curved, or whether it should go underneath or above a certain landmark. For this purpose, adverbials which especially deal with location are prevalent throughout the dialogues. From Figure 6.9 and Table 6.9, it can be seen that Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis, which brings clauses consisting only of adverbials, is often used in the [check], [query-w] and [acknowledge] moves. This means that this type of ellipsis is readily used for asking for more details about information which the speaker has received (i.e. instructions) and also for providing responses to these queries. Excerpts (6.26) and (6.27) show examples of this type of ellipsis.

(6.26)

Move 208 instruct and then ... along a few centimetres to the right just to the t-- ehm ... left of the pirate ship and that's where it finishes	
	Move 209 acknowledge straight down a few centimetres to the right right
	Move 210 explain I've got computer controlled sub that I better

193

Move 211 acknowledge uh-huh ... right	
	Move 212 explain avoid
	Move 213 check and ... I finish at the left of the pirate ship?
Move 214 reply-y uh-huh ... yeah	
	Move 215 acknowledge right
	Move 216 check at the bottom?
Move 217 reply-y uh-huh	
	Move 218 acknowledge right that's it

<div align="right">Dialogue q6nc7</div>

This excerpt is from the very end of a dialogue, where the route is almost reaching the goal. From the utterance in Move 213, it seems that the Follower knows roughly where the goal is, but would like to check the exact point. Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis is found in Move 216, where the Follower (the speaker)'s question focuses on precisely where the finishing point is.

Move 216 check
(Should I finish) at the bottom?

Even after the Follower has asked whether the route finishes at the left of the pirate ship using a full clause in Move 213, a more detailed, specific and precise piece of information could be obtained by asking it in the form of ellipsis. It seems that the ellipsis here serves to focus on and make clear what the Follower really wants to know. The excerpt (6.27) contains this type of ellipsis in the [acknowledge] and [reply-w] moves.

(6.27)

Move 71 ready well	
Move 72 instruct t-- ... go up to there	

	Move 73 acknowledge up to there ... okay right
	Move 74 query-w underneath it or just over it or what?
Move 75 reply-w it doesn't matter as long as you're ... just about at it	
	Move 76 acknowledge okay
	Move 78 acknowledge uh-huh

Dialogue q6nc8

In Move 73 in (6.27), the ellipsis is used for confirmation, which takes the form of repetition of the interlocutor's utterance.

Move 73 acknowledge
(I should go) up to there ... okay right

This is followed by Move 74 [query-w].

Move 74 query-w
(Should I go) underneath it or (should I go) just over it or what?

The Follower asks for precise information about how s/he should draw a line 'up to there', using simply adverbials.

Besides adverbials, the identification of a particular landmark can also be talked about by making use of Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis, which results in a Complement only in the clause, as seen in (6.28).

 (6.28)

Move 109 query-yn you then have a stream down there is that correct?	
	Move 110 reply-w parched ... river bed
Move 111 acknowledge parched river bed	

Dialogue q3ec7

Move 110 reply-w
(I have) parched ... river bed
Move 111 acknowledge
(You have) parched river bed.

Here the Giver would like to confirm that the Follower has a stream in the latter's map, but it turns out that what the Follower has is not a stream, but a parched river bed. The remaining constituent from this type of ellipsis is either an Adjunct or a Complement. From these observations, then, it seems that the ellipsis has the effect of providing focus or contrast for the remaining objects.

6.3.2 Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in Japanese

Ellipsis of Subject, Finite and Predicator in Japanese is distributed across the move types as seen in Figure 6.10 and Table 6.10.
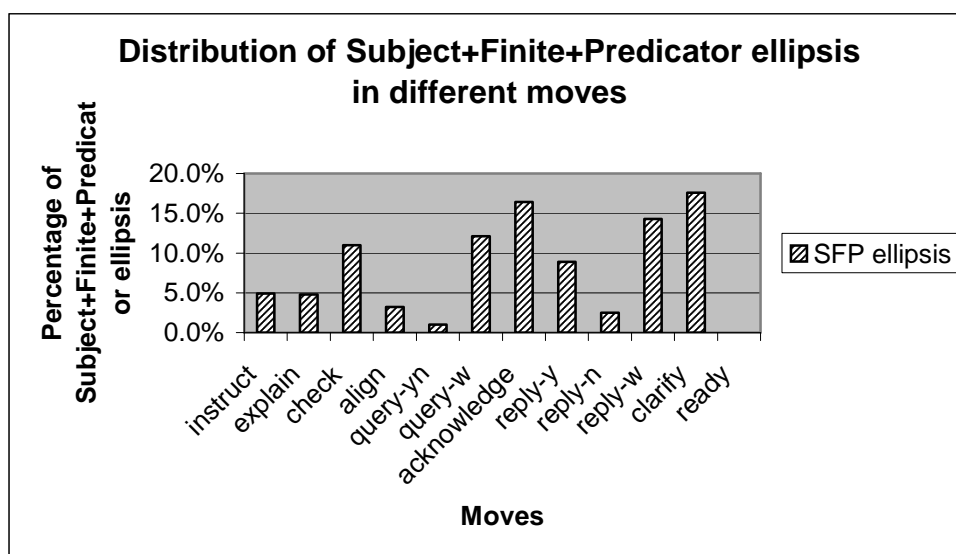
Figure 6.10 Percentage of Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

	Total clauses	*Subject+ Finite+Predicat- or ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	22	4.9%
Explain	334	16	4.8%
Check	455	50	11.0%
Align	95	3	3.2%
Query-yn	201	2	1.0%
Query-w	99	12	12.1%
Acknowledge	304	50	16.4%
Reply-y	246	22	8.9%
Reply-n	81	2	2.5%
Reply-w	49	7	14.3%
Clarify	85	15	17.6%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	201	8.4%

Table 6.10 Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves (Japanese)

The frequent use of this type of ellipsis in the [check] and [query-w] moves indicates that in the Japanese dialogues, Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis is also used for asking for and providing confirmation and more detailed information, as was seen in the English dialogues. Move 151 in excerpt (6.29) below function in the same way as Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in the [check] move in the English dialogues, namely, to find out more about the instruction which the speaker (the Follower) has received.

(6.29)

Move 150 instruct *Soshitara saku-no hidari hashi-o too…* then stile-GEN left edge-ACC F 'Then, (*you*) go past the left edge of the stile.' *toori-sugite-ku n desu kedomo* go.past NMLS COP(POL) FP$_{indr}$	
	Move 151 check *Ueni* up *'(Should I go)* Up?'
Move 152 reply-y *Hai ue ni…*kyuujuu do ni* yes up a ninety degree bend in 'Yes, please go up in a 90 degree bend.' *agate…ttekudasai+*	

go.up-IMP-DIR-POL	

<div align="right">Dialogue j6e8</div>

The elliptical utterance in Move 151 would be reconstructed as follows:

Move 151 check
Ueni
up
'(Should I go) Up?'

Also, as is the case with the English dialogues, many examples of

Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in [acknowledge] moves are found in repetition as

found in Move 305 in (6.30).

(6.30)

Move 300 instruct *De soko made wa ato wa…* then there until TOP then TOP 'Then, until there, if (*you*) draw from the left-hand side of "bandit territory", (*that is*) finish.' *e sanzoku-no nawabari hidari…kara* well bandit-GEN territory left from *soko made hi…pa…tteyare-ba* there until draw-if *o*wari desu* finish COP(POL)	
	Move 301 check **e ja naname hidariue ni* then diagonally up.left towards 'Then, (should I draw) in a manner like going up left diagonally?' *agaru yoona *kanji de* go.up like manner in
Move 302 reply-y **Soo desu ne* so COP(POL) FP$_c$ 'That's right.'	
	Move 303 acknowledge *Hai+* right 'Right.'
Move 304 clarify +*Chotto en-o egaku yooni*	

a.bit circle-ACC draw like '(You should draw) a bit like drawing a circle.'	
	Move 305 acknowledge *En-o kaku yoona kanji de* <…> circle-ACC draw like manner in '(I should draw) in a manner like drawing a circle.'

Dialogue j3e7

Move 301 check
*e ja naname   hidariue ni   agaru yoona *kanji   de
 then diagonally up.left   towards go.up like   manner in
 'Then, (should I draw) in a manner like going up left diagonally?'

Move 304 clarify
+Chotto en-o   egaku yooni
 a.bit   circle-ACC draw   like
 '(You should draw) a bit like drawing a circle.'

Move 305 acknowledge
En-o   kaku yoona kanji   de <…>
circle-ACC draw like   manner   in
'(I should draw) in a manner like drawing a circle.'

In this excerpt, a series of utterances which include Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis is observed: both participants use this type of ellipsis to accomplish their speech acts, namely, asking for clarification (Move 301), providing more detailed information (Move 304) and acknowledging the reply (Move 305).

6.4 Association of ellipsis types and speech acts from a cross-linguistic point of view

We have looked at varieties of ellipsis which are commonly observed in the English and Japanese dialogues. As observed in section 5.3.2 in chapter 5, the frequency of occurrence of elliptical clauses in different moves is quite different in the English and Japanese dialogues: English ellipsis occurs relatively more in responding moves than in initiating moves, while in the Japanese dialogues there is not much difference

in the frequency of ellipsis according to type of move. This chapter took a close look at distributions of ellipsis types in different moves, i.e. the contributions of ellipsis types to each move. These findings from the examination of the correlations of ellipsis types with moves in the map task dialogues can be summarised in the following table:

	TYPICAL MOVE TYPE IN ENGLISH	TYPICAL MOVE TYPE IN JAPANESE
Subject ellipsis	[explain][acknowledge]	all moves
Finite ellipsis	[check][align][query-yn]	[reply-w]
Subject+Finite ellipsis	[check][align][query-w] [reply-w][clarify]	[check][query-w] [reply-w][clarify]
Predicator ellipsis	[instruct][reply-y][clarify]	[instruct][clarify]
Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis	[check][query-w] [acknowledge]	[check][query-w] [acknowledge][reply-w] [clarify]

Table 6.11 Ellipsis types strongly associated with particular move types in English and Japanese

Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues is associated with all types of moves although there is a difference in the frequency of occurrence. This is not surprising as this type of ellipsis is well-known for its prevalence in Japanese regardless of genre.

The distribution of Finite ellipsis across the moves is quite different in the two languages; whereas in the English dialogues Finite ellipsis contributes to asking questions, in the Japanese dialogues it contributes to giving answers. The difference seems to be due to the different behaviour of Finite in these languages. The Finite is very often bound with the Predicator in both languages. For the Finite to be ellipted, it needs to be independent of the Predicator, which occurs in a limited condition. In the English dialogues, as seen in 6.1.2.1, Finite ellipsis is the omission of *be* or auxiliaries such as *do*, and is associated with making queries. Whereas in the case of the former, it can be recognised as Finite ellipsis without difficulty, the latter is not

so simple. In the case of ellipsis of auxiliaries, in fact, it is not straightforward to distinguish whether it is Finite ellipsis in interrogatives or declaratives serving for making questions; a closer look at the environment in which Finite ellipsis occurs showed us that clauses with Finite ellipsis are used for asking questions to which the speaker usually expects positive answers. In this case, the questions are put in declarative mood; auxiliary verbs (e.g., *do*) are ellipted. On the other hand, in the Japanese dialogues, the Finite is independent of the Predicator when the Finite appears as a copula. The copula can be ellipted, resulting in a clause in which a noun phrase is located at the end, which results in *taigen-dome* (substantive/nominal ending) with an effect of emphasising the preceding noun phrase. Possibly this is the reason why this form of the clause is related to the [reply-w] move, where the information which is provided should be focused.

The point to be noted is that, apart from Finite ellipsis, there is no major difference between the English and Japanese dialogues regarding moves associated with types of ellipsis, although there are some small differences. Obviously, English and Japanese have different syntax, and different cultural backgrounds, which somehow affects the use of language by its speakers. In this study, syntactic categories in systemic functional grammar make it possible to carry out comparative analysis of ellipted constituents between the languages. Furthermore, the map task dialogues take place in a setting where the dialogue is motivated by a clear purpose, that is, to accomplish a task. It is then noteworthy that analyses from the map task dialogues in the two languages show a similar correlation between the forms and functions of ellipsis. For instance, Subject+Finite ellipsis is associated with the moves which are related to asking and answering questions in both the English and Japanese dialogues; the [check], [align] and [query-w] moves are related to asking questions, while the [reply-w] and [clarify] moves are related to answering questions. The finding that moves are associated with ellipsis types in this way suggests that speech acts may be associated with ellipsis types in the same way in English and Japanese. I will discuss this point more closely below.

One of the notable things about ellipted constituents in Table 6.11 is that Predicator is ellipted in both English and Japanese, as in Predicator ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis. The Predicator, that is, the lexical part of verbs, plays a major role in the meaning of the clause; it is a key part of the predicate which is a central component of the clause. As Table 6.11 shows, these two types of ellipsis are found in almost the same move types in the English and Japanese dialogues.

For instance, Predicator ellipsis is strongly associated with the [instruct] and [clarify] moves in each language, as was discussed in section 6.2. Looking at Figure 6.11 depicting the Task-performance substage and its three sub-substages, reproduced below for the interest of convenience, the [instruct] move is equivalent to Request in the figure. As it is an initiation of the 'Giving instructions' sub-substage, it forms a new phase of the chunk of the task dialogue.
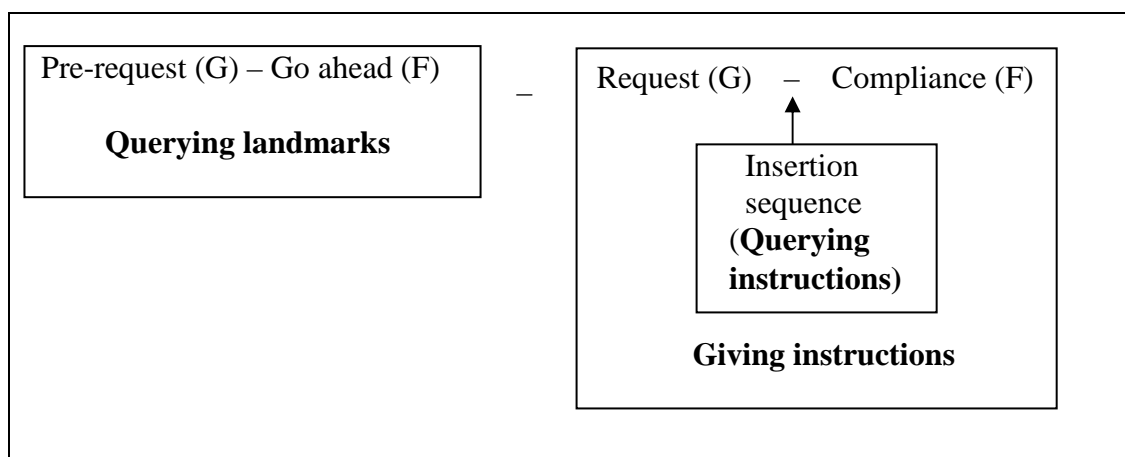
Figure 6.11 Task-performance substage and its three sub-substages

As the discussion in section 6.2 showed, ellipted Predicator can be retrieved linguistically (textual ellipsis) or non-linguistically (situational ellipsis) in both the English and Japanese dialogues. With regard to situational ellipsis, there are no preceding verbs to assist reconstruction of the ellipted Predicator. Nonetheless, the lexical part of the verb in the clause is not explicit, but it is in fact straightforward for task participants to recognise what type of action would be encoded in the ellipted Predicator. It is motion. The ellipted verbs are motion verbs. In the case of clauses

with Predicator ellipsis in the [instruct] and [clarify] moves, then, the infinitive form of motion verbs can be reconstructed at the beginning of the clause. This is clear from the context, that is, the fact that speakers are doing a map task. Recall that what is going on in the map task is that the Followers draw a route on their map according to the Givers' instructions. The focus of the discourse is movement of the route on the map. Without the Predicator, then, simply providing adverbials will be informative enough for the Follower to decide what s/he is expected to do. In other words, context serves to help the interlocutor to identify the ellipted lexical content. This is observed in the dialogues in both languages, as seen in (6.31) and (6.32).

(6.31)

Move 91 instruct right at at ... at the flat rocks turn and come down the bottom towards the buffalo	
	Move 92 explain t-- ... t-- so ... oh well ... I'll go past the saloon bar ... I'll keep it on my right and down towards the buffalo
Move 93 instruct don't go in	
	Move 96 explain I'll try hard not to
Move 95 explain ken I knew you will	
Move 97 explain scrumpy jacks	
	Move 98 reply-y aye
Move 99 uncodable eh	
	Move 100 explain doctor rose
Move 101 instruct down towards the buffalo	
	Move 102 acknowledge right

Dialogue q5ec5

In the first half of this excerpt, the Giver and Follower are joking about the landmark 'saloon bar' which is only found on the Follower's map. When it comes to Move

101, they go back to the map task business of drawing the route, where the Giver's instruction is an elliptical utterance with Predicator ellipsis. (Note that the reconstructed element in italics indicates that it is situational ellipsis):

Move 101 instruct
(*Go*) down towards the buffalo

This is situational ellipsis as there are no motion verbs in the directly preceding text, where the participants were talking about alcohol. The following excerpt (6.32) includes an example of situational Predicator ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues:

(6.32)

Move 1 align *Eto ii desu ka* well okay COP(POL) FP$_i$ 'Well, are you ready?'	
	Move 2 reply-y *Hai* yes 'Yes.'
Move 3 check *Shuppatsu chiten-ga ginkoo-no* start point-NOM silver.mine-GEN 'I guess there is starting point above the silver mine.' *ue-ni ari masu yone* above-LOC there.is HON(T) FP$_{ac}$	
	Move 4 reply-y +*Hai ari masu** yes there.is HON(T) 'Yes, there is (ø).'
Move 5 instruct **Eto gin...koo-o<...> uka* well silver.mine-ACC get.around 'Well, (*go*) like going around the silver mine.' *suru yooni* do like	
	Move 6 acknowledge *Ukai suru yooni* get.around do like 'Like getting around.'
Move 7 instruct *E hidari gawa ni ukaisu...* well left-hand.side towards get.around	

'Well, go around towards the left-hand side [N.B. abandoned], from the left-hand side, like, to the left-hand side of the sign of 'silver mine''. *Hidari-no hoo kara...koo...* left-GEN direction from like *ginkoo-no moji-no shita* silver.mine-GEN sign-GEN below *atari made* about to	
	Move 8 check *Hidari-no hoo ni* left-GEN direction towards 'Towards the left-hand side?'
Move 9 reply-y *Ee* hi* yes F 'Yes.'	

Dialogue j2n6

There are two examples of Predicator ellipsis in this excerpt: the elliptical clauses in Move 5 and 7.

Move 5 instruct
*Eto   gin…koo-o<…> uka   suru yooni
  well silver.mine-ACC get.around do   like
  'Well, like getting around "silver mine".'

The action *ukaisuru* 'get around' expresses the manner of drawing a route and serves as an adverbial, combined with *yooni* 'like'. The main verb itself is ellipted. The other example of Predicator ellipsis in Move 7 contains a repair at the beginning, although it may not be very clear from the gloss and translation.

Move 7 instruct
E   hidari-gawa ni   ukaisu...   hidari-no hoo   kara...koo...
well left-hand.side towards get.around left-GEN   direction from   like
'Well, go around towards the left-hand side, from the left-hand side, like, to the left-hand side of the sign of 'silver mine''.

 ginkoo-no   moji-no   shita   atari made
 silver.mine-GEN   sign-GEN below about to

The underlined part is the repair, where the speaker does not finish the verb *ukaisuru* 'get around' – the English translation reads like a full clause imperative, but this is misleading. It seems that the speaker wanted to make the similar type of adverbial as found in Move 5, but stops when s/he said *ukaisu*, and abandoned the clause. S/he makes another start with *hidarinohookara* 'from the left-hand side' as a repair. The point is that there are no main verbs in the clause in Move 7; as this is the very beginning of the dialogue, there are no preceding verbs which can help the Follower to identify the ellipted Predicator.

What then makes it possible for interlocutors to identify the ellipted Predicator, that is, the actual action which is required for them to take? It is the context. Context could be interpreted at three levels: linguistic context, non-linguistic context, that is, 'context-of-utterance' and 'context-of-situation' (Lyons 1977). For the time being, I call the linguistic context the micro context and context-of-utterance the macro context. The macro context which is associated with the form, meaning and appropriateness of utterances, is the situation of doing a map task, which can serve for the basic level of speakers' cognition in terms of performing a map task. The understanding which is associated with the context-of-utterance tells task participants that the ellipted Predicator is associated with motion verbs. As for the micro context, it is related to sub-substages in the Task-performance stage. When the pattern of the structure of utterances is established in the micro context, it is easy for clauses to follow this structure in the form of elliptical clauses. This is in fact referred to as textual ellipsis, in Quirk et al.'s (1985) terms, as seen in (6.33) and (6.34).

(6.33)

Move 54 ready right ... ... well	
Move 55 instruct try and ehm ... ... go as close to ravine as possible but up towards the carved stones	
	Move 56 acknowledge right

<div align="right">Dialogue q7nc7</div>

Move 55 instruct
try and ehm ... ... go as close to ravine as possible but (go) up towards the carved
stones

(6.34)

Move 76 query-yn *Soshitara soko kara<…>i<…>ttara su<…>* then there from go-if F 'Then, if (you) go from there, there is a "highest viewpoint", right?' *sanchoo-no tenboodai-ga* higheset-GEN viewpoint-NOM *ari masu yone.* there.is HON(T) FP_{ac}	
Move 78 instruct ⁽¹⁾*Soko-no e-o* there-GEN picture-ACC 'Go to the right-hand side, like drawing a circle over the picture, like getting around it. To the edge of the picture at the right-hand side, like arching over the picture to the edge of the picture at the right-hand side.'	

	Move 77 reply-y
	*Hai
	  yes
	  'Yes.'

Ue ni gurutto up towards turn.around *en-o kaku yooni shite* circle-ACC draw like do *mawarikonde…migi made* get.around right-hand.side to *itte-kudasai…*⁽²⁾*migi-no e-no* go-IMP-POL right-GEN picture-GEN *hashi made* edge to	
	Move 79 acknowledge *A…hai* right 'Right.'
Ue-o gurutto up-ACC arch.over	

<div align="right">Dialogue j8n8</div>

Move 78 consists of two clauses. The first one (marked as superscript (1) in the excerpt) finishes when the Giver says *itte-kudasai* 'please go'. After that, *migino e no hashi made ue o guru…tto* is the second clause (marked as superscript (2) in the excerpt) although it is interrupted by a backchannel utterance (Move 79). The second clause contains Predicator ellipsis:

migi-no   e-no   hashi made   ue-o   guru…tto (ittekudasai)
right-GEN picture-GEN edge to   up-ACC arch.over (go-IMP-POL)
'(Please go) arching over up to the edge of the picture at the right-hand side.'

The ellipted Predicator can be retrieved from the first clause earlier in the same move, that is, *ittekudasai* 'please go'. Thus, the combination of linguistic and non-linguistic context lets the speakers of English and Japanese use the same type of ellipsis for a particular speech act.

The Predicator is also ellipted in Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis, which is associated with different moves from those associated with Predicator ellipsis. Table 6.11 at the beginning of this section indicates that this type of ellipsis is exploited when more information is asked for (the [check] and [query-w] moves) and provided (the [acknowledge], [reply-w] and [clarify] move). This phase of the task is equivalent to the 'Querying instructions' sub-substage in the Task-performance substage, where motion verbs have been already established either overtly in the preceding linguistic context or covertly in interlocutors' cognition; in other words, the ellipted Predicator can be identified either textually or situationally.

I included two examples of Japanese ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Predicator in the [check] and [acknowledge] moves without any Predicators as an antecedent in the preceding part of the text. The following (6.35) is a part of the above (6.32), which is at the very beginning of the dialogue and includes two examples of situational Predicator ellipsis in Move 5 and 7. Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis is observed in Move 6 and 8.

(6.35)

Move 5 instruct
Eto   gin...koo-o<…>   uka
  well silver.mine-ACC   get.around
  'Well, like going around the silver mine.'
  suru   yooni
  do like	

	Move 6 acknowledge *Ukai suru yooni* get.around do like '(*Should I go*) Like getting around.'
Move 7 instruct *E hidari gawa ni ukaisu...* well left-hand.side towards get.around 'Well, go around towards the left-hand side [N.B. abandoned], from the left-hand side, like, to the left-hand side of the sign of 'silver mine''. *hidari-no hoo kara...koo...* left-GEN direction from like *ginkoo-no moji-no shita* silver.mine-GEN sign-GEN below *atari made* about to	
	Move 8 check *Hidari-no hoo ni* left-GEN direction towards '(*Should I go*) Towards the left-hand side?'
Move 9 reply-y *Ee* hi* yes F 'Yes.'	

Dialogue j2n6

Reconstructed forms for the two elliptical clauses in Move 6 and 8 are as follows:

Move 6 acknowledge
Ukai   suru   yooni (watashi wa   iku)
get.around   do   like   (I   TOP go)
'(I should go) Like getting around [the silver mine].'

Move 8 check
Hidari-no   hoo   ni   (watasi wa   iku n   desu   ka)
left-GEN   direction towards (I   TOP go   NMLS   COP(POL) FP$_i$)
'(Should I go) Towards the left-hand side?'

I reconstructed *iku* 'go' and *ikun desu ka* 'should I go' for each elliptical clause[51]. In the whole excerpt, there are no antecedent verbs which can be used for reconstruction of the ellipted Predicator or ellipted Subject. What makes the task possible without lexical verbs is then the context (context-of-utterance) which serves cognitively for task participants' information processing.

All this tells us that it can happen that the content of the lexical verb is not revealed in the course of the key segments of the map task dialogues, the 'Giving instructions' and 'Querying instructions' sub-substages. This is because the ellipted lexical content is reconstructed through context, whether micro or macro, which makes it possible for interlocutors to give instructions and ask for more information about instructions without lexical verbs. My point here is that this is observed in both the English and Japanese dialogues; a quite similar type of ellipsis is associated with these speech acts, regarding the omission of the lexical content verbs. I would claim that this is where universality between languages is found, even though the syntax and pragmatics are strikingly different from each other. English and Japanese have quite different syntax – English is fairly analytic, Japanese is highly agglutinative, and their basic word orders are quite different – and the way of using language in context, which derives from each culture, is also notably different. It is then worth pointing out that despite these fundamental differences, the pattern of ellipsis in association with a particular speech act is still similar in these two languages. The way speakers of both languages use ellipsis with regard to the relation between ellipsis types and speech acts is strikingly parallel, and this is made possible by full exploitation of the combination of linguistic context and context-of-utterance.

---

[51] Kageyama (1995) points out that the particle *ni* 'to', which indicates the direction of motion, is followed by basic motion verbs, such as *iku* 'go', *kuru* 'come' and *kaeru* 'come/go back', but it is not compatible with more periphrastic motion verbs such as *hashiru* 'run', *aruku* 'walk', *skippu suru* 'skip', *tobu* 'jump', *oyogu* 'swim' and *hau* 'crawl'. Additionally, this is not the case with English motion verbs, which most of the time co-occur with *to*.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined ellipsis types which are common in both the English and Japanese dialogues. Despite the different syntax of the two languages, there are five types of ellipsis in common. Examination of each type of ellipsis revealed the way ellipsis is exploited in actual communication in the map task dialogues, with regard to the contribution of ellipsis types in different dialogues moves. This association of ellipsis types and particular move types turned out to be cross-linguistically quite similar. Although English and Japanese have quite different systems of syntax and pragmatics, the association of varieties of ellipsis with moves in which the elliptical clauses are used is remarkably similar between these languages. In the next chapter, I will show how the syntactic difference affects possible types of ellipsis in languages.

Chapter 7

Results II: ellipsis types specific to language

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, ellipsis types which are found in both the English and Japanese dialogues were discussed, to illustrate the relations between elliptical forms and their communicative effects in speech acts in the two languages. In this chapter, I explore ellipsis types which are specific to each language, so as to complete the elucidation of the structural possibilities for ellipsis in both the English and Japanese dialogues.

I will describe ellipsis types which are characteristic of each language. I examine four types of ellipsis found only in the English dialogues, and two which are found only in the Japanese dialogues. These types of ellipsis are far less frequent in the two languages than the ones which I observed in the previous chapter: they are minor types of ellipsis. The specificity of these types of ellipsis mostly originates from two sources: the syntactic differences between the two languages, by which a certain form is made possible in one language, but not in the other (e.g., Predicator+Complement ellipsis is only possible in English: Finite+Predicator is only possible in Japanese), and also from specific ways of accomplishing particular speech acts in each language, such as asking a favour.

7.1 Ellipsis only found in English

7.1.1 Complement ellipsis

In the Hallidayan approach, Complement is 'an element within the Residue that has the potential of being Subject but is not…It is typically realized by a nominal group' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 773).   The category of "Complement" in systemic

linguistics includes predicative adjectives (such as *red* in *The rose is red*) as well as the objects of verbs. What to note is that, from the viewpoint of grammaticality, ellipsis of Complement results in ungrammatical sentences. It then might not be safe to treat this type of ellipsis in the same manner as the other types of ellipsis which are free from the grammaticalness issue. Considering this point, I will not elaborate on this type of ellipsis, but simply describe examples.

In the English dialogues that I examined, there were only three instances of complement ellipsis, and in all cases it was an object that was ellipted – in fact, in all three cases it was the object of a verb of possession. All the examples are found in (7.1)-(7.3).

(7.1)

Move 117 instruct go slightly to your right beyond the flat rocks ... ... until you ... are ... above the level of the buffalo	
	Move 118 check so I I'll ... be avoiding the saloon bar?
Move 119 explain I don't have a saloon bar here	
	Move 120 check I've got here?
Move 121 ready Right	
Move 122 reply-y okay so avoid the saloon bar	
	Move 123 acknowledge right

Dialogue q1ec5

Move 120 check
I've got (a saloon bar) here?

(7.2)

Move 44 query-yn up along to near a r-- a ravine stuff ... thing?	
Move 45 reply-w no I don't have the ravine	
	Move 46 explain

	I've got

<div align="right">Dialogue q7nc7</div>

Move 46 explain
I've got (the ravine)

(7.3)

	Move 123 query-yn have you got the great lake?
Move 124 reply-n no I don't have	
	Move 126 acknowledge oh ... right
Move 125 reply-y yes sorry I do	

<div align="right">Dialogue q8nc8</div>

Move 124 reply-n
no I don't have (the great lake)

Note that all the examples are about whether participants have a certain landmark on their map, contain verbs of possession: *have*, *have got*. The topic of the exchange between two speakers is a landmark in question ('saloon bar', 'ravine' or 'great lake'), which is ellipted. It seems that it is not necessary to make explicit a topic which is already established.

7.1.2 Predicator+Complement ellipsis

Figure 7.1 and Table 7.1 indicate the distribution of Predicator and Complement ellipsis across the move types. They show a quite uneven distribution; this type of ellipsis is clearly favoured by the [reply-n] move.

Distribution of Predicator and Complement ellipsis in different moves
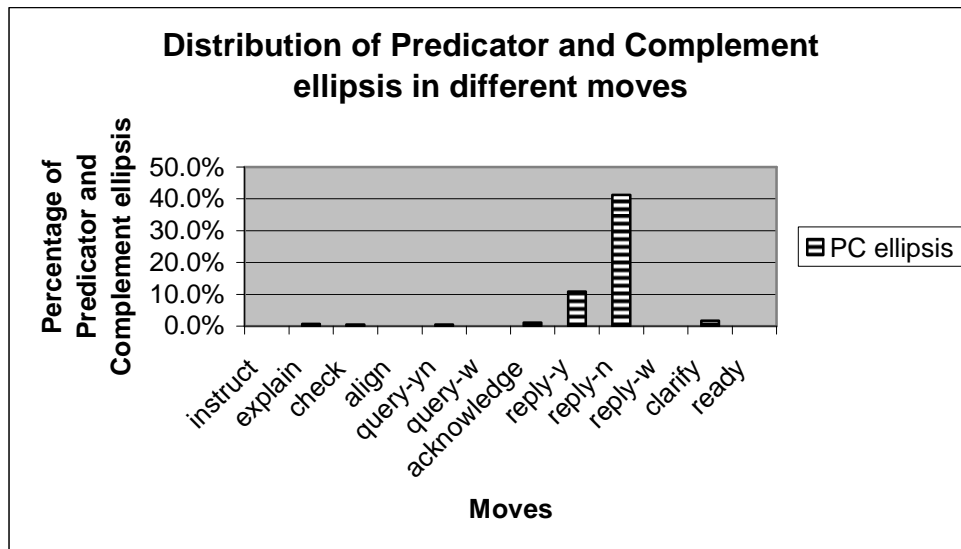
Figure 7.1 Percentage of Predicator+Complement ellipsis in different moves

	Total clauses	*Predicator +Complement ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	625	0	0%
Explain	273	2	0.7%
Check	198	1	0.5%
Align	55	0	0%
Query-yn	194	1	0.5%
Query-w	89	0	0%
Acknowledge	90	1	1.1%
Reply-y	55	6	10.9%
Reply-n	16	7	43.8%
Reply-w	121	0	0%
Clarify	121	2	1.7%
Ready	1	0	0%
Total	1838	20	1.1%

Table 7.1 Predicator+Complement ellipsis in different moves

Ellipsis of Predicator and Complement occur mainly in responding moves, especially in the [reply-n] move, where 43.8% of clauses involved in the move are realised in the form of Predicator+Complement ellipsis. This is followed by the [reply-y] move (10.9%). The prevalent pattern is found in answers to yes-no questions, such as *no I don't*. It also occurs in clauses where *have got* is the predicate, in which case *got* and the following Complement (object) are ellipted. In the map task dialogues yes-no questions are in many cases used when participants are asking whether the

215

interlocutor has a particular landmark feature on the map, as seen in excerpts (7.4)-(7.5).

(7.4)

Move 151 query-yn you don't have a field station in the middle do you?	
	Move 152 reply-n no I don't
	Move 154 explain I've got a banana tree

<div align="right">Dialogue q4nc8</div>

Move 152
No I don't (have a field station).

(7.5)

Move 185 query-yn have you got a gold mine?	
	Move 186 reply-n no I certainly haven't
Move 187 acknowledge no you don't	

<div align="right">Dialogue q4nc8</div>

Move 186 reply-n
no I certainly haven't (got a gold mine).
Move 187 acknowledge
no you don't (have a gold mine).

This type of ellipsis is characteristic of English, as its grammar allows Finite and Predicator to occur in separate forms, which is not the case with Japanese, apart from the use of the *da* / *desu* following noun phrase or adjectival noun. This ellipsis is a formulaic expression for answering polarity questions as it seems the neutral form among the options. A full form *No I don't have a field station* sounds more vehement than just saying *No,* and *No I don't* is located somewhere between (Wilson 2000). Out of sixteen clauses in the [reply-n] move, ten are elliptical, and all of the ten elliptical clauses are from participants without visual information. Out of the ten elliptical clauses, seven are this type of ellipsis.

7.1.3 Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement and Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis

Although there are not many examples, there are nevertheless some instances of types of ellipsis which omit most of the constituents and leave in only Adjunct or Complement, namely ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement (SFPC) and Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct (SFPA).

It is important to note that the elliptical utterances including Complement and Adjunct. Complement and Adjunct are both in the Residue element and their occurrence in the clause is dependent on the verb in the clause. If the verb is transitive, Complement exists in the clause, but if it is intransitive there is no Complement. In the latter case, the utterance will be recognised as Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis. Therefore, the frequency of occurrence of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis is dependent on the relative frequency of transitive and intransitive verbs. Similarly, Adjuncts, which consist of adverb phrase or prepositional phrase, are widely recognised in linguistics as not being always obligatory in the clause. Thus, it would rather reflect the right picture of occurrence of ellipsis types, if I recognise this type of elliptical clauses as clauses consisting only of adverbials.

For the present research, reconstruction of ellipted items is done by looking at the preceding text, where possible. Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis are then textual ellipsis, that is, these elements are recovered from the linguistic context. Again, as the frequency of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis is affected by the frequency of occurrence of transitive verbs, the occurrence of this type of ellipsis is specific to the sixteen dialogues chosen for this analysis.

Distribution of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Compelment/Adjunct ellipsis in different moves
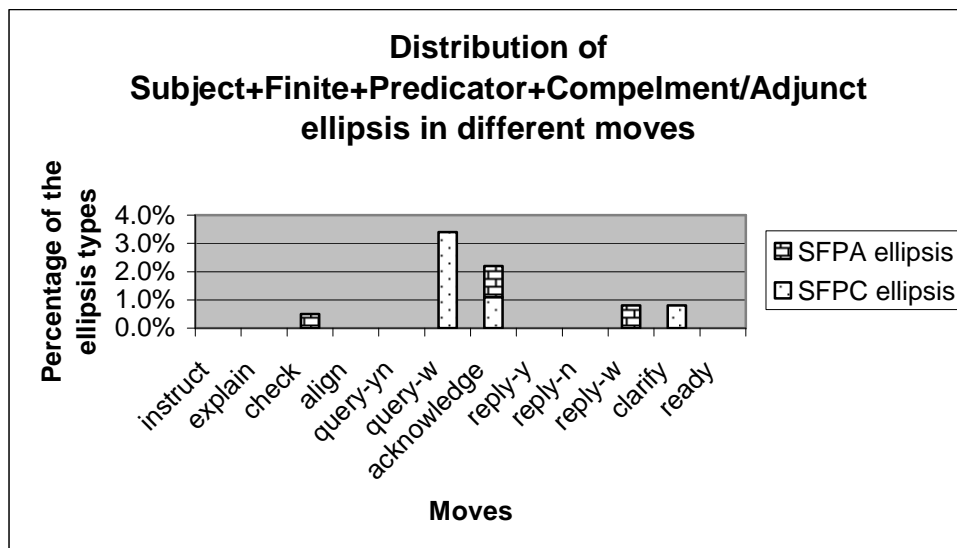
Figure 7.2 Percentage of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement/Adjunct ellipsis in different moves

	Total clauses	Subject+Finite+ Predicator+Com plement ellipsis	Percent -age	Subject+Finite+Pr edicator+Adjunct ellipsis	Percen t-age
Instruct	625	0	0%	0	0%
Explain	273	0	0%	0	0%
Check	198	0	0%	1	0.5%
Align	55	0	0%	0	0%
Query-yn	194	0	0%	0	0%
Query-w	89	3	3.4%	0	0%
Aknowled ge	90	1	1.1%	1	1.1%
Reply-y	55	0	0%	0	0%
Reply-n	16	0	0%	0	0%
Reply-w	121	0	0%	1	0.8%
Clarify	121	1	0.8%	0	0%
Ready	1	0	0%	0	0%
Total	1838	5	0.3%	3	0.2%

Table 7.2 Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement/Adjunct ellipsis in different moves

The proportion of this type of ellipsis in any of the moves is tiny. I start by discussing ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement. There are only five instances of this type of ellipsis in the sixteen dialogues: three of the [query-w] move and one each of the [acknowledge] and [clarify] moves. After Subject, Finite,

Predicator and Complement are ellipted, only an Adjunct remains in clauses. This is because this type of ellipsis is often used for asking the manner in which a route is to be drawn. Examples are found in (7.6)-(7.8):

(7.6)

Move 19 instruct draw a line ... along to your right	
	Move 20 acknowledge mmhmm
	Move 21 query-w how far?
Move 22 instruct like uh like a horizontal line	

Dialogue q2ec6

Move 21
How far (should I draw a line)?

(7.7)

Move 43 clarify but keep your fast flowing creek on your right-hand side	
	Move 44 acknowledge on my right-hand side

Dialogue q5ec5

Move 44 acknowledge
(I keep my fast flowing creek) on my right-hand side.

(7.8)

Move 72 instruct ehm ... ... well draw eh a kind of diagonal line ... ... and then turn it	
	Move 73 query-w up or down?
Move 74 clarify eh from ... right to left eh downwards	

Dialogue q4ec8

Move 73 query-w
(*Should I have it*) up or (*should I have it*) down?

Move 74 clarify
Eh (*you should have it*) from…right to left eh downwards

With regard to Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis, there are only three examples (7.9)-(7.11). Examples are found in each of the [check], [acknowledge] and [reply-w] moves.

(7.9)

Move 14.9 instruct is … go east … almost to the left of the carved stones … or sorry … to the left of the carved stones … and come up round … in a big curve round … the carved stones	
	Move 17 check round the top of it?
Move 18 reply-y uh-huh	

Dialogue q3ec7

Move 17 check
(Should I come up) round the top of it?

(7.10)

Move 42 instruct and down the right-hand side	
	Move 43 acknowledge the right-hand side

Dialogue q5nc5

Move 43 acknowledge
(I go down) the right-hand side

(7.11)

	Move 11 query-w To what point will I draw a l--?
Move 12 reply-w Eh…go along	
Move 13 query-yn You've not got the graveyard sure you've not?	
	Move 14 reply-y no
Move 15 ready Right	
Move 16 explain tell you what right there's a graveyard about an inch and a half ... to the ... ... east of the diamond mine	

Move 17 reply-w and you go along ... under the diamond mine and underneath the graveyard	
	Move 18 query-yn have you got the ravine?
Move 19 reply-n No	

<div align="right">Dialogue q7ec7</div>

Move 17 reply-w
and you go along ... under the diamond mine and (you go along) underneath the graveyard

Clauses which have such moves as [check], [acknowledge] and [reply-w] are asking and responding to questions about the manner in which the Follower should draw the route on the map. Therefore, most of the remaining constituents are adverbials which indicate the manner in which the route should be drawn, such as 'the right-hand side' or 'round the top of it'. It can be then suggested that these types of ellipsis are eliciting additional information or elaborating existing information.

To close this section, I summarise the examination of ellipsis types found only in the English dialogues. There are two points to be suggested. First, there is a correlation between what is to be talked about in elliptical questions and ellipsis types. As discussed above, with regard to Complement (object) ellipsis and Finite+Complement (object) ellipsis, the ellipted Complement is typically the landmark which is under discussion between the Giver and Follower. In contrast, Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis are found in answers and questions, relating to the manner of drawing the route.

The other point to be noted is that most of the ellipsis types which have been described so far are textual ellipsis, where the recovery of ellipted items can be achieved on the basis of constituents which have been produced in the preceding or following clauses. Ellipsis of Complement and ellipsis of Predicator+Complement omit landmarks under discussion; ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement / Adjunct leaves in the manner in which routes are to be drawn. What is going on here is asking, answering and confirming those entities. In the course of this

exchange, constituents which have already been introduced in the topic are ellipted since they can be retrieved from the preceding text. Carter and McCarthy (2006) suggest that auxiliary or modal verb and copulas remain and the lexical verb is ellipted when subjects are contrasted across clauses. This observation can be expanded into these types of ellipsis observed in the map task dialogues. Focus on polarity of the existence of a landmark and on the manner of drawing the route make a contrast across turns, which prompts ellipsis.

7.2 Ellipsis found only in Japanese

Following the examination of ellipsis forms found only in the English dialogues, I discuss two ellipsis types which are specific to the Japanese dialogues: ellipsis of Subject+Constituent and ellipsis of Finite+Predicator.

7.2.1 Subject+Complement ellipsis

Subject+Complement ellipsis has characteristic distributions among the moves. It is mainly used with the [instruct] moves, as seen in Figure 7.3 and Table 7.3.
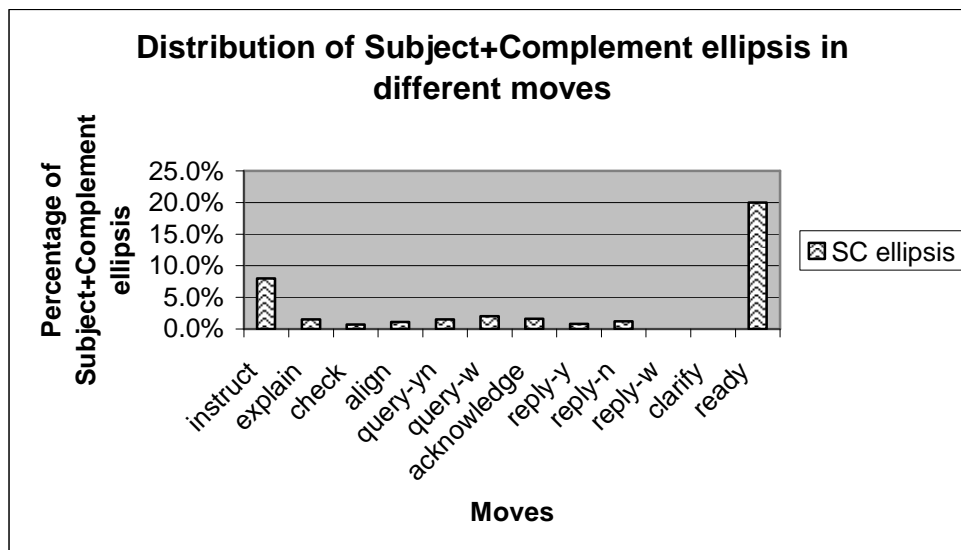
Figure 7.3 Percentage of Subject+Complement ellipsis in different moves

	Total clauses	Subject+Complementt ellipsis	Percentage
Instruct	450	36	8.0%
Explain	334	5	1.5%
Check	455	3	0.7%
Align	95	1	1.1%
Query-yn	201	3	1.5%
Query-w	99	2	2.0%
Acknowledge	304	5	1.6%
Reply-y	246	2	0.8%
Reply-n	81	1	1.2%
Reply-w	49	0	0%
Clarify	85	0	0%
Ready	5	1	20.0%
Total	2404	59	2.5%

Table 7.3 Subject+Complement ellipsis in different moves

As Figure 7.3 illustrates, it appears that the [ready] move favours this type of ellipsis most; in fact, it appears to be most frequent in the [ready] moves (20%) if we look at the percentage of occurrence of Subject+Complement ellipsis in the different moves. However, there is only one instance of ellipsis in the [ready] move. Also, as this move is itself very infrequent, with only 5 clauses in all the Japanese dialogues, we cannot draw many firm conclusions from this sparse data. The following is an example of Subject+Complement ellipsis with the [ready] move.

(7.12)

Move 1 ready Ja hajime ma*su well start HON(T) *'Well, (we) start (the task).'*	

	Move 2 acknowledge
	*Hai
	  right
	  'Right.'

Dialogue j3n7

Move 1 ready
*Ja   hajime ma*su*
well start   HON(T)
'Well, (*we*) start (*the task*).'

In (7.12) we see the very beginning of a dialogue, where the Giver declares that they are going to perform the task. The verb *hajimeru* 'start' in Move 1 is a transitive verb. Although for some Japanese verbs it is not straightforward to distinguish

223

whether they are transitive or intransitive, this verb *hajimeru* is clearly a transitive verb since there is an equivalent intransitive verb, *haji<u>maru</u>* 'start'.[52]

The main point to note here is that this type of ellipsis is favoured with the [instruct] moves. Its use is attributable to specific expressions which are often used for asking a favour or politely asking somebody to take an action. I am then going to focus the discussion on this type of ellipsis with the [instruct] move for the moment.

Since the ellipted constituents of these particular expressions have already been mentioned in chapter 5 (section 5.2.2), the focus here is restricted to their function in the dialogue. In the map task dialogues there are two kinds of particular expressions which function in giving instructions. The following excerpts, (7.13) and (7.14), include examples of them:

(7.13)

Move 26 instruct *Soko ni muka…tte+* there to towards '(*I*) want (*you*) to go towards there. '	
	Move 27 acknowledge *+un* right 'Right.'
i…tte hoshii n da keredo*mo go want NMLS COP FP_W	
	Move 28 query-w **doo ya…tte* how 'How?'

Dialogue j5n5

Move 26 instruct
Soko ni muka…tte+<…> i…tte   hoshii n   da   keredo*mo
there to towards   go   want   NMLS COP FP_W
 '(*I*) want (*you*) to go towards there.'

As was mentioned in chapter 5, Subject and Complement (indirect object) are ellipted in this sentence structure. Ellipsis of these two constituents has the effect of making unclear the identity of the agent of the verb, *hoshii* 'want' and also the identity of the one whom the speaker wants to 'go towards there'. Also, the final particle, *keredomo*, which serves to makes the expression hedging, makes the speaker's wish more indirect.

The other form includes the verb *morau* 'receive,' which indicates that the outcome of an action by the interlocutors will be to the speaker's benefit.

(7.14)

Move 343 instruct *Daka soko made…* then that point to 'Then, if (*I*) have (*you*) jump up to that point.' *gun-nu-tte agatte morau to* jump.up-QUOT go.up receive if	
	Move 344 instruct *Ne chotto matte <…> {laughter}* uh a.bit hang.on 'Uh, hang on.'

Dialogue j5e5

Move 343 instruct
Daka soko made… gun-nu-tte agatte morau to
then there to jump.up-QUOT go.up receive if
'Then, if (*I*) have a favour of (*you*) to jump up there.'

As a motive for this way of giving instructions, namely asking a favour, it would be possible to speculate that the Giver receives psychological benefit when the Follower draws a route properly, along with not wanting to sound like giving commands, in the sense that completing a task successfully makes the participants feel satisfied. Hashimoto (2001) points out the following principle regarding the communication rule in Japanese, based on the Tact maxim, one of the politeness maxims (Leech 1983)[53]:

---

[53] Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle comprises the following six maxims:
- *Tact maxim*: minimise cost to other; [maximise benefit to other]

> Emphasise the obligation you incur: others' favour should be verbalised as much as possible   (Hashimoto 2001, my translation)

Following this principle, it could be pointed out that the reason why this type of expression is used in the map task dialogues is that although only the Giver possesses the knowledge of how the route should be drawn, this does not allow the Giver to give the Follower a command; in other words, both the Giver and the Follower are in an equal position as participants in the map task, as pointed out before. On the other hand, this type of expression which includes verbs such as *hoshii* 'want' and *morau* 'receive' involve the speaker's benefit in their meaning. Therefore, the use of expressions which include the speaker's wish or emphasise his/her benefit could give the impression that the Giver is asking for cooperation from the Follower for the Giver's own sake. This is because giving information properly is the Giver's duty in the task, and success in accomplishing the duty relies on the Follower's drawing a correct route. In other words, to play the Giver's role properly, the cooperation of the Follower in drawing the route correctly is called for. It then seems possible to suggest that the Giver tries to perform the task with the Follower in a cooperative mood by using those expressions.

7.2.2 Finite+Predicator ellipsis

The other type of ellipsis which is only found in Japanese is ellipsis of Finite and Predicator, whose distribution across move types is presented in Figure 7.4 and Table 7.4.

- *Generosity maxim* : minimise benefit to self; [maximise cost to self]
- *Approbation maxim* : minimise dispraise of other; [maximise praise of other]
- *Modesty maxim* : minimise praise of self; [maximise dispraise of self]
- *Agreement maxim*: minimise disagreement between self and other; [maximise agreement between self and other]
- *Sympathy maxim*: minimise antipathy between self and other; [maximise sympathy between self and other]
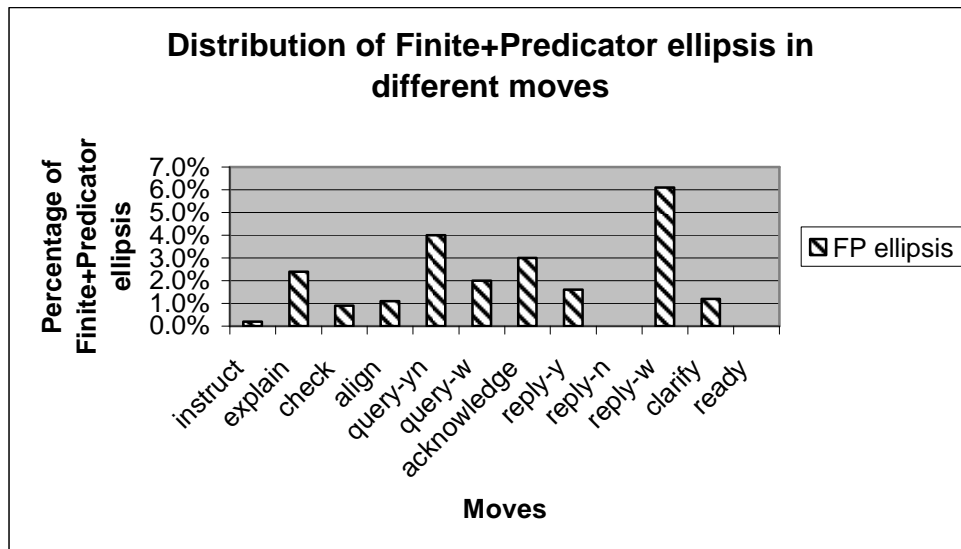
Figure 7.4 Percentage of Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves

	Total clauses	*Finite+Predicator ellipsis*	**Percentage**
Instruct	450	1	0.2%
Explain	334	8	2.4%
Check	455	4	0.9%
Align	95	1	1.1%
Query-yn	201	8	4.0%
Query-w	99	2	2.0%
Acknowledge	304	9	3.0%
Reply-y	246	4	1.6%
Reply-n	81	0	0%
Reply-w	49	3	6.1%
Clarify	85	1	1.2%
Ready	5	0	0%
Total	2404	41	1.7%

Table 7.4 Finite+Predicator ellipsis in different moves

It can be pointed out first that this type of ellipsis includes an omission of the verb *aru* 'there is/exists'. As Figure 7.4 indicates, this type of ellipsis is preferred most in the [reply-w] move, which serves as 'any reply to any type of query which doesn't simply mean "yes" or "no"' (Carletta et al. 1996: 10). Examples are found in (7.15) and (7.16). The verb *aru* 'there is/exists' which is found around ellipsis of Finite+Predicator is boxed.

(7.15)

Move 235 query-yn *Toori-mashi-ta ra e...to* pass.through-HON(T)-PERF once well 'Once (*you*)'ve past through, well, then, is there anything at the lower left of this "cattle stockade"?' *soshitara kono<…>bokujoo-no kakoi-* then this ranch-GEN stockade *no hidarishita-ni nanika* GEN lower.left-LOC anything *ari masu ka* there.is HON(T) FP$_i$	
	Move 236 reply-y *Ari masu ne* there.is HON(T) FP$_c$ 'There is (something).'
Move 237 query-w *Nani-ga ari masu ka* what-NOM there.is HON(T) FP$_i$ 'What is there?'	
	Move 238 reply-w *Hiagatta... kawa* dry.up-PERF river '(There is) "parched river bed"'.
Move 239 acknowledge *Hiagatta a son-na mono-ga* parched oh such thing-NOM 'Parched…oh, there is such a thing.' *a-t-ta no ka* there.is-PERF NMLS FP$_c$	

Dialogue j3e7

Move 238 reply-w
Hiagatta...   kawa
dry.up-PERF   river
'(There is) Parched river bed. (Parched river bed (exists).)'

To state the existence of an entity in Japanese, the verb *aru* 'there is/exists' is used. In the above excerpt, there is a series of uses of the verb *aru* (Move 235-237) before Move 238. Since Move 237, which is the question that Move 238 replies to, includes this verb, it will be economical not to verbalise it in the following answer.

Thus, the main use of this type of ellipsis in the map task dialogues is to state whether the participant has got the landmark in question on the map, i.e. to make the existence of the landmark clear.

Because this type of ellipsis is used to talk about whether the landmark is on the map or not, it is also used when asking about the existence of the landmarks in the [query-yn] move. It is the next most common move in which Finite+Predicator ellipsis occurs.

(7.16)

Move 106 instruct *Sorede gu...tto orite...t-ta-ra* and.then vigorously go.down-PERF-if 'Then, if (*you*) go down vigorously,'	
Move 107 query-yn *To kibori-no hashira... aru* well carved-GEN wooden pole there.is 'Well, is there "carved wooden pole"?'	
	Move 108 reply-n *Doko-ni mo nai* anywhere-LOC E there.is-NEG 'There is not ("carved wooden pole") anywhere at all.'
Move 109 query-yn *To jooheki-no aru ma*chi* well walled-GEN there.is city 'Well, (is there) "walled city"?'	
	Move 110 reply-y *A aru hidari-no hoo-ni* oh there.is left-GEN direction-LOC 'Oh, there is ("walled city") in the left.'

Dialogue j5e5

In this excerpt the participants are also checking landmarks on their maps. First, the Giver asks about the carved wooden pole (Move 107) in the full form, which is an object which the Follower does not have on the map (Move 108). This exchange is followed by another question by the Giver (Move 109), which is about *jooheki no aru machi* 'walled city'. This question is realised in the form of an elliptical clause, which omits Finite and Predicator, and only the landmark whose existence is being queried remains, i.e. *jooheki no aru machi* 'walled city'. Since the structure for

229

asking about the existence of the landmark is introduced in Move 107, the

reconstructed form of the elliptical clause in Move 109 will be as follows:

Move 109 query-yn
To   jooheki-no   aru   ma*chi   (aru)
well walled-GEN there.is city   (there.is)
'Well, (is there) "walled city"?'

Besides asking whether the partner has landmarks which the speaker has on the map,

this type of ellipsis is also used for explaining that the speaker has a landmark on

his/her own map, as seen in (7.17).

(7.17)

	Move 302 query-yn
	Gi*nkoo-no ma shita-ni silver.mine-GEN right below-LOC 'Right below the "silver mine", is there "banana tree"?' *banan- no ki aru* banana-GEN tree there.is

Move 303 ready
*Shi…tara
  then
  'Then…'	

Move 304 reply-y *Ginkoo-no ma shita un.* silver.mine-GEN right below yes 'Right below "silver mine", yes.'	
	Move 305 explain *A ja sore wa ate n da* then that TOP correct NMLS COP 'Then, that is correct. The "field station" (is) upper left of the banana tree.' *muse*n chuukeijo wa banana-no ki-* radio field station TOP banana-GEN tree- *no…hidari-ue* GEN upper.left

Move 306 check
*Atteru
  correct
  '(Is it) correct?'	

Move 307 explain *A sorede chigau no ka* oh then different NMLS FPa 'Oh, then, (it's) different.'	

	Move 308 acknowledge *An* right 'Right.'
Move 309 explain *Unto ne kore wa ne musen* well FP_c this TOP FP_c radio 'Well, as for this, the "field station" (is), well, upper right of the "banana tree"'. *chuukeijo-ga banana-no ki-no* field.station-NOM banana-GEN tree-GEN	

	Move 310 acknowledge
	+Un
	  right
	  'Right.'

un migi-ue well upper.right	

<div align="right">Dialogue J4n8</div>

This excerpt includes quite a dramatic scene in dialogue j4n8: the participants notice an inconsistency over the location of the field station in relation to the location of the banana tree. After both of them have performed the task in rather a clumsy manner up to this point, the Follower finally reveals where the field station is on the map (Move 305), which sounds like an unexpected, but significant fact to the Giver (Move 307). The Giver explains in Move 309 where his/her field station is on the map without including the predicate part which expresses existence, that is, in the form of Finite+Predicator ellipsis. The contrast between 'upper-left of the banana tree' (Move 305) and 'upper-right of the banana tree' (Move 309) is made clear through the use of Finite and Predicator ellipsis by the two participants. Note that this type of ellipsis results in *taigen dome* (substantive/nominal ending) as all the examples of elliptical clauses in (7.15)-(7.17) finish with noun phrases. It can be claimed therefore that Finite+Predicator ellipsis is a result of this rhetorical strategy concerning focus and emphasis.

Thus, many examples of Finite+Predicator ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues occur when there is a question and answer sequence about the existence of a particular landmark feature on the interlocutor's map, or when there is an explanation about the location of a landmark. In contrast, the English dialogues have no example of this

type of ellipsis at all throughout the sixteen dialogues. The reason for this difference comes from the fact that in English interrogatives, Finite is separated from Predicator. When the existence of a landmark is queried in English, sentences of *Do you have? / Have you got?* are generally used in the map task dialogues, instead of the existential form *Is there?* As for *Do you have? / Have you got?*, Subject and Finite (*Do you / Have you*) are constituents which can be ellipted. The analysis in 7.1.2 also showed that Subject and Finite can remain together, ellipting Predicator and Complement in cases such as responding to questions (e.g., *Yes, I have. / No, I haven't).* In any case, Finite and Predicator are separated when ellipsis in relation to the existence of landmarks occurs. Additionally, there could be another reason for this difference in word order between the two languages. In Japanese existential sentences, the entity in question is found in the subject position, while in English it is located in the object position (e.g., *I have got a <u>trout farm</u>*). For these reasons, when the focus of the existential sentence is an entity (e.g., a landmark), it will be Finite+Predicator ellipsis which occurs in Japanese, while in English it will be Subject+Finite ellipsis.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined ellipsis types which are specific to each language. What has been found is that the specificity of ellipsis types mainly comes from two sources: the syntactic differences between English and Japanese and the formulaic ways of accomplishing particular speech acts in each language. With regard to frequency of occurrence, these types of ellipsis occur very rarely. Also the distribution across the moves is uneven: for example, Predicator+Complement ellipsis is exclusively associated with the [reply-n] move. Thus, moves associated with these types of ellipsis are limited, and once ellipsis appears in a particular move, its contribution to the move is rather significant.

Almost all the possible types of ellipsis in both languages have been presented in chapter 6 and this chapter. Based on these findings, in the next chapter I will give comparative accounts of what elliptical clauses achieve in discourse from the viewpoints of speech acts and referential chains.

Chapter 8

Discussion: some patterns of ellipsis viewed interpersonally and textually

8.0 Introduction

In the last two chapters I looked in detail at each type of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues, and gave accounts of the functions of ellipsis in these two languages made on the basis of various types of ellipsis. I revealed the distribution of elliptical clauses across the twelve moves, and provided the background to the types of ellipsis which co-occur with particular moves. In this chapter, I will first investigate the relation between ellipsis types and functions (speech acts). Whereas in the last two chapters the discussion was based on the ellipsis types (form), in this chapter I will look at ellipsis from a functional viewpoint. This will also serve as a summary of choices of elliptical forms which are available for particular speech acts; relations between elliptical forms and their functions are distilled from the analyses in the previous chapters. I will note speech acts which are coded in the eleven move types in the map task corpus annotation scheme. Although there is also the [ready] move in the annotation scheme, I leave out this move here in order to focus on the exchange of the two main key speech functions, i.e. 'giving instructions' and 'asking questions'.

I will then observe the relation between ellipsis and speakers' degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions expressed by elliptical clauses. As discussed in the genre analysis section (section 3.3, in chapter 3), the Task-performance stage is a core part of the map task dialogues. The Task-performance stage includes several substages, which in turn contain sub-substages, consisting of an exchange either of instruction-acknowledgement or of question-answer. I will focus on the three key sub-substages 'Giving instructions' 'Querying landmarks' and 'Querying instructions' to discuss possible modal effects associated with ellipsis. The description of the communicative effects is provided in terms of deontic and

233

epistemic modality, which are part of the interpersonal system of MOOD discussed in chapter 4.

In the second half of the chapter I will address another aspect of ellipsis, namely ellipsis as a marker of cohesion. As a realisation of cohesive ties, I will focus on referential chains. A great deal of work has been done on referential chains, also under the name of topic continuity, and there is widespread agreement that the realisation of referential chains not only differs cross-linguistically but is also sensitive to genre. It is well known that ellipsis is used for established topics in referential chains in text (Hinds 1982b; 1983). However, previous work on referring expressions in map task dialogues has shown that full noun phrases are frequently observed for referential chains (Yoshida 2008). I shall therefore investigate the use of ellipsis as a cohesion marker in the map task dialogues; I will examine how topic continuity is realised among the available grammatical options, i.e. full noun phrases, pronouns and ellipsis.

The aim of this chapter is to give accounts of elliptical clauses from interpersonal and cohesive viewpoints. All the discussion in this chapter is based on the analyses in the previous chapters. This chapter then serves to sum up the results of the analyses, looking in turn at the interpersonal effects of ellipsis (in terms of modality) and cohesive effects (in terms of referential chains), and will eventually discuss these two types of effects in relation to associated topics and speech acts.

8.1 Choice of forms for specific speech acts

I extensively discussed both common and language specific types of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues in the last two chapters. In this section, drawing on what has been found in chapter 6 and 7, I present a review of the choice of forms available to the English and Japanese participants in the map task dialogues, including full clauses as well as elliptical clauses. This is an investigation of the means of realising speech acts in the map task dialogues, that is, in terms of the four

Hallidayan speech acts discussed in chapter 4: 'statement', 'question', 'offer' and 'command'. In other words, the arrangement of argument will be in the direction of 'from function to form', by discussing the ellipsis types favoured in speech acts which are coded as moves in English and Japanese. By the end of the section, then, it will have become clear which forms, including both elliptical clauses and full clauses, speakers tend to use for particular speech acts in the map task dialogues in the two languages.

8.1.1 English

The following figure illustrates how each move type in the English map task dialogues is realised by the different ellipsis types, i.e. the contribution of ellipsis types in each move. The y-axis indicates the percentage of elliptical clauses in each move: the proportion of elliptical clauses to all clauses constituting that move. The bar for each move contains the various ellipsis types which were discussed in chapters 6 and 7.
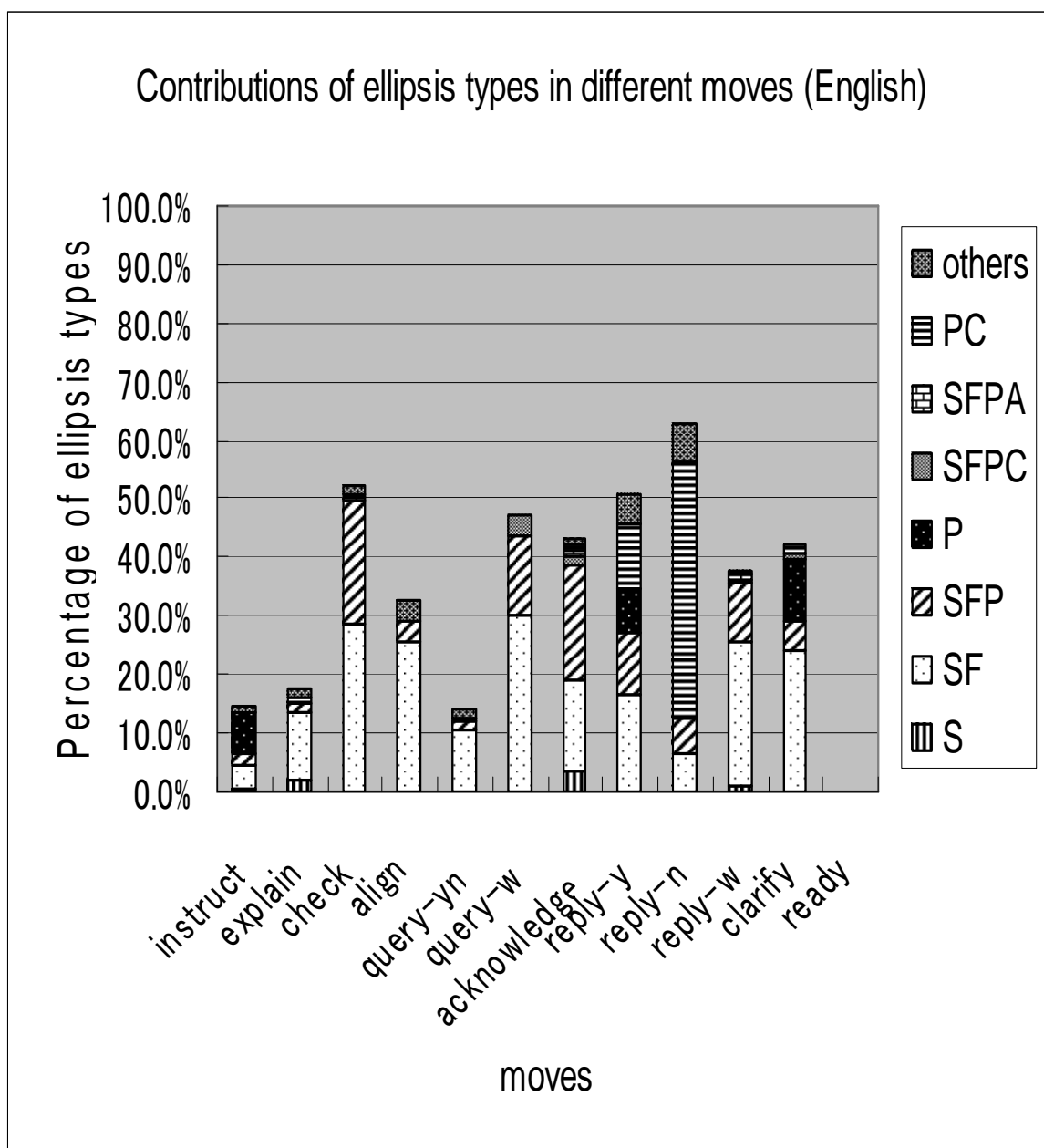
Figure 8.1 Contributions of ellipsis types in different moves (English)

The legend in the figure represents each type of ellipsis as follows:

PC	Predicator+Complement ellipsis
SFPA	Subject+Finite+Predicator+Adjunct ellipsis
SFPC	Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement ellipsis
P	Predicator ellipsis
SFP	Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis
SF	Subject+Finite ellipsis
S	Subject ellipsis

It can be seen from Figure 8.1 that the contribution of no single ellipsis type is bigger than that of full clauses in each move; in other words, the full clause is the most dominant way of realising each speech act which is coded as a different move type. For now, I will confine my attention to the distribution of each ellipsis type in different move types, leaving the full clauses as the principal realisation of those functions. Actual numbers of occurrence of ellipsis types along with the percentage are presented in Table 8.1.

	S	SF	SFP	P	SFPC	SFPA	PC	others	total
instruct	3	26	10	47	0	0	0	5	91
	0.5%	4.2%	1.6%	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	14.6%
explain	5	32	5	0	0	0	2	5	49
	1.8%	11.7%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	1.8%	17.8%
check	0	57	42	0	0	1	1	3	104
	0.0%	28.8%	21.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%	1.5%	52.5%
align	0	14	2	0	0	0	0	2	18
	1.8%	25.5%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	34.5%
query-yn	0	21	3	0	0	0	1	3	28
	0.0%	10.8%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.5%	14.3%
query-w	0	27	12	0	3	0	0	0	42
	0.0%	30.3%	13.5%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	47.2%
acknowled	3	13	18	0	1	1	1	1	38
	3.3%	15.6%	21.1%	0.0%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	44.4%
reply-y	0	9	6	4	0	0	6	3	28
	0.0%	16.4%	10.9%	7.3%	0.0%	0.0%	10.9%	3.6%	49.1%
reply-n	0	1	1	0	0	0	7	1	10
	0.0%	6.3%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	43.8%	6.3%	62.7%
reply-w	1	30	12	1	0	1	0	1	46
	0.8%	24.8%	9.9%	0.8%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.8%	37.9%
clarify	0	29	6	13	1	0	2	0	51
	0.0%	24.0%	5.0%	10.7%	0.8%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	42.2%
ready	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
total	12	260	117	65	5	3	20	24	506
	0.7%	14.1%	6.2%	3.5%	0.3%	0.2%	1.1%	1.3%	27.6%

Table 8.1 Ellipsis types and their contribution across moves (English)

In the leftmost column of Table 8.1 are the twelve move types and the top row lists the observed ellipsis types: S for Subject ellipsis, SF for Subject+Finite ellipsis and so on. The table indicates actual numbers of occurrence of elliptical clauses with each ellipsis type and their proportion (percentage) out of all the clauses that

constitute the move in question. For instance, the number of elliptical clauses expressing the [instruct] move is 91, which accounts for 14.6% of all the clauses expressing the move [instruct]. Out of the 91 clauses of the [instruct] move, Subject ellipsis is observed 3 times, which accounts for 0.5% of all the clauses expressing the [instruct] move. There is no instance of the [ready] move found with elliptical clauses in any of the sixteen dialogues.

As Figure 8.1 and Table 8.1 show, there is a dominant ellipsis type in most moves, which is Subject+Finite ellipsis. In the [explain], [check], [align], [query-yn], [query-w], [reply-w] and [clarify] moves, this type of ellipsis occupies over half of the total occurrence of elliptical clauses. Among these moves, the [check] and [query-w] moves show the most ellipsis of this type (i.e. 28.8% and 30.3% of all the clauses which are associated with the [check] and [query-w] moves respectively are realised in the form of Subject+Finite ellipsis), which is followed by the move [align] (25.5% of all the clauses associated with the move [align]), while the move [instruct] has the least Subject+Finite ellipsis (4.2% of all the clauses associated with the move [instruct]). The [explain], [query-yn] and [reply-n] moves also have less Subject+Finite ellipsis (11.7%, 10.8% and 6.3% of all the clauses associated with each move respectively), compared with the others.

Based on the above results, Table 8.2 indicates the major ellipsis types which are found in each type of initiating move, together with speech acts that are associated with the moves. Recall that in chapter 3 it was recognised that 'Querying landmarks' and 'Giving instructions' are the main sub-substages in the Task-performance stage.[54] It can be deduced, then, that the Hallidayan 'statement' and 'question' speech acts are the only initiating speech acts since the remaining acts, in the Hallidayan speech role and commodities system introduced in chapter 4[55] (i.e. 'offer'

---

[54] 'Query landmarks' and 'Giving instructions' are the names of sub-substages where the Hallidayan speech acts, that is, 'question' and 'statement', are observed, which are associated with the equivalent move types in the map task annotation scheme, such as the [query-yn] and [instruct] moves respectively.

[55] As has been stated repeatedly, I do not count the move [instruct] as a command speech act. This is because the instruction followers cannot reject the instruction since they have agreed to perform the task, unlike in 'command', which can be refused in the responding function. The move [instruct] is instead categorised into a 'statement' as what the instruction givers does is to

and 'command'), are not observed in the map task dialogues. In Table 8.2 the ellipsis types in each move are arranged in decreasing order of frequency. Ellipsis types whose contribution is over 50% of all the elliptical clauses found in each move type are shown in bold.

Speech acts	Moves	Ellipsis types (elements ellipted)
Statement	[instruct]	**Predicator**
		Subject+Finite
	[explain]	**Subject+Finite**
		Subject
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
Question	[check]	**Subject+Finite**
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
	[align]	**Subject+Finite**
		Subject
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
	[query-yn]	**Subject+Finite**
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
	[query-w]	**Subject+Finite**
		Subject+Finite+Predicator

Table 8.2 Ellipsis types associated with initiating moves and speech acts (English)

give information for the followers to draw a route. Therefore, in the map task dialogues only statements and questions are identified as initiating speech acts.

Table 8.3 indicates the relations between responding moves and ellipsis types. Remember that in all moves full clauses are more frequent than any type of ellipsis.

Initiating speech acts	**Responding part**		
	Speech acts	*Moves*	*Ellipsis types (elements ellipted)*
Statement	Acknowledge	[acknowledge]	Subject+Finite+Predicator
			Subject+Finite
			Subject
Question	Answer	[reply-y]	Subject+Finite
			Subject+Finite+Predicator, Predicator+Complement
		[reply-n]	**Predicator+Complement**
			Subject+Finite
		[reply-w]	**Subject+Finite**
			Subject+Finite+Predicator
		[clarify]	**Subject+Finite**
			Predicator

Table 8.3 Ellipsis types associated with responding moves and speech acts (English)

From these two tables, the following points emerge. First, as stated above, Subject+Finite ellipsis is the dominant type of ellipsis. Subject+Finite is a Mood element in Hallidayan terms; it is responsible for determining the mood of the clause: declarative, interrogative or imperative. It is, then, interesting that in all the speech acts in which questions are asked (i.e. the [check], [align], [query-yn] and [query-w] moves), Subject and Finite, which mark the mood of the clause as interrogative, are the elements most frequently ellipted. Looking at the actual examples of ellipsis of Subject+Finite with these moves in section 6.1.3.1 in chapter 6, it is observed that in many examples of this type of ellipsis, Subjects which are ellipted are the third person pronouns, as seen in (8.1) and (8.2).

(8.1)

Move 91 instruct just go s-- ... ehm to the left the bandit territory ... go north ... ... until you get to eh just ... about level to where the top of his ... the tree is	
Move 92 explain and that's the finish	
	Move 93 query-w what tree?
Move 94 clarify the tree in the bandit territory	
	Move 95 check the cactus?
Move 96 reply-y uh-huh	

<div align="right">Dialogue q3nc7</div>

The clauses in Move 93, 94 and 95 will be reconstructed as:

Move 93 query-w
What tree *(is it)*?
Move 16 clarify
(It is) the tree in the bandit territory
Move 95 check
(Is it) the cactus?

(8.2)

Move 105 instruct and down on the left-hand side of it	
	Move 106 acknowledge mmhmm
Move 107 instruct for about twenty centimetres	
	Move 108 acknowledge all right
	Move 109 check so a good bit down then?
Move 110 reply-y Yeah	

<div align="right">Dialogue q8nc8</div>

The clauses in Move 109 will be reconstructed as:

Move 109 check
So (*is it*) a good bit down then?

As the move types indicate, this type of ellipsis is used when task participants ask about landmarks or manners of drawing a route, that is, the 'question' speech act in Halliday's system. Recall that it is claimed that there are associations between subject and types of speech act; if the clause is 'question' or 'command', the unmarked Subject will be the second person 'you', as seen in (8.3) and (8.4):

(8.3) (Have you) Seen Fred? - No, I haven't.
(8.4) (Will you) play us a tune? - Shall I?

<div align="right">(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 152)</div>

In the map task dialogue, however, the entity of ellipted Subject is different from the one which is assumed to be the common pattern; the ellipted Subject is in many cases the third person pronoun *it* or the demonstrative proform *that*. As the excerpts (8.1) and (8.2) show, ellipted Subjects in Subject+Finite ellipsis are either (i) landmarks whose existence is under discussion or (ii) the way of drawing a route on the map which has been given in the preceding utterance, that is, the Giver's instruction. As for the latter, in these cases *it* has a preceding proposition as antecedent in a clause or clauses. Also, the use of *that* in this way is taken as a deictic use 'in reference to properties of such objects or to actions taking place or other abstract features of the situation of utterance' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1505). In fact, however, it is still a controversial issue whether the third person pronoun *it* and demonstrative *that* which take over the proposition that is expressed elsewhere in the text is discourse deixis or anaphora, as the distinction between them is not clear-cut all the time (Levinson 1983; Lyons 1977).[56] The point about this use of *it* and *that* in relation to ellipsis is that they refer to the instruction which has been given and obviously the wording of the instruction utterance cannot be fitted into the slot of ellipted items in

---

[56] Lyons uses the term 'textual deixis' for expressions which refer to a preceding linguistic form, admitting '(T)extual deixis is frequently confused with anaphora' (Lyons 1977: 668). He points out that this is due to 'the traditional formulation of the notion of pronominal reference…and the common failure to distinguish clearly between linguistic and non-linguistic entities' (ibid.). *That* in the following example does not seem either anaphoric or deictic, Lyons (1977) terms this usage 'impure textual deixis'.
A: I've never seen him.
B: *That*'s a lie.
The pronoun *that* refers neither to the text-sentence by A nor to the referent of any expression in it. This use of *that* falls somewhere between anaphora and deixis.

the clause. This is especially the case when the instruction is given in a form such as *I want you to come down to…two thirds of the way. – Is that ... two thirds beneath banana tree or two thirds up?* (dialogue q4ec8). For the present research, I will assume that ellipsis of *it* and *that* which take over the preceding proposition is situational ellipsis, on the ground that situational ellipsis is recognised if the ellipsis does not satisfy the criteria 'the missing expression is recoverable from the neighbouring text' or 'the missing expression is an exact copy of the antecedent' (Quirk et al. 1985: 888).

The following excerpt (8.5) shows an example of the way in which the third person pronoun *it* is used in a map task dialogue to that end:

(8.5)

Move 99 instruct if you move along and round the top of that	
	Move 100 acknowledge right okay
	Move 101 check so is *it* straight across?
Move 102 reply-y mmhmm	

Dialogue q8nc8

It in Move 101 refers to the instruction which is presented in Move 99. This way of realising the [check] move is frequently observed in the map task dialogues. This could be because at the point of Move 101 what is crucial is the manner in which the route is drawn since the agent of drawing a route has been established from the context-of-situation as well as the instruction in Move 99 (*If you move along*…). This results in a sentence structure with the use of the third person pronoun *it* or demonstrative pronoun *that,* whereby background information about the agent and so on is packed,[57] as efficiency in an exchange of information is highly valued in the map task dialogues. Thus, the use of the third person pronoun *it* and the demonstrative *that* to refer to the preceding instruction could be considered as the

---

[57] This is called "information packaging" (Vallduvâi 1992).

reason why the third person pronouns are reconstructed for ellipted Subjects, instead of the second person pronouns (which are a frequent candidate for ellipted Subjects in other types of discourse in the map task dialogues). And it is speculated that this is where ellipsis in the map task dialogues is different from other genres, such as every day conversation.[58]

Secondly, the analysis in chapter 6 revealed that with regard to Subject+Finite ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis, which are the two most common types of ellipsis in the English dialogues, most of the time the remaining constituent is an Adjunct. Adjuncts observed in the map task dialogues are adverbial phrases, namely, prepositional phrases or adverbs. They are found when location of a specific landmark or a manner of drawing a route is being talked about, e.g., 'just below it?' (Move 15 in dialogue q4nc8) and 'and then across?' (Move 92 in dialogue q2nc6). Recall that map task dialogues are quite transactional as the task consists mainly of exchanging information. Considering this nature of the task, the location of a landmark and the way of drawing a route are key information in the dialogues. The utterances including these types of ellipsis, then, only include the crucial information on each occasion, whether it is giving information, asking for clarification or answering questions. The effect of this type of ellipsis is quite efficient way of performing a task, as the ellipsis creates contrast or effectively corrects information by ellipting non-crucial information, as will be discussed later in this chapter (section 8.2.2).

Finally, Predicator+Complement ellipsis is particularly common in the [reply-y] and [reply-n] moves, especially, in the [reply-n] move. Among these two moves, the [reply-y] move has relatively more variety of ellipsis as providing positive answers; as Figure 8.1 and Table 8.1 indicate, clauses with Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis, Predicator ellipsis and Predicator+Complement ellipsis express the [reply-y] move. It can be presumed that this is because the [reply-n] moves are mainly used in answer

---

[58] Halliday and Matthiessen suggest that the way the listener supplies the ellipted Subject is based on the basic principle of all linguistic interaction – 'the principle that what the speaker says makes sense in the context in which he is saying it' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 153). For instance, the listener supplies 'you' as Subject for *Like an orange?* (for *Would you like an orange?*), interpreting the clause as an offer.

to questions asking about the existence of a landmark; in many cases, the information which the elliptical clauses in the [reply-n] move is no more than polarity (i.e. negativeness). In contrast, the [reply-y] moves include not only clauses of the *yes, I do / no, I don't* type, but also various forms such as adverbial phrases (e.g., *due east* (Move 25; dialogue q3ec7)) to indicate positive polarity. Positive answers are provided not only to questions about the existence of a landmark but also for confirmations regarding instructions about the manner of drawing a route, where the speaker most of the time provides positive answers. And these answers consist of information whose value is more than positive polarity.

8.1.2 Japanese

I move on to distribution of ellipsis types across move types in the Japanese dialogues. Figure 8.2 indicates how each move favours the use of elliptical clauses, and the contribution of the several types of ellipsis to the total of elliptical clauses in different moves. The format is the same as Figure 8.1 for English dialogues, apart from the addition of 'SC' and 'FP' in the legend, which represent Subject+Complement ellipsis and Finite+Predicator ellipsis respectively. Each type of ellipsis observed in the moves has been extensively discussed in chapters 6 and 7.
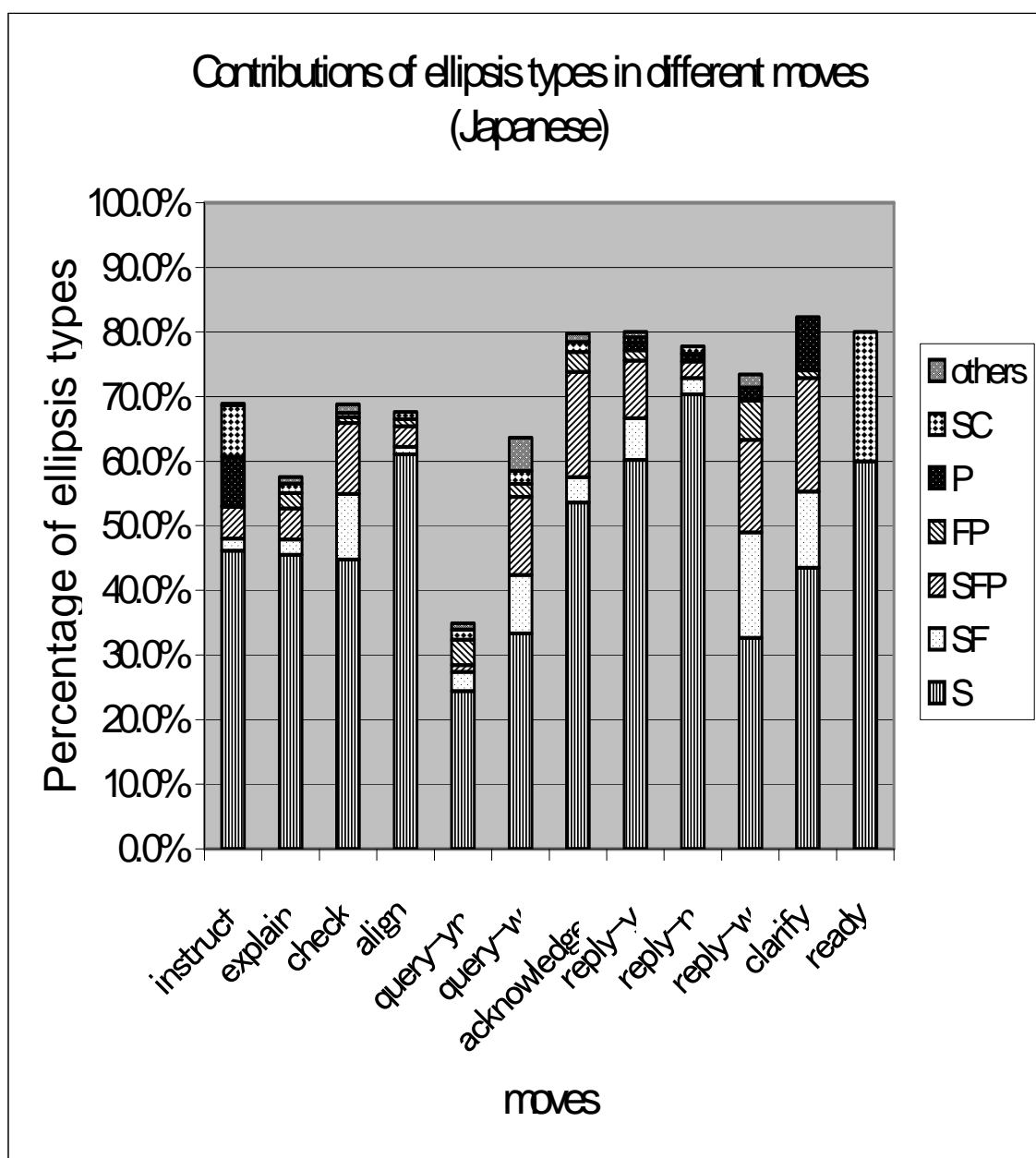
Figure 8.2 Contributions of ellipsis types in different moves (Japanese)

Unlike the English dialogues, most of the time, full clauses are not the speaker's first choice of the form to realise the speech acts which are represented by the move types. Only in the [query-yn] moves are full clauses used more frequently than elliptical clauses. In the other moves, Subject ellipsis is the dominant ellipsis type to realise those speech acts. The actual numbers of occurrence of ellipsis types and their percentage in each clause are given in Table 8.4 below. The format of Table 8.4 is the same as Table 8.1 for English elliptical clauses.

	S	SF	SFP	FP	P	SC	others	**total**
instruct	208	8	22	1	34	36	1	310
	46.2%	1.8%	4.9%	0.2%	7.6%	8.0%	0.2%	68.9%
explain	152	8	16	8	0	5	3	192
	45.5%	2.4%	4.8%	2.4%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%	57.5%
check	204	46	50	4	0	3	6	313
	44.8%	10.1%	11.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.7%	1.3%	68.8%
align	58	1	3	1	0	1	0	64
	61.1%	1.1%	3.2%	1.1%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	67.6%
query-yn	49	6	2	8	0	3	2	70
	24.4%	3.0%	1.0%	4.0%	0.0%	1.5%	1.0%	34.9%
query-w	33	9	12	2	0	2	5	63
	33.3%	9.1%	12.1%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	5.1%	63.6%
acknowled	163	12	50	9	0	5	4	243
	53.6%	3.9%	16.4%	3.0%	0.0%	1.6%	1.3%	79.8%
reply-y	148	16	22	4	3	2	2	197
	60.2%	6.5%	8.9%	1.6%	1.2%	0.8%	0.8%	80.0%
reply-n	57	2	2	0	1	1	0	63
	70.4%	2.5%	2.5%	0.0%	1.2%	1.2%	0.0%	77.8%
reply-w	16	8	7	3	1	0	1	36
	32.7%	16.3%	14.3%	6.1%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	73.4%
clarify	37	10	15	1	7	0	0	70
	43.5%	11.8%	17.6%	1.2%	8.2%	0.0%	0.0%	82.3%
ready	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%
total	1128	126	201	41	46	59	24	1625
	46.9%	5.2%	8.4%	1.7%	1.9%	2.5%	1.0%	67.6%

Table 8.4 Ellipsis types and their distribution across moves (Japanese)

From Figure 8.2, it is clear that Subject ellipsis is an exceedingly dominant type of ellipsis across the move types in the Japanese map task dialogues. This is not a surprise, since Subject ellipsis is the 'default' in Japanese utterances.[59] The [align], [reply-y], [reply-n] and [ready] moves especially show a high level of Subject ellipsis. In contrast, Subject ellipsis in the [query-w] and [reply-w] moves is not frequent: the amount of Subject ellipsis in these moves are about half and less than half of the total occurrences of elliptical clauses respectively. Something to note is that the lowest use of ellipsis is in the [query-yn] move, which is also the case with the English dialogues. The [query-yn] moves have an explicit Subject most frequently of all the move types. This seems to be related to the fact that this move deals with the

---

[59] As discussed in 5.2.2, Martin cites the report by the National Language Research Institute, which states that 74% of the subjects in conversation discourse are ellipted (Martin 1975: 185).

existence of a landmark, which is located in the subject position in clauses in the Japanese existential sentence structure. Speakers need to be explicit about which landmark feature they are talking about, which results in less use of Subject ellipsis. Additionally, since participants are talking about the landmark feature, it is a topic at this part of dialogue, as exemplified in (8.6):

(8.6)

Move 12 query-yn *Migi ni maga*...*tte* right towards turn 'Turning right'	

	Move 13 acknowledge
	*Hai
	  right
	   'Right.'

Bochi wa⋯*ari masu*⋯ *ka* graveyard TOP there.is HON(T) FP_i 'Is there "graveyard"?'	
	Move 14 reply-n *Nai desu** there.is-NEG HON(T) 'There is not ("grave yard")'.

Dialogue j3n7

In Move 12, the Giver is asking about whether the Follower has a landmark, the graveyard, on the map. *Bochi* 'graveyard' is a topic, which is found in the subject position in the clause and later ellipted in Move 14. Thus, landmarks as an explicit topic are observed in the subject position in Japanese existential sentences. And this can be the reason for less use of Subject ellipsis. I will discuss further the way in which landmarks are referred to in the map task dialogues and how ellipsis contributes to the landmark topic in section 8.3 of this chapter.

The following tables illustrate the relation between moves and ellipsis types. Table 8.5 shows initiating moves; Table 8.6 responding moves. Note the difference in the tables relative to the English data shown in the previous section. With most of the moves in the Japanese dialogues, Subject ellipsis is the first choice for realising the various functions, apart from the [query-yn] and [query-w] moves, where full clauses

are the first choice for speakers. Ellipsis types in bold are theose whose contribution accounts for more than half of all the elliptical clauses in each move.

Speech acst	Moves	Ellipsis types (elements ellipted)
Statement	[instruct]	**Subject**
		Subject+Complement
		Predicator
	[explain]	**Subject**
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
		Subject+Finite
		Finite+Predicator
Question	[check]	**Subject**
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
		Subject+Finite
	[align]	**Subject**
	[query-yn]	Full clause
		Subject
		Finite+Predicator
		Subject+Finite
	[query-w]	Full clause
		Subject
		Subject+Finite+Predicator
		Subject+Finite

Table 8.5 Ellipsis types associated with initiating moves and speech acts (Japanese)

Initiating speech acts	Responding part		
	Speech acts	Moves	Ellipsis types (elements ellipted)
Statement	Acknowledge	[acknowledge]	**Subject**
			Subject+Finite+Predicator
Question	Answer	[reply-y]	**Subject**
			Subject+Finite+Predicator
			Subject+Finite
		[reply-n]	**Subject**
		[reply-w]	Subject
			Subject+Finite
			Subject+Finite+Predicator
		[clarify]	Subject
			Subject+Finite+Predicator
			Subject+Finite

Table 8.6 Ellipsis types associated with responding moves and speech acts (Japanese)

As seen in the English dialogues, Subject+Finite ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis are prevalent in most of the moves. The types of ellipsis which are observed in each move, including these two types of ellipsis, are more or less the same across moves. Subject+Complement ellipsis in the [instruct] move stands out as different. The occurrence of this type of ellipsis results from the use of a particular sentence type associated with asking a favour, as discussed in section 7.2.1 in chapter 7.

8.1.3 Comparative account

The association between ellipsis types and speech acts in each language is summed up in Table 8.7. (The abbreviation is the same as in the legend for Figure 8.1 in section 8.1.1.)

	Move types	Ellipsis types	
		English	**Japanese**
Statement	[instruct]	P	S
Question	[check]	SF	S, SFP, SF
	[align]	SF	S
	[query-yn]	SF	S, FP
	[query-w]	SF	S,SFP

Table 8.7 Association of speech acts and ellipsis types in English and Japanese

As mentioned repeatedly, the most prevalent types of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues are ellipsis of Subject and Finite and of Subject respectively. In order to find more specific explanations for these types of ellipsis, I will put aside Subject ellipsis for now, and start by giving comparative accounts of the association by discussing the prevalent ellipsis type in the English dialogues, that is, Subject+Finite ellipsis.

In section 8.1.1, I showed that the third person pronoun *it* and the demonstrative proform *that* can be reconstructed as ellipted Subjects in that type of ellipsis; the Subjects commonly ellipted in Subject+Finite ellipsis in my data are *it* and *that*.

Subject+Finite ellipsis is frequently used in the 'Querying instructions' sub-substage in the Task-performance stage, which is associated with the moves [check] and [query-w]. When the information about how to draw a route is sought in the 'Querying instructions' sub-substage, the discourse topic is a route. When the topic is realised as an ellipted Subject in elliptical clauses, it is a two-step process. Recall that the 'asking questions about instructions' follows the 'giving instructions'. The former speech act is asking for more information about the instruction which has been given in the latter speech act, and at this point the content of the instruction can be treated as background information, and represented by the third person pronoun *it* or the demonstrative proform *that* as seen in (8.7):

(8.7)

Move 128 instruct so ehm ... I want you to come down to ... two thirds of the way ... between ... eh rock fall and banana tree ... have	
	Move 129 check is <u>that</u> ... two thirds beneath banana tree or two thirds up?
Move 130 clarify two t-- eh that's two third beneath banana tree	
	Move 131 acknowledge right

Dialogue q4ec8

The demonstrative proform *that* in Move 129 takes over the content of the instruction which has been presented in Move 128. The third person *it* and the demonstrative proform *that* refer to the preceding clause in the [instruct] move containing the overt first or second person pronouns, as seen in section 8.1.1. As the second step, the verb *be* is frequently ellipted together with *it* and *that*. Turning now to Japanese, when the Japanese participants are talking about the manner in which the route should be drawn, Subject ellipsis occurs; the two steps which are observed in the English dialogues are not found in the Japanese dialogues. The Subject is ellipted on its own without any other constituents. Also, the identification of the ellipted Subject

is almost never explicitly revealed. Thus, different linguistic forms are used in the English and Japanese dialogues to refer to the route to be drawn by the participants.

Apart from the different use of pronouns in the two languages regarding choosing the form of the Subject for clauses with the speech act of asking questions about instructions, syntactic differences between the two languages are partly responsible for the different distribution of ellipsis types in that speech act. Syntactically, it is not very common for English clauses to ellipt only the Subject, although this does occur in restricted conditions. Instead of ellipting only Subject, Subject and Finite are usually ellipted together (Halliday and Hasan 1976). In contrast, Japanese does allow only the Subject to be ellipted. In an English question, because of subject-auxiliary inversion, the Subject is not the first element in the clause, but is preceded by the Finite element. In contrast, there is no such phenomenon in Japanese. Given that what is really happening in the dialogues in both languages is ellipsis of the initial part of the clause, up to and including the Subject, in English this will capture the Finite element as well, while in Japanese this type of ellipsis only capture the Subject. This difference in grammatical constraints (that is, subject-auxiliary inversion in English) seems to have an effect on the occurrence of different types of ellipsis for the speech act of asking questions about instructions, that is, those which are associated with the [check], [align], [query-yn] and [query-w] moves. When the Giver and Follower are asking about the route, the English participants use Subject+Finite ellipsis, where the ellipted Subject is *it* or *that*, whereas the Japanese participants use ellipsis in which only Subject is omitted, and the ellipted Subject is not clearly identifiable throughout the dialogue. Thus, it seems that syntactic aspects of language determine the prevalent type of ellipsis in each language; syntactic circumstances provide the background to the distribution of the prevalent type of ellipsis in both languages.

8.2 Ellipsis in the expression of modality: interpersonal effects on speech acts

So far I have discussed the relation between types of ellipsis and move types, which showed the most prevalent types of ellipsis across almost all the move types in the English and Japanese dialogues. In response to this result, in this section, I will discuss the interpersonal effects resulting from ellipsis from the viewpoint of modality. Modality is categorised into epistemic and deontic modalities, depending on whether the speaker's mental commitment is towards the proposition ('statement' or 'question') or proposal ('offer' or 'command'), as was discussed in section 4.2 in chapter 4, under the name of 'modalization' and 'modulation' respectively in the systemic functional framework.

When a certain speech act is accomplished by a particular form, this can result in a certain interpersonal effect associated with modality, such as the way politeness is realised. And the realisation of modalities could be different when another form is used. I will focus on the way in which the types of ellipsis serve for modality expressions in the two types of speech acts in the Hallidayan system, that is, 'statement' and 'question'. More precisely, I will look at modality which is expressed by ellipsis in relation to moves for giving instructions and making queries in the map task dialogues.

Accordingly, I will focus on ellipsis in all the three sub-substages in the map task dialogues: 'Giving instructions', 'Querying landmarks' and 'Querying instructions'. For convenience, the structure of the basic Task-performance stage is reproduced as Figure 8.3.

| Pre-request (G) – Go ahead (F)

Querying landmarks | | _ | Request (G)   –   Compliance (F)

Insertion sequence
(**Querying instructions**)

Giving instructions |
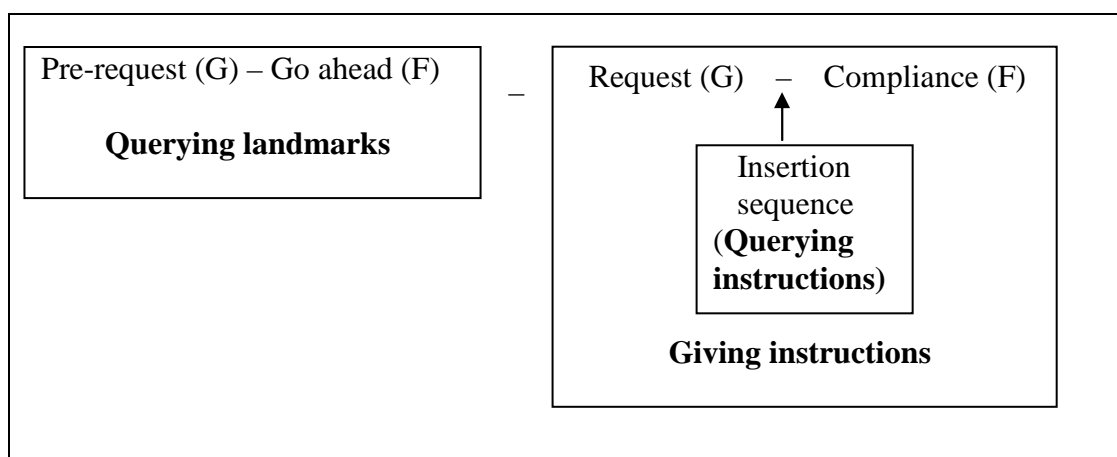
Figure 8.3 Task-performance stage and its three sub-substages

Each of the sub-substages contains either a 'statement' or 'question' speech act in the Hallidayan speech act system. I will examine these two speech acts in the light of the interactional effects brought about by ellipsis.

8.2.1 'Statement': giving instructions

In the map task dialogues, giving instructions is categorised in Hallidayan terms as a 'statement' speech act. When we look at clauses tagged as [instruct] moves, we find that there are various types of clauses which are used to give instructions. The analysis in the previous section revealed that English [instruct] moves are associated with the full clause form most often (in 55.4% of occurrences), while Japanese [instruct] moves are associated with Subject ellipsis most often (46.2%).   An example from each language is provided in (8.8) and (8.9).

(8.8)

Move 25 instruct So…you go…from that point where you stopped	
	Move 26 acknowledge Okay

Dialogue q4ec7

(8.9)

Move 35 instruct _Sono…basha-no sharin-_ that wagon-GEN wheel-	

'(*you*) go up along the right-hand side of that wagon wheel.'	

	Move 33 acknowledge
	*ee ee
	  right right
	  'Right, right.'

	Move 34 acknowledge
	*hai
	  right
	  'Right.'

no to... migi-o ue ni<…> GEN F right-ACC up towards *aga*tteku n desu* go.up NMLS COP(POL)	

Dialogue j2e6

Move 35 instruct
Sono…basha-no   sharing-no to... migi-o   ue ni<…> aga*tteku n   desu
that   wagon-GEN wheel-GEN F   right-ACC up towards go.up   NMLS COP(POL)
'(*you*) go up along the right-hand side of that wagon wheel.'

Move 25 in (8.8) illustrates the most common form of giving instructions in the English dialogues, which takes a full clause without ellipsis. On the other hand, many of the Japanese clauses in the [instruct] moves show Subject ellipsis, although Subject ellipsis is generally in heavy use in Japanese. Identification of the ellipted Subject can be done using non-linguistic context; the motion verb in the predicate part and the context of utterance help the Follower to envisage the agent of *agatteku* 'go up' in the clause in Move 35 in (8.9), as was discussed in section 6.4 in chapter 6. In considering the motivation for the heavy use of Subject ellipsis in the [instruct] move, the point to be borne in mind is that instructions by the Giver are 'statements' and not 'commands' in the Hallidayan speech act system, although they could sound like they are giving commands because of the role which the Giver takes. This is observed in (8.10).

(8.10)

Move 59 instruct *Sono soko ma sokono* that there F that	

'That, there…that point, come to the left-hand side all the way to above the gold mine, please.' *kinkoo-no ue* gold.mine-GEN above	
	Move 60 acknowledge *Ue* above 'Above.'
made zutto hidari ni to all.the.way left towards <u>*kite-kudasai*</u> come-IMP-POL	

Dialogue j3n7

Kite-kudasai 'please come' at the end of the utterance in Move 59 is imperative. Although it takes a polite form, it may sound like an order for some interlocutors. This is because in terms of holding information, the Giver is superior to the Follower. The forms of the Giver's instructions, then, are liable to make use of deontic modality to soften the expressions. This seems to be a reason why the Giver can make use of Subject ellipsis, that is, in order to avoid the instructions sounding command-like. In fact, the polite imperative *-te kudasai* form is rather rare in the dialogues, and Subject ellipsis in the [instruct] move is extremely prevalent, as Figure 8.2 in section 8.1.2 showed.[60] One explanation for the motivation for the use of Subject ellipsis could be that by avoiding specifying the agent of the verb, the instruction will sound less command-like and non-intrusive. I will discuss this point with reference to one of the widespread ways of giving instructions with Subject ellipsis and volition verbs in the Japanese dialogues. This is exemplified in excerpt (8.11), the same excerpt as was analysed in section 6.2.1.2.

(8.11)

Move 114 instruct *Sono nire-no…ki-no no migigawa…-* that elm-GEN tree-GEN GEN right-hand side- '(*I*) want to go through right-hand side of the	

---

[60] Other than in the polite imperative *-te kudasai* 'please…' and elliptical clauses, the non-finite *-te* form is frequently used with the [instruct] move.

"elm tree" to that point all the way.' *o toori-tai n* ACC go.through-want.to NMLS *desu kedo*…* COP(POL) FP_w *soko made zutto.* that.point to all.the.way	

	Move 115 acknowledge
	*Hai
	  yep
	  'Yep.'

Nan-te yuu…naname su…-no sen what-QUOT say diagonal F -GEN line 'What should I say…diagonal…line…please draw a descending 45 degree angle line vigorously.' *naname yonjuugodo ni sagaru sen de* diagonal 45 degree in descend line with *gatte hiite-kudasai.* vigorously draw-IMP-DIR-POL	

Dialogue j6n8

Let us look at an example of the realisation of the Giver's giving instructions in one of the most widespread sentence structure types for this speech act. The first clause in Move 114 in (8.10) contains a predicate, *tooritai* 'want to go through.'

Sono nire-no…ki-no   no migi   gawa…-o   toori-tai
that elm-GEN tree-GEN GEN right-hand side-ACC   go.through-want.to
'(*I*) would like to go through right-hand side of the elm tree.'

n   desu   kedo
NMLS COP(POL) FP_w

Mood type and speech act are conventionally associated: declarative is conventionally associated with 'statement'; imperative with 'command'; interrogative with 'question' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, obviously it is not the case that the conventional combination of mood and speech act is maintained in actual discourse all the time; for instance the 'command' speech act can be realised in the form of the declarative, (e.g., *You have to go and see her*).

This lack of correspondence between mood type and speech act is also often found in the map task dialogues, and in fact the incongruent realisation of speech acts serves to adjust the illocutionary force. In the above example, rather than the polite imperative mood, which is most commonly realised in the form of the jussive (-*te kudasai* 'Please…'), the declarative with the volition verb, *tooritai* 'want to go through' is used instead. In addition, the Subject is ellipted. By ellipting the Subject, the speaker can make the agent of the verb unclear, which mitigates the 'command-like' flavour of giving instructions. Note, however, since *tooritai* 'want to go through' includes an expression of volition, it can be maintained without difficulty that the Subject will be the speaker, that is, the Giver, to say nothing of the claim that there are associations between the subject of the clause and speech act.[61] Another point to observe here is the existence of the final particle *kedo* at the end of the clause. This final particle is used to make the expression indirect, and can be sometimes accompanied with connotation that the speaker wishes the hearer to take a certain action, such as *Soko wa tooi n desu kedo* 'That place is a bit far. (So, I don't want to go)'.

Here I will discuss the way in which the combination of Subject ellipsis and particular grammatical devices conspires to adjust the illocutionary force of the Giver's giving instructions, using the principle of territory of information advocated by Kamio (1990; 1995; 1997). The theory of territory of information is inspired by the animal behaviour about their field of activities. Kamio argues that this principle is detected in the way interlocutors present information. The form of presenting a proposition varies depending on whether the piece of information belongs to the territory of the speaker or hearer; the following are criteria to determine whether the information belongs to the speaker's or hearer's side:

- information obtained through the speaker's / hearer's internal direct experience
- information embodying detailed knowledge which falls into the speaker's / hearer's professional or other expertise

---

[61] Declaratives are associated with the first person subject (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

- information obtained through the speaker's / hearer's external direct experience
- information about persons, objects, events and facts close to the speaker / hearer including information about the speaker/hearer him/herself

<div align="right">(Kamio 1995: 237)</div>

According to the above conditions, volition verbs fall within the category of information on the speaker's side as they are concerned with the speaker's psychological state. Taking the attribute of the information into account, the distance between the information and the speaker / hearer is reflected in the form of utterances; in short, if the information is closer to the speaker, generally the utterance form will be direct, and the closer the information to the hearer, the more indirect the utterance will be, as seen in (8.12).

(8.12) a ?? That lady is your mother.
     b. That lady is my mother.
     c. Isn't that lady your mother?
     d. I think that lady is your mother.
     e. I believe that lady is your mother.   (Kamio 1997: 5-6)

Imagine that there are two people X and Y who are speaking, and only Y notices that X's mother is walking somewhere a bit far. Y wants to tell X that her mother is there. For that utterance, (8.12a) sounds unusual. If Y wants to notify X that the latter's mother is there, the former would have to say (8.12c)-(8.12e). This is because the information to be conveyed resides in X's territory, as it is about X's member of family. It is then not appropriate for Y to use the direct form of utterances (8.12a) while X can say (8.12b). Thus, the principles of territory of information assume that there are relations between the attribution of information and the forms of utterances.

This way of expressing a certain proposition in relation to the distance from the speaker or hearer is applied to the study of politeness (Kamio 1997). There are two different ways of dealing with politeness within theory of territory of information: (i)

the principles of theory of territory of information apply without any modification; (ii) the principles of theory of territory of information are violated intentionally, in which case there are two ways of violation: information falling within the speaker's territory of information is intentionally made to move outside the speaker's territory, or it is intentionally made to move into the speaker's territory. The following (8.13)–(8.15) show the way each type of realisation of politeness functions in the context of the principles of territory of information:

(8.13) a. You were born on April, 5, 1952.

      b. I hear you were born on April, 5 1952.

      c. You were born on April 5, 1952, weren't you?

(8.14) a. I am a devout Catholic.

      b. I believe I am a devout catholic.

(8.15) a. You seem fine.

      b. You are fine.   (Kamio 1997: 187-190)

The three sentences in (8.13) show the way the principles of territory of information are applied directly so as to make utterances polite; as the information dealt with falls within the hearer's territory, it does not sound appropriate to express it in the direct form as seen in (8.13a), but should be in the indirect form (8.13b) and (8.13c). In contrast, (8.14) is an example of violation of the principles. The information that the speaker is a devout Catholic resides deeply in the speaker's territory according to the above criteria. In order to avoid the speaker sounding presumptuous or arrogant, then, the speaker dares to move the information out of his / her territory, which is accomplished by using the indirect form, in this case, by adding 'I believe'. (8.15) is the other way around. The health condition of the hearer is a matter which is located deeply in the hearer's territory of information. According to the principles, indirect forms will be appropriate to convey this sort of information. However, direct forms such as in (8.15b) can be used so that a doctor can bring consolation to patients and remove their anxiety. Thus, manipulating ways in which information is expressed based on the principles of the relation between the speaker / hearer and the nature of

the information can bring out interpersonal effects. Although these examples are in English, the same principles can be observed in Japanese on the whole.

If we go back to the clause in excerpt (8.11) with these insights in mind, the predicate *-tai* 'want to-' is a piece of information which falls deeply in the speaker's territory, as it expresses his / hers attitude of mind. Additionally, looking at the way of the Giver's expressing the proposition, the predicate itself is a fairly direct way of expressing his/her volition. What to note here is the final particle, *kedo*, which makes the proposition to which it is attached indirect. According to the principles of the territory of the information, expressing information in the indirect form is the form which deals with the information that is rather closer to the hearer or less close to the speaker. By adding the final particle *kedo* to the information which falls in the speaker's territory, then, an effect that the proposition is moved out of the speaker's territory can be expected, although the volitional *-tai* 'want to' is still included. Here, Subject ellipsis plays a decisive role. An omission of Subject makes it unclear whose wish it is, as discussed in section 6.1.1.2 in chapter 6; it can be the Giver, the Follower or both of them. It is presumed that the combination of the final particle *kedo* and Subject ellipsis then can make it possible to sound like it is the wish of both companies to 'go through right-hand side of the elm tree'. Only ellipting Subject would be not enough in this sense as it still expresses that it is the speaker's wish to make that action (i.e. 'go through right-hand side of the elm tree'). In fact, there are no examples of clauses of giving instructions in the map task dialogues, which only include volitional verbs without any devices such as the final particle *kedo* which make the expression indirect.

There is another example of a sentence structure which includes a volitional verb for the Giver's giving instructions, as is seen in Move 172 in the following (8.16):

(8.16)

| **Move 172 instruct** *Maa tabun   yuuhodoo-no   ue-* well perhaps public.footpath-GEN above- 'Well, perhaps above the public footpath…to the right edge of the "public footpath", (*I*) | |

want (*you*) to go straight.' *o<…> no migi haji gurai made* ACC GEN right edge about to	
	Move 173 acknowledge *Hai* right 'Right.'
massugu itte hoshii n desu ne straight go want NMLS COP(POL) FP_c	
	Move 174 acknowledge *Hai* right 'Right.'

<div align="right">Dialogue j3e5</div>

The clause in Move 172 contains a volitional predicate, which is the underlined part in the excerpt:

Move 172
massugu itte hoshii n   desu   ne
straight   go want   NMLS COP(POL) FP$_c$
 '(*I*) want (*you*) to go straight.'

As the translation shows, Subject+Complement ellipsis is observed in the clause; the two arguments associated with the volitional verb *hoshii* 'want', that is, Subject and Complement, are ellipted. What to note is the final particle, *ne,* which serves for confirmation of the proposition. At the same time, the final particle *ne* can be recognised to be attached to the proposition which includes information that is closer to the hearer (Kamio 1997). On the other hand, although the agents of the matrix and embedded clauses are covert because of Subject and Complement ellipsis, it can be deduced that the Subject can be identified to be the speaker from the presence of the volitional verb *hoshii* 'want'. The final particle *ne* then serves to pull the information out of the speaker's territory. To put it another way, although it seems that 'to want somebody to go' is the speaker's wish, because of the presence of the final particle *ne*, it sounds as if the speaker withdraws his/her commitment to the information. It then sounds as if the information is not in the speaker's territory. In other words, the speaker (the Giver) shows less commitment to the information, and the volition is not

his/hers. This brings out an effect in which there is no imposing the instruction in question on the hearer (the Follower).

In the case of the example of Move 114 in (8.11), by making use of Subject ellipsis, the Giver does not have to make clear the agent of the wish, *tooritai* 'want to go through'. In other words, the lack of Subject does not reveal who is giving instructions and who is following them as Subject 'specifies the 'responsible' element…the one on which the validity of the information is made to rest' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 117). This brings about an effect in which there is no knowing who takes responsibility for the success or failure of the proposition. An omission of Subject means that nobody is responsible for the proposition which is made in the instruction. This is how mitigation of giving instructions is established.

These observations show that Subject ellipsis can help participants to feel that they are performing the task in the equal position as participants and even brings solidarity among participants under particular circumstances. Thus, Subject ellipsis is partly motivated in the map task dialogues by the fact, as repeated, that giving instructions in the map task dialogues is not the same as issuing commands; the occurrence of Subject ellipsis gives rise to modality, which varies the degree of illocutionary force. The use of Subject ellipsis for the purpose of mitigating giving instructions in the Japanese dialogues is analogous to a particular use of English personal pronouns. In English, which makes no grammatical distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns, it is possible that utterances including first person plural pronouns can serve as requests or instructions, as seen in (8.17).

(8.17) *Can we move the fridge?*   (Levinson 1983: 280)

Imagine that when the utterance is issued by a landlady to a student, it can be a request for action (Levinson 1983); it is the student only who actually moves the fridge. She can succeed in politely requesting the action by the use of the first person plural *we*. The use of *we* can also be a good example of strategies for speaking to

superiors in English. Grundy (2000) points out that expressions including inclusive *we* for putting forward a suggestion, such as *Shall we do X?* or *We could do Y*, can express respect for the addressee owing to the use of the interrogative form and the modal auxiliaries.

In the map task dialogues, it is true that speakers do not have to be so sensitive to threats to the interlocutor's face. However, it is also clear that the Givers are trying to make their instructions sound mild by exercising ellipsis. In the case of the English dialogues, ellipsis is not frequently observed in the [instruct] move, and in case where ellipsis occurs, it is mainly Predicator ellipsis, as seen in Figure 8.1 in section 8.1.1. In the English dialogues, full clauses are more frequent; the following (8.18)-(8.20) contain examples of the varieties of sentence structures which alter the illocutionary force of instruction giving observed in the English dialogues.

(8.18)

Move 98 instruct you've got to ... avoid that I think	
	Move 99 acknowledge okay

Dialogue q1ec5

(8.19)

Move 128 instruct so ehm ... I want you to come down to ... two thirds of the way ... between ... eh rock fall and banana tree ... have	
	Move 129 check is that ... two thirds beneath banana tree or two thirds up?

Dialogue q4ec8

(8.20)

Move 21 instruct now we're going to go round eh highest viewpoint	
Move 22 align okay?	
Move 24 instruct so eh	

Dialogue q4ec8

Since English grammar does not allow Subject ellipsis, it is not a common strategy. Consequently, it is obvious who is responsible for the action denoted by the predicate, which is contrary to the Japanese strategy as was just discussed above. The speaker, that is, the Giver declares that it is the hearer (the Follower) who is to draw a route in the specified way, as in (8.18), although it is not physically the hearer who 'avoids that'. In another case, the speaker explicitly expresses the wish that the hearer takes some action, as in (8.19). Thus, whether it is rather explicit (8.19) or less so (8.18), the parties involved in the instructions are quite clearly identified. The use of inclusive *we* is also observed in (8.19).

In comparison to the Japanese way of creating hedging, it appears that the English strategy of making use of the personal pronoun can be associated with positive politeness in the light of politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987), as the speaker shows more commitment of him / herself and the hearer to the event. In this vein, the way the Japanese Givers make instructions less command-like by manipulating Subject ellipsis and grammatical devices which control attribution of information can be related to negative politeness, as the withdrawal of the parties involved is made use of for this purpose.

8.2.2 'Question': asking about landmarks and instructions

The other key speech act in the map task dialogues in the sense of the Hallidayan approach is 'question'. Basically there are two things which task participants ask about: the existence of landmark features and details of instructions which have been given. The analysis in the previous chapters revealed that clauses with the Hallidayan 'question' speech act are in many cases associated with Subject+Finite ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in the English dialogues. The following (8.21) is an example of Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis:

(8.21)

Move 213 check

	and…I finish at the left of the pirate ship?
Move 214 reply-y uh-huh…yeah	
	Move 215 acknowledge right
	Move 216 check at the bottom?
Move 217 reply-y uh-huh	

Dialogue q6nc7

The excerpt is from the very end of a dialogue. The reconstructed clause in Move 216 could be:

(*Should I finish*) at the bottom?

The Follower focuses on the exact place of the finishing point in the question. Thus, the use of ellipsis enables a targeted question, which allows a speaker to check the precise information which s / he would like to know. Moreover, the following (8.22) shows that an exchange of elliptical question and answer can show a sharp contrast between what is being asked and answered between two speakers.

(8.22)

Move 159 instruct ehm ... you sh-- ... you should be around ... ... about at the "s" in giraffe about a centimetre below it	
	Move 160 acknowledge okay
Move 161 instruct and then ... curve round slightly for about ... four five centimetres	
	Move 162 query-yn what going going left?
Move 163 reply-y going left sorry yeah	
	Move 164 query-yn so curving…up the way?
Move 165 reply-n no curving down	

Dialogue q8nc8

266

Possible reconstructions for those elliptical clauses in Move 164 and 165 could be:

Move 164 query-yn
So (*am I*) curving…up the way?
Move 165 reply-n
No (*you are*) curving down

In this exchange of question and answer, speakers make the point of the question stand out by making use of ellipsis so as to focus on the direction of the route's curving: 'up' or 'down'. This contrast-making function is also the case with Japanese, as seen in (8.23):

(8.23)

	Move 178 check
	+*mayokoni* *san* *senchi* *a*+
	  abeam three centimetre F
	  '(*Is it*) Three centimetre abeam?'

Move 179 reply-n +*iya nanameshita* *san* *senchi* no obliquely.downwards three centimetre 'No, (*it is*) three centimetre obliquely downwards.'	

Dialogue j6n6

Through Move 178 and 179, the sharp contrast between *mayoko-ni* 'abeam' and *nanameshita* 'obliquely downwards' can be made by making use of ellipsis. Thus, by ellipting Subject, Finite and Predicator, speakers can focus on the information which they really want to deal with. Additionally, through ellipsis, interlocutors can provide targeted information responding to a question. This is the contrast effect of ellipsis, as it has been called in a previous study (Halliday and Matthissen 2004).

As discussed in section 8.1.1, ellipsis of Subject and Finite in the English dialogues can contribute to the efficient exchange of information, making use of the third person pronoun *it* or demonstrative pronoun *that*. The proposition in the preceding utterance is distilled into *it* or *that*, which is ellipted in the following question move, as seen in (8.24).

(8.24)

Move 10 instruct if you come down ... to the ... just below ... the ... "d" ... in the diamond	
	Move 11 acknowledge okay
	Move 12 check straight down?
Move 13 reply-y yeah	

Dialogue q8nc8

An elliptical clause in Move 12 will be reconstructed as:

Move 12 check
(*Is it / that*) straight down?

Straight down in Move 12 is a result of ellipting *is it / that*, where *it / that* refers to the content of the instruction in Move 10. The ellipsis serves for efficiency of performing the task by focusing on information, leaving out the knowledge which is from the previous part of discourse.

These contrast effects seem to be associated with different type of modality, i.e. epistemic. It appears that by ellipting anything but focused information, speakers show a high level of commitment to the truth of what they are saying. Languages are equipped with systems which allow speakers to alter the probability of a proposition. The observation above seems to help us assume that ellipsis is also one of those systems; by making use of ellipsis in answers, speakers can focus on the information which is really relevant. That can imply that they are quite positive about the answer so that they can be assertive enough to focus on crucial words by ellipting other elements in utterances. This function of ellipsis is associated with values of modality in Hallidayan terms, discussed in section 4.3 in chapter 4, as is the case with Japanese Subject ellipsis. I will consider the relation between ellipsis and modality in the next section as a summary of the discussion so far in this section.

8.2.3 Summary of analysis

The above discussion suggests that Subject ellipsis plus volition verbs in the Japanese dialogues are a means of expressing deontic modality; the Givers modify the deontic illocutionary force conveyed in instruction giving by using these grammatical devices. Also, by providing the amount of information which is needed for each communication setting according to the maxim of quantity (Grice 1975), the speaker sounds quite certain of the content of the piece of information, which can be associated with epistemic modality. It has then been argued that ellipsis with particular speech acts has particular effects. My aim in this section is to describe and explain these effects systematically in terms of modality.

In English, apart from modal auxiliaries, there are several types of linguistic expressions available to express modality.[62] I would argue that in addition to these types of linguistic expressions, ellipsis is a device to express modality, which indicates the speaker's attitude to the proposition. In Hallidayan grammar, some of these linguistic expressions are categorised into sixteen types, using the idea of type, value and orientation. Type is concerned with whether the modality is modalisation (epistemic) or modulation (deontic). Value is the degree of modal judgement: high, median or low, which was mentioned in section 4.3 in chapter 4. Orientation includes two dimensions, that is, explicit / implicit and subjective / objective. The explicit / implicit dimension is concerned with whether the speaker is explicitly or implicitly responsible for the assessment of the proposition. The subjective /

---

[62] Among the expressions to serve as markers of modality are:
- **Lexical modals**: e.g., adjectives such as *possible, necessary, likely, probable*; adverbs such as *perhaps, possibly, necessarily* and so on; verbs such as *insist, permit, require*; nouns such as *possibility, necessity, permission*
- **Past tense**: past tense creating modal remoteness (e.g., *If you did that again you would be fired.*)
- **Other verb inflection**: clauses including *to* infinitive express non-actuality in contrast with the gerund-participial construction (e.g., *I want to talk to her* and *I enjoyed talking to her.*)
- **Clause type**: the fundamental clause type, the declarative, is associated with factual statements, and can be regarded as unmodalised. In contrast, imperatives are associated with directives (the speaker's wanting of the actualisation of a particular future situation) and interrogatives are characteristically used to express questions (the speaker's wanting of information which is known to him/her).
- **Subordination**: the commitment which is typically conveyed by the use of declaratives is often lost under subordination (e.g., *He is ill* and *I think he is ill.*)
- **Parenthetical**: lexical modals and subordination are related (e.g., *He is, I think, almost bankrupt.*)   (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 173-174)

objective dimension is concerned with whether the modality is an expression of the speaker's opinion or not. Examples of possible modality expressions in terms of type and orientation are summarised in Table 8.8.

	Subjective: Explicit	Subjective: implicit	Objective: implicit	Objective: explicit
Modalization: probability	I think Mary knows	Mary'll know	Mary probably knows	It's likely that Mary knows
Modalization: usuality		Fred'll sit quite quiet	Fred usually sits quite quiet	It's usual for Fred to sit quite quiet
Modulation: Obligation	I want John to go.	John should go	John's supposed to go	It's expected that John goes
Modulation: Inclination		Jane'll help	Jane's keen to help	

Table 8.8 Modality: examples of 'type' and orientation combined (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 620, modified by Otsuki)

I argued in section 8.1.3.1 that Subject ellipsis serves as a marker of modality to vary illocutionary force in the Japanese dialogues, using the following example (8.25).

(8.25)
Sono nire-no…ki-no   no migi   gawa…-o   toori-tai
that   elm-GEN tree-GEN GEN right-hand side-ACC   go.through-want.to
'(*I*) would like to go through right-hand side of the elm tree.'

n   desu   kedo
NMLS   COP(POL) FP$_w$

According to Table 8.8, the verb *tooritai* 'want to go through' indicates that the modality is subjective and explicit, as the speaker expresses his / her wish. However, by ellipting Subject and adding *kedo*, which is a final particle to make the proposition indirect, it serves to make the instruction less subjective. This is how Subject ellipsis can serve to vary the force of deontic modality by conditioning the speaker's commitment to the statement; in other words, it serves to adjust the degree of

obligation on the scale of modality value (high, median and low).[63] Ellipsis in certain circumstances (e.g., combined with volition verb and particular expressions such as indirect forms) can then serve as a device for modality of another type: softening, hedging and mitigating the 'giving instructions' speech act.

Also, I will consider this point from the viewpoint of agents of the action which is denoted in the clause. In the proposition expressed in (8.25) there is the other party involved, that is, the agent of the action 'to go through right-hand side of the elm tree'; in other words, it is the subject of the embedded clause. In the Japanese clause, this agent can be ellipted; it is expected to be identified from non-linguistic context. The equivalent clause in English would be: *I would like you to go through right-hand side of the elm tree*. Neither of the subjects of the matrix and embedded clauses is ellipted; that is, both of the agents involved in this proposition need to be overt. In the English clause, however, as long as the subject of the embedded clause is identical to the subject of the matrix clause, it is possible to ellipt the subject of the embedded clause; in English, it is possible to ellipt subjects of clauses under a certain condition. To put it another way, with regard to grammaticality, 'the wanter' and 'the doer' (i.e. subjects of matrix and embedded clauses respectively) of this type of clause can be unstintingly ellipted in Japanese, while in English only 'the doer' can be ellipted if subjects of matrix and embedded clauses are identical. In English, there is no trouble to identify the ellipted subject of the embedded clause as the grammar prescribes that it will be the subject of the matrix clause. In the case of Japanese, the identification of the ellipted agents are pragmatically made by the hearer. This type of clause, then, shows a striking difference in grammar and pragmatics of ellipsis between in English and Japanese.

---

[63] Although giving instructions is giving statements, not commands, as the instruction is simply giving pieces of information, modality which is associated with statement would be epistemic; in other words, as giving instructions is categorised into 'statement' speech act in the Hallidayan approach, it should be associated with modalisation (epistemic modality). However, the use of the volition verb *–tai* 'want to-' makes the proposition associated with the 'speaker-oriented modality'. The modality is a subcategorisation of 'event modality', which is roughly equivalent to deontic modality widely recognised in linguistics, and characterises speech acts through which the speaker tries to 'move an addressee to action' (Bybee 1995: 6).

Similarly, the question and answer exchange with ellipsis serves to adjust the speaker's expression of commitment to the truth of the proposition. I argued in section 8.2.2 that ellipsis of Subject and Finite and that of Subject, Finite and Predicator are used to give focus to a particular part of information by targeting the required information. In fact, any adjustment of the number of elements in the clause will accentuate the remaining elements in question and answer utterances, which results in highlighting how divergent the piece of information in the question is in terms of the truth from the answer provided by the interlocutor, as seen in the excerpts (8.22)-(8.23) in the previous section. Especially, providing only information which is required according to the maxim of quantity indicates the speaker's high level of commitment to the truth of the proposition.

I will close the argument of the association of ellipsis with modality by discussing the two types of modality located in a speech act. The phenomenon of ellipsis in the map task dialogues can also be explained by integration of epistemic and deontic modalities, especially in elliptical clauses in the [instruct] move. In the case of the speech act of giving instructions, if instructions are given in elliptical utterances, such as *straight down the right-hand side of the carved stones* (Move 19; dialogue q3nc7), the Follower is assumed to be able to reconstruct ellipted parts by him / herself. This is made possible by the context of utterance, as was observed in section 6.4 in chapter 6; task participants establish a pattern in inferring ellipted items, in the course of doing the task. For instance, when the Follower is given an instruction, such as '*Above the disused warehouse…below the great lake*' (Move 283; dialogue q4nc8), the Follower should behave in a certain way to perform the map task; that is, the Follower should draw a route on his / her map. The expectation regarding the Follower's behaviour is rooted in the fact about the map task, namely, 'the route on the map is to be drawn and to achieve this goal, the Follower needs to move through the map features in a particular way'. It is certain that once elliptical instructions are issued, the Follower takes a certain action. Here, it seems that some elements of epistemic and deontic modalities are observed. On hearing the elliptical utterance, the Follower recognises and follows this 'state of affairs' regarding a map task, and reconstructs the ellipted elements in the clause, fulfilling his / her duty as prescribed

in the state of affairs. It is certain that once elliptical instructions are issued, the Follower takes a certain action, which is necessary for completing the task.

At the same time, the expectation for the Follower's behaviour towards the elliptical instruction encloses another illocutionary force. Elliptical utterances expect the interlocutor to reconstruct the ellipted elements and draw a route on the map. This is the 'message' of the elliptical instructions. The Follower is expected to decode the message, and carry out what the Follower should do to achieve the goal (that is, to complete the task).

It follows from all the above observations that ellipsis functions to adjust the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition. In this sense, along with modal auxiliaries and other linguistic expressions, ellipsis is a device which can affect the expression of modal meaning more indirectly. It will not be possible to argue that many instances of ellipsis have such interpersonal effects by adjusting the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition. Ellipsis will then be too arbitrary as a modality expression in the grammar of the language to undergo grammaticalisation as an expression of modality. However, it seems possible to observe that some of examples of ellipsis do have effects under certain conditions.

8.3 Referential chains in the map task dialogues

So far, the focus of this study has been on presenting and analysing the occurrence and distribution of ellipsis types across moves and their *interpersonal* effects; in chapter 5, the correlation of ellipsis with participant familiarity and visibility was studied; in chapter 6 and 7, each type of ellipsis in both the English and Japanese dialogues was examined from the interpersonal viewpoint: in the last section, it was also shown that some types of ellipsis have an effect on the modality of speakers' utterances. In this section, I will look at ellipsis from another point of view: ellipsis in its *textual* function, that is, ellipsis as a referential device.

As was discussed in chapter 2, Halliday and Hasan (1976) argue that cohesion is realised in various ways, and that ellipsis is one of the contributors to cohesion in text. It also serves to create referential chains. For the following discussion, I will focus on nouns among ellipted constituents. As the fact that ellipsis of noun phrase is called zero anaphora or null anaphora by different researchers indicates, it serves to form anaphorical, or occasionally cataphorical relations in text, along with full noun phrases and pronouns. However, the distribution of those three grammatical features is different from genre to genre as well as cross-linguistically. It is, then, useful for ellipsis study to observe the way referential chains are realised through the various options, including full noun phrases, pronouns and ellipsis.

8.3.1 Realisation of referential chains

The idea of referential chains, sometimes described as topic continuity, has been discussed in relation to ellipsis by some researchers. It has been pointed out that the distribution of options to realise the chains, such as full noun phrases, pronouns and null pronouns, are genre- and language-specific. As for genre sensitivity, McCarthy and Carter (1994), citing McCarthy (1992), show an example of the marked arrangement of topic continuity found in a football fan magazine (fanzine). The unmarked topic structure across all genres is in general recognised: a full noun phrase to establish the topic and null pronouns as well as pronoun reference to maintain the topic. However, in football fanzines, this is not always the case; initial noun phrases for topicalisation may not be specific enough to identify an entity; for instance, editors expect their readers to recognise a player by putting, for example, 'The boy Sharp' first. This is followed by a more informative proper noun, *Lee Sharp*, which appears for the first time at the later stage of discourse. Readers can recognise who *Sharp* is without being provided with the full name. This is because fanzine writers and editors assume that their readers have enough shared knowledge to identify who is being talked about even with less informative noun phrases, which as a result creates solidarity among editors and readers. In this case, the common pattern for topic establishment and maintenance is not observed. Patterns of realising referential chains can be, therefore, different from genre to genre (McCarthy and

Carter 1994). Accordingly, frequency and use of ellipsis are also influenced by the genre in which it occurs, as ellipsis is one of the devices to create referential chains.

Topic continuity is associated with referential chains; both of them are realised via a relation of anaphora between anaphor (or cataphor) and antecedent. The study of anaphora in the context of topic continuity has been carried out especially among West Coast functionalists in the United States, including cross-linguistic research. Fox (1987) examines the distribution of full noun phrases and pronouns in three different genres. Givón (1983) and Hinds (1983) point out that among three options for a topic to have continuity (i.e. full noun phrases, pronouns and ellipsis), English favours pronouns, while Japanese favours ellipsis in narratives (Givón, 1983; Hinds, 1983). Fry (2003) tries to find an association of the Japanese topic marker *wa* with ellipsis using telephone conversations. Myhill (1992) presents quantitative analysis of noun phrases across several languages. Meanwhile, in the systemic functional framework, Taboada (2004), who conducted cross-linguistic research on cohesion in scheduling task dialogues, reports that although ellipsis is not very much favoured in scheduling dialogues, Spanish speakers use more ellipsis than English speakers. From the observations so far, the following two points emerge regarding the realisation of referential chains in discourse: (1) patterns of distribution of full noun phrases, pronouns and null pronouns are different from genre to genre, as is the actual distance between referent and pronouns in the text ('anaphora barriers'); (2) the 'anaphora barriers', which is the concept for examining whether the topic crosses a discourse segment, can vary depending on language and genre (McCarthy and Carter 1994: 91-93). Looking at how long the anaphora is maintained by any type of referring expressions including null pronouns in the map task dialogues, then, reveals the specific patterns of referential chains in this genre in each language.

Before looking at the map task dialogues, I will give some basic facts about English and Japanese referential continuity and how it is realised in text. In English, it is well known that full noun phrases which establish a new topic are in many cases followed by pronouns, and zero anaphora is not very common as a device of topic continuity (Givón 1983). In contrast, with regard to Japanese, the unmarked form of

topic continuity is as follows: explicit noun phrases are introduced and these are followed by elliptical noun phrases (also described as zero argument, zero anaphora, null anaphora). This is seen in the following quotations:

> 'In general, contextually retrievable constituents are unspecified, or realised as zero…once participants are introduced overtly, they immediately become candidates for zero anaphora' (Iwasaki 2002: 269).

> 'The empty topic is a topic that has been established in the discourse (setting), and that has been deleted or made into a PRO[64] due to the chain it forms with the first topic to which it is bound' (Shibatani 1990: 365).

Hinds (1982b) suggests that the parallelism of English pronominalisation and Japanese ellipsis is plausible. His examination of the pronouns in English translation for Japanese utterances reveals that none of the English pronouns has overt representation in the Japanese original utterances. Based on this result, he claims that it will be too hasty if it is said that English pronominalisation and Japanese ellipsis happen under the same condition, but it is not an obviously false statement.

I will examine the way in which referential continuity develops in the English and Japanese map task dialogues, and specifically how ellipsis is exploited to create cohesion in the Task-performance stage and its substages. Since what is going to be examined is cohesive chains, the ellipsis looked at is textual ellipsis in Quirk et al.'s (1985) terms; it is a type of ellipsis whereby the ellipted items are recoverable from a neighbouring part of the text; there is an endophoric relation between ellipted items and their antecedent. Situational ellipsis, whose missing material is retrieved from non-linguistic context, is, then, excluded from the analysis in the following two subsections.

---

[64] PRO is an empty category which occurs exclusively in the subject position of a subordinate clause and refers to subject or object of a main clause, which is equivalent to English PRO. An example of Japanese PRO is:

Boku *wa* [(PRO *ga*) *iku*] *tumori da.*
I   TOP   NOM go intend COP
'I intend to go.'   (Shibatani 1990: 361)

8.3.2 Referential chains in English

The following excerpt (8.26) is from dialogue q4ec7, in which task participants are familiar with each other and can see each other while performing the task, along with the detail of the map used at the time of dialogue (Figure 8.4). The excerpt includes a Task-performance stage, which includes a substage, which in turn consists of the following sub-substages: Querying landmarks, Giving instructions and Querying instructions. In this excerpt, the 'rope bridge' is a focused landmark feature on which the participants' exchange develops. Noun phrases which refer to the 'rope bridge' are boxed in the interest of clarity.

(8.26)

Move 42 query-yn have you got a rope bridge ?	
	Move 43 reply-y yeah
Move 44 instruct if you go straight up the left-hand side of where the tribal settlement would be ... 'til you're ... ehm ... just ... maybe below the rope bridge ... but like in a straight line so you're not ... absolutely underneath it but you're to the left-hand side of it ... because it curves round over onto the rope bridge	
Move 45 align you know what I mean?	
	Move 46 reply-y mmhmm
Move 47 ready So	
	Move 48 ready okay
	Move 49 check so I ... I go ... upwards ... like the same distance away from the paper?
Move 50 clarify upwards for about	
Move 52 reply-y yeah	
	Move 53 check the edge of the paper until ... I'm just across from the rope bridge ?
Move 54 uncodable	

un--	
Move 56 reply-n no	
Move 57 clarify 'til you've ... f-- ... maybe ... one centimetre below it ... and then you sort of curve round	
	Move 58 check below the writing of rope bridge?
Move 60 reply-n no	
Move 61 clarify below	
	Move 62 acknowledge below
Move 63 clarify do you ha-- ... the left-hand side of the rope bridge	
	Move 64 acknowledge uh-huh
Move 65 clarify but you don't go ... a straight line and then turn you curve round onto the rope bridge	
	Move 66 acknowledge okay
	Move 67 check so I'm going to cross the rope bridge yeah?
Move 68 reply-y yes you cro--	
	Move 70 acknowledge okay
Move 69 align are you crossing the rope bridge?	
	Move 72 check you want me to cross it uh-huh?
Move 73 clarify well if you curve round slightly ... and ... cross the rope bridge	
	Move 74 acknowledge okay
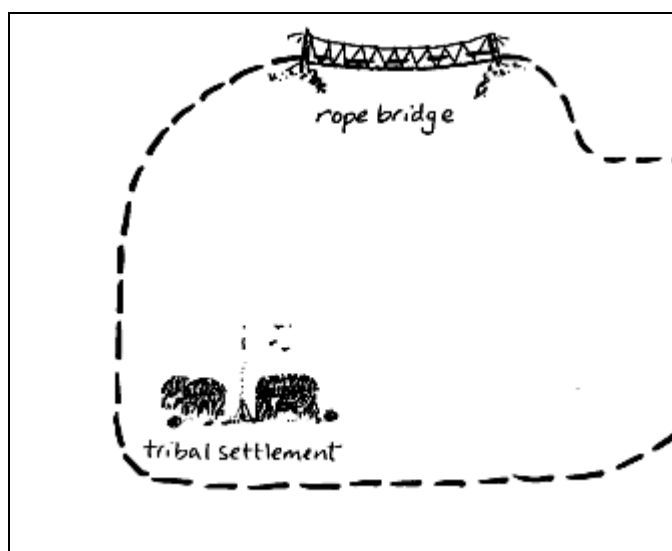
Dialogue q4ec7

Figure 8.4 Map used in dialogue q4ec7 (map no.13, detail)

The Giver asks whether the Follower has a rope bridge on the map in Move 42. At this point, an entity, the rope bridge, has come into the focus as a central feature in association with instructions which will be given subsequently. The Giver's instruction (Move 44) following this introduction of the rope bridge is based on the location of the rope bridge.

Move 44
If you go straight up the left-hand side of where the tribal settlement would be…
'til you're…ehm…just…maybe below the rope bridge…but like in a straight line
so you're not…absolutely underneath it
but you're to the left-hand side of it…
because it curves round over onto the rope bridge

After the first mention of the rope bridge in the utterance, pronouns are used twice in a row. However, in the last clause of the instruction, the full noun phrase *the rope bridge* again appears. Note that the subject *it* in the same clause does not refer to the rope bridge, but the route found in the Giver's map, based on which the Giver is giving instructions.

Following the Follower's question on the manner in which the route should be drawn (Move 49) and the Giver's response to it (Move 50 and 52), the former asks for more information about where the route should be stopped, in relation to the rope bridge (Move 53), which is introduced in the form of full noun phrase. The Giver responds to the query, transforming the full noun phrase into pronoun (*it* in Move 57). Another question about the manner comes from the Follower (Move 58), where the word, "the rope bridge", does not refer to the landmark, but refers to the writing of 'rope bridge' on the map. This time, the Giver answers, using simply an adverb *below* (Move 61), which is repeated by the Follower (Move 62). The Giver provides more clarification for the Follower's question (Move 63). From then on, the sequence of exchanges between them is packed with the full noun phrase, *the rope bridge,* except for the pronoun *it* in Move 72.

In this case, there are no elliptical nominal constituents in the excerpt. The entity in focus is realised in either a full noun phrase or a pronoun. This is a striking fact as it is well known that in English topic is established by full noun phrases and succeeded by pronouns or null pronouns (ellipsis). This observation is compatible with Yoshida (2008), who examined the use of referring expressions in the English and Japanese map task dialogues; she investigated the distribution of options for realising referential chains, using centering theory: definite and indefinite NPs, demonstratives, possessive NPS, pronouns and zero pronouns. Her results from an examination of a dialogue is summarised in Table 8.9 and Table 8.10.

form	Def. NP	Indef.NP	NP with no det.	Total (%)
Occurrence (%)	5 (16.1)	25 (80.7)	1 (3.2)	31 (100.0)

Table 8.9 Distribution of referring expressions in first mentions (English) (Yoshida 2008: 189, modified by Otsuki)

Form	Def.NP (%)	Indef. NP (%)	NP with no det. (%)	Demon. (%)	Poss. (%)	Pronoun (%)	Zero pronoun (%)	Total (%)
Occurrence (%)	50 (44.3)	10 (8.9)	5 (4.4)	11 (9.7)	2 (1.8)	31 (27.4)	4 (3.5)	113 (100.0)

Table 8.10 Distribution of referring expressions in subsequent mentions (English) (Yoshida 2008: 191, modified by Otsuki)

The result shows that after an entity is introduced in the form of indefinite noun phrases, nearly half of them are subsequently referred to in the form of definite noun phrases. According to her research, full noun phrases are so extensively used to refer to landmarks in the dialogues that Yoshida (2008) argues that they serve as if they were almost like proper nouns.

8.3.3 Referential chains in Japanese

Let us look at a Japanese example (8.27) which includes the Task-performance stage and its sub-substages. The following Japanese excerpt (part of dialogue j4e7) is equivalent to the above English excerpt (part of dialogue q4ec7); they have the same conditions about participant familiarity, visibility and the map used. Additionally, in the two excerpts, the fraction in which they are is the same: from the Giver's introduction of the rope bridge to the route's having been drawn to the rope bridge. As in the English excerpt, expressions which refer to *tsuribashi* 'rope bridge' are boxed.

(8.27)

Move 64 query-yn *So…kkara *ue-no hoo-ni* from there up-GEN direction-LOC '(Looking at) from there, is there a "rope bridge" up there?' *Tsuribashi-te aru+* rope.bridge-QUOT there.is	
	Move 65 acknowledge **Un* **right** 'Right.'

	Move 66 reply-y *+Un* yes 'Yes.'
Move 67 instruct *De* *tsuribashi-o* *tooru n da* then rope.bridge-ACC cross NMLS COP 'Then, (*you*) crosse the "rope bridge".'	
	Move 68 check *Ja<…>zutto ue ni mawa…*tte* well all.the.way up.towards turn.over 'Well, turning over upwards all the way?'
Move 69 reply-y **soo ue ni i…tte+* yes up towards go 'Yes, going upwards'	
	Move 70 check *+Maue* right.upwards 'Right upwards?'
Move 71 clarify *Soo soo ma ue-ni i…*tte* yes yes right above-LOC go 'Yes, yes, going right upwards.'	
	Move 72 acknowledge **Un* right 'Right.'
	Move 73 check *Tsuribashi-no ue-o too n no* rope.bridge-GEN over-ACC go NMLS FP$_i$ '(*Should I*) Go over the rope bridge?'
Move 74 reply-n *Cho<…>iya* *tsuribashi-no aida* F no rope.bridge-GEN in-between 'No, in-between the rope bridge. Inside. Inside.' *naka naka* inside inside	
	Move 75 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'
Move 76 instruct *Tsuribash-o wataru no* rope.bridge-ACC cross FP$_a$ '(*You*) Cross the rope bridge.'	
	Move 77 acknowledge *Un hai* right 'Right.'

Move 78 instruct *Wata...tte* cross 'Crossing'	
	Move 79 acknowledge *Un* right 'Right.'
E...to<…>wata...tte cho...tto<…>shita well cross a.bit down 'Well, crossing and (*you*) go downwards a bit.' *Ni oriru* towards go.down	
	Move 80 acknowledge *Un...hai* right 'Right.'

<div align="right">Dialogue j4e7</div>

The discourse structure is the same as the one in the above English excerpt. After the referent is introduced in the form of full noun phrase, *tsuribashi* 'rope bridge' and the following quick instruction from the Giver (Move 64 and 67), an exchange between the Giver and Follower regarding how the route should reach *tsuribashi* is found (Move 68-72). From Move 73 on, the full noun phrase appears three times in a row (Move 73, 74 and 76). In Move 78, finally *tsuribashi* as an object of the transitive verb *wataru* 'cross' (underlined in the excerpt) is ellipted. Thus, as the heavy use of the full noun phrase, *rope bridge*, was observed in the English excerpt, the use of the full noun phrase, *tsuribashi* 'rope bridge' detected in the sequence, is also heavy for Japanese dialogues. Where then is nominal ellipsis exploited in the Japanese map task dialogues?

I will have a closer look at two types of nominal ellipsis found in the Japanese map task dialogues: Subject ellipsis and Subject+Complement ellipsis. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Subject ellipsis is the most widespread ellipsis in Japanese dialogues. Subject ellipsis includes both situational and textual ellipsis; the ellipted Subjects can be identifiable either non-linguistically or linguistically. For situational ellipsis, the analysis in section 6.2.1.2 revealed that most of the time the ellipted Subject is either the agent of motion verbs for instruction or task participants; as for

Chapter 8 Discussion: some patterns of ellipsis viewed interpersonally and textually

textual ellipsis, where the omitted elements are identified from the neighbouring text,

Subject ellipsis can be exploited when participants are talking about landmarks on

their maps. The following excerpt (8.28) is the same excerpt as examined in chapter

6:

(8.28)

Move 90 query-yn *Hai kondo kiheitai-no··· toride ····te* well next cavalry-GEN fort- QUOT 'Well, next, is there something called "cavalry"?' *yuu no-ga ari masu ka* call NMLS-NOM there.is POL(T) FP_i	
	Move 91 reply-n *Nai de*su* there.is-NEG POL(T) 'There is not ("cavalry").'
Move 92 acknowledge **Nai desu* there.is-NEG POL(T) There is not (cavalry).	

Dialogue j3n7

The entity *toride* 'cavalry' is introduced in the Giver's question, in the form of a full

noun phrase, and in the following answer (Move 91) and acknowledgement (Move

92), it is ellipted.

Move 91 reply-n
(toride   wa) Nai   de*su
(cavalry   TOP) there.is-NEG POL(T)
'There is not (cavalry).'

Move 92 acknowledge
(toride   wa)   nai   desu
(cavalry TOP)   thereis-NEG POL(T)
'There is not (cavalry).'

The clauses in Move 91 and 92 ellipt their subjects (*toride* 'cavalry') although it may

not be clear in the English translation because of the structural difference in the

existential sentence between English and Japanese. Thus, textual ellipsis can be observed in the exchange of question and answer to check the existence of a certain landmark feature.

With regard to Subject+Complement ellipsis, the close examination of Subject+Complement ellipsis in section 7.2.1 revealed that there is a move which is favoured by this type of ellipsis: the [instruct] moves. The move is associated with formulaic expressions to accomplish certain speech acts, such as asking a favour, which prompt this type of ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues. Ellipsis in the [instruct] move is situational ellipsis because the ellipted Subject and Complement are first and second person pronouns. Therefore, it seems probable that referential chains are hardly found with ellipsis of Subject and Complement.

As introduced in the previous section, Yoshida (2008) also examined the way in which referring expressions (i.e. bare noun phrases, demonstratives and zero pronouns) are distributed for referential chains in the Japanese map task dialogues. The result from an examination of a dialogue is shown in Table 8.11 and Table 8.12.

Form	Bare N (%)	Demonstrative Determiner+N (%)	Demonstrative Pronouns (%)	Zero Pro (%)	Total
Occurrence (%)	11 (84.0)	2 (15.4)	0	0	13 (100.0)

Table 8.11 Distribution of referring expressions in first mentions (Japanese) (Yoshida 2008: 186, modified by Otsuki)

Form	Bare N (%)	Demonstrative Determiner+N (%)	Demonstrative Pronouns (%)	Zero Pro (%)	Total
Occurrence (%)	80 (62.5)	21 (16.4)	7 (5.5)	20 (15.6)	128 (100.0)

Table 8.12 Distribution of referring expressions in subsequent mentions (Japanese) (Yoshida 2008: 188, modified by Otsuki)

Table 8.11 and 8.12 indicate that topic is most of the time introduced in the form of noun phrases without any demonstratives, which stay in the same form in the course

of referential chains. Although zero pronouns (ellipsis) for referential chains are observed more often than in the English dialogue (15.6% in the Japanese dialogue and 3.5% in the English dialogue), it is far less than the sum of bare noun phrases and noun phrases accompanied by demonstrative determiners. Her results back my qualitative analysis in this section.

8.3.4 Summary of analysis

The analysis of the distribution of the systems of choice for referential development helps us to uncover that the pattern of referential continuity in the map task is dissimilar to that found in other genres such as narrative (Hinds 1983; Iwasaki 2002; Shibatani 1990) in both languages. In particular, it is noteworthy that we observed a repetitive use of full noun phrases in the two languages; in these dialogues the languages showed quite different systems for showing topic continuity from the patterns described for them in other contexts. Similarly, Yoshida (2008) argues that full noun phrases are in heavy use for topic chaining in the map task dialogues in both languages. This use of full noun phrase in these dialogues is obviously different from the 'unmarked' way that English and Japanese establish referential chains as discussed at the beginning of this section.

The above analysis also can help us to capture how a topic develops in each stage. In the map task dialogues, one substage has one landmark feature (e.g., rope bridge), which seems to function as a topic in the substage, assuming that one substage includes at most (i) the Giver's question accompanied by the Follower's answer, (ii) the Giver's instructions and (iii) the Follower's question about them. This is compatible with Taboada's (2004) examination of the correlation of cohesive chains with stages: a new stage regimes a new chain. She points out that each time a new date is suggested in the scheduling task, a new chain starts. The question is why in the map task dialogues referential chains are realised by the marked forms (i.e. full noun phrases are in heavy use) in both languages; in fact Tables 8.10 and 8.12 show that more full noun phrases are used for topic continuity in the Japanese dialogues than in the English dialogue.

In order to discuss the abundant use of full noun phrases, as found in Yoshida (2008) (57.6% in an English dialogue; 78.9% in a Japanese dialogue), it is necessary to consider the nature of the map task dialogues. We have to bear in mind that the map task dialogues consist mainly of two speech functions in the Hallidayan speech act model, 'statement' (giving information) and 'question' (demanding information). Any instructions given to the Follower should be as comprehensible as possible, using landmarks nearby. The landmark under discussion therefore should be made as clear as possible and not confused with any other features. Task participants perform the task using several landmarks on their maps; they move from one landmark to another speedily. As the topic of a substage in the Task-performance stage is associated with a landmark, the topic changes quite frequently. This could be the reason for the frequent use of full noun phrases in the dialogues. However, there is still a question; in cases where a full noun phrase is not repeated in a continuing topic, the use of pronouns in the English dialogue (37.1% in Yoshida (2008)) is greater than the use of null pronouns (ellipsis) in the Japanese dialogue (15.6% (ibid.)). I will discuss this point below.

Having recognised the heavy use of full noun phrases for referential chains, I will consider the way in which other forms for referential chains (such as pronouns and zero pronouns (ellipsis)) behave in the map task dialogues. Since the map task is a task in which a route is drawn, the genuine topic in a dialogue is thought to be a route which is being drawn at a given point. Since this topic permeates a dialogue, it can appear whenever necessary in the characteristic form in both languages: full noun phrases, pronouns or zero pronouns. In other words, the route is an 'unconscious' topic among speakers, which makes it possible that the route being drawn can appear in a certain form without explicit referent. This is demonstrated in Move 44 in the excerpt (8.26) above, which is repeated here for convenience. In the last clause, *it* (underlined) does not refer to the 'rope bridge', but to the route being drawn, where the third person pronoun for the unconscious topic appears without any explicit antecedent.

Move 44 instruct
if you go straight up the left-hand side of where the tribal settlement would be ... 'til you're ... ehm ... just ... maybe below the rope bridge ... but like in a straight line so you're not ... absolutely underneath it but you're to the left-hand side of it ... because it curves round over onto the rope bridge

Note that the second person pronoun *you* is also used to refer to the unconscious topic (route), although the hearer (you) apparently does not move around on the map. The following (8.29) is an example of use of the second person pronoun (underlined).

(8.29)

Move 103 instruct you circuit them keeping them on your right	
	Move 104 acknowledge Okay

<div align="right">Dialogue q5ec5</div>

The hearer is assimilated into the route line. In fact it is not only the second person pronoun, but also the first person pronouns, whether single or plural, that may be assimilated into a route. The following excerpt (8.30) shows the variety of the Subject when the participants are talking about the route in the task: *I, we*, and *it*.

(8.30)

Move 56 instruct and then turn ... right and ... and go along ... the ... the t--	
	Move 57 acknowledge okay
	Move 57.9 check So I'm just going over the top of the hill?
Move 58 reply-y going over the top of the mountain yeah	
	Move 59 acknowledge right okay
	Move 60 check to the other two wee seagulls?
Move 61 reply-y yeah	
	Move 62 query-w and it's a curve or a straight line or?

Move 63 reply-w	
just uh whatever you like it doesn't matter as long as <u>we</u> miss the mountain	
	Move 64 query-w
	slight curve?
	Move 66 acknowledge
	okay

Dialogue q4nc8

The fact that the 'unconscious' topic (i.e. the route) exists in the dialogue is also the case with Japanese, but the form that is used for this topic is quite different from English. Move 76 in (8.27) shows an example of the form for the 'unconscious' topic in the Japanese dialogue.

Move 76 instruct
Tsuribashi -o   *wataru no*
rope.bridge-ACC cross   FP$_a$
'(*You*) Cross the rope bridge.

The agent of *wataru* 'cross' is ellipted, and in fact it is never made explicit throughout the dialogue, although I put *you* in translation for clarity. It might be the route, the Follower (the second person singular pronoun) or both of the participants (the first person plural pronoun), but there is no knowing precisely what it is; the ellipted Subject cannot be identified from the neighbouring text. The analysis could then suggest that in the Japanese dialogues, the route is referred to in the form of situational ellipsis, whereby the identification of ellipted entities is found non-linguistically, such as *nanamen naru* '(ø) becomes diagonal', which is compatible with the exophoric use of pronouns for the route in English dialogues. In the English dialogues, the route being drawn in the task can be expressed by means of the pronouns *I*, *we*, *you*, *it* (in exophoric use).   The observation so far can be summarised as follows:

289

Substage – when a landmark is topic (local topic).

    English and Japanese: repetition of full noun phrases

Whole dialogue – when an agent of the action is subconscious topic penetrating the

               whole dialogue (global topic).

    English: pronouns (*I, we, you, it* (exophoric use))

    Japanese: ellipsis (situational)

Thus, it seems possible to argue that there are two layers of topic in the map task dialogues, and both of those topics are in fact 'discourse topics' (Brown and Yule 1983: 71). I will discuss these two types of topic in relation to their realisation in the dialogues.

(1) Topic for the substage: the landmark

At one level of topic, whose working unit corresponds to the unit of a substage, what is talked about is how to draw a route, in association with a landmark feature nearby. I will call this topic 'local topic'. As was seen in the previous section, the distribution of the linguistic forms for a local topic showed a difference in the two languages. I reproduce the tables here from Yoshida (2008) for convenience:

Form	Def.NP (%)	Indef. NP (%)	NP with no det. (%)	Demon. (%)	Poss. (%)	Pronoun (%)	Zero pronoun (%)	Total
Occurrence (%)	50 (44.3)	10 (8.9)	5 (4.4)	11 (9.7)	2 (1.8)	31 (27.4)	4 (3.5)	113 (100.0)

Table 8.13 Distribution of referring expressions in subsequent mentions (English) (Yoshida 2008: 191, modified by Otsuki)

Form	Bare N (%)	Demonstrative Determiner+N (%)	Demonstrative Pronouns (%)	Zero Pro (%)	Total
Occurrence (%)	80 (62.5)	21 (16.4)	7 (5.5)	20 (15.6)	128 (100.0)

Table 8.14 Distribution of referring expressions in subsequent mentions (Japanese) (Yoshida 2008: 188, modified by Otsuki)

From the tables, there are two points about the difference in the distribution of the forms to be noted. One is that although I pointed out in the previous sections that full noun phrases are in heavy use in the dialogues in both languages, more full noun phrases are used in the Japanese dialogues than in the English dialogues. It can be speculated that an explanation for this heavier use of full noun phrase in the Japanese dialogues can be found in the use of demonstratives. Demonstratives in the Japanese dialogues are only attached to full noun phrases unlike English demonstratives, which can be found on their own. Yoshida (2008) points out that English demonstratives can contain substantial lexical information, as discussed in the name of information packaging (Vallduvâi 1992); for instance, she points out that *that* in a dialogue can refer to as many as three linked clauses as antecedents: *It's a sort of like big sort of house, it's got a big roof and its got three big pools* (Yoshida 2008: 208). Probably, the amount of information conveyed by demonstrative pronouns is in reality the same as full noun phrases; demonstratives carry the information which seems to be equivalent to lexical phrases. This appears to be a reason for less use of full noun phrases in the English dialogue.

The other point is that the English speakers use more pronouns, including demonstrative pronouns, while the Japanese speakers use more ellipsis (zero pronouns). Table 8.13 and Table 8.14 indicate that the landmarks under discussion are in many cases realised in the form of full noun phrases, which are not very often replaced by either pronouns or ellipsis in either language. In cases where full noun phrases are replaced with other grammatical features (that is, pronouns or null pronouns), different distribution of these features are found, as exemplified by Yoshida's (2008) results; in other words, in cases where landmarks are replaced by pronouns or ellipsis (zero pronouns), there is a difference regarding the frequency of occurrence of these replacing forms between the two languages. The two tables show that there is greater use of pronouns in the English data than the use of ellipsis in the Japanese data. Apart from the use of pronouns with information packaging function, it is presumed that the difference in frequency of occurrence of the linguistic forms for subsequent mention of a topic derives from their different distribution in the sentence structure in the two languages. Yoshida points out that in

the English dialogues, pronouns occur in various positions, such as subject (e.g., *Is it just directly below that, or is it nearer the waterfall*?) or complement for the preposition (e.g., *In the middle of it?/How far about it?*) (Yoshida 2008: 195). In contrast, my analysis shows that ellipsis in Japanese for landmarks (zero pronouns for referential chains) can be observed almost only in subject position in clauses for question and answer exchanges regarding the existence of a certain landmark feature. This observation of mine that in the Japanese dialogues, zero pronouns are mainly found in the 'Querying landmarks' sub-substage is supported by Yoshida's report that 'zero pronouns occur only at a limited stage of a given discourse, where the participants require the confirmation or checking of the entities that are notably realised in the existential construction or in the copula construction' (Yoshida 2008: 195). Thus, although the repetitive use of full noun phrases is notable in the dialogues of both languages, the frequency of occurrence of full noun phrases and other forms which play a minor role in referential chains differ in the English and Japanese dialogues.

(2) Topic for the whole dialogue: the route

At the other level of topic, what is talked about is the route which is being drawn by the Follower according to the Giver's instructions. I will call this topic 'global topic'. The route is referred to in different ways in the two languages. In the English dialogues, first and second person pronouns are mainly used, as they are assimilated to the route itself. Once Subject ellipsis occurs, it is not common that only these pronouns are ellipted. Finite or Finite and Predicator are also ellipted, resulting in clauses consisting only of Residue element (Predicator, Complement and/or Adjunct). As was discussed in section 8.1.3, the syntactic reason specific to English (that is, subject-auxiliary inversion for interrogatives) makes it uncommon to have Subject ellipsis whereby ellipted Subject is identified with a route. Additionally, when participants are talking about the manner in which a route should be drawn, the third person pronoun *it* and demonstrative pronoun *that* are often used to refer to the instruction which has been given and about which a question is being asked. They are every now and then ellipted along with the verb *be*, which results in ellipsis of Subject+Finite. Although they do not refer to the route itself, they contain the

proposition regarding the route. In other words, the proposition which *it* or *that* takes over has the route as a topic.

The use of the first and second person pronouns for the global topic in the English dialogues is not replicated in the Japanese dialogues, where ellipsis (null pronoun) is preferred for that purpose; in the Japanese dialogues, the route being drawn is never referred to in the form of first and second person pronouns. Furthermore, the absence of Subjects brings out certain pragmatic effects. As was investigated in section 8.1.4.1, by not specifying Subject in the clause for giving instructions, an atmosphere of collaboration can be created between the Giver and Follower. In the next section, I will incorporate the insights into ellipsis gained from the analysis of referential chains into my accounts of the interpersonal effects of ellipsis.

8.4 Junction of interpersonal and textual effects

So far in this chapter, I have looked at the interpersonal effects and referential functions of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues. These two functions appear to work in quite different dimensions. In this section, I will argue that they show certain grouping patterns in terms of associated elements such as co-occurring speech acts and categorisation of ellipsis (that is, whether the ellipted items are identified linguistically or non-linguistically).

It seems to follow from the observations about the realisation of the local and global topics that in the Japanese dialogues, there is a correlation between the way the ellipted Subject is identified (i.e. whether linguistically or non-linguistically) and the topic which is being dealt with. The ellipted Subjects are mainly either landmarks on maps or the agents of motion verbs in instructions. When the topic is a landmark on the map, i.e. local topic, the ellipted Subject is identified from the neighbouring text (although full noun phrases are mostly used for this topic); this type of ellipsis is found in the exchange of questions and answers regarding the existence of a landmark on the map. Contrarily, when the topic is the agent of the action instructed

by the Giver (global topic), the ellipted Subject is non-linguistically identified. In fact, the Giver's instructions most of the time include this type of ellipsis. The ellipsis can serve to function as a modal expression which is related to the speakers' degree of commitment of the truth of the proposition, and this is where interpersonal effects are observed.

Furthermore, I will expand this insight to the Hallidayan speech act level. It could be said that as for Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, when it is used for the 'giving instruction' speech act, and categorised into situational ellipsis. The utterance is coded as the [instruct] move, where in fact Subject ellipsis accounts for 46.2% of all the clauses in this move. The speech act is found in the 'Giving instructions' sub-substage in the Task-performance stage, and also this speech act belongs to the 'statement' speech act in the Hallidayan system. When Subject ellipsis is used for the 'asking questions' speech act which is found in the 'Querying landmarks' sub-substage, which belongs to the Hallidayan 'question' speech act, this time, ellipsis is categorised into textual ellipsis, whereby the ellipted items are identified from the text in which the ellipsis occur. Thus, with regard to Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, topic, the source of identification of the ellipted item (i.e. linguistic context or non-linguistic context), interpersonal effects and speech acts seem to be loosely related to each other.

It seems to be argued that the use of ellipsis in the English dialogues can be discussed from the same viewpoints as Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues. There are also two types of topics throughout a map task dialogue in the English dialogues: a topic for each substage (the local topic) and a topic which permeates the whole dialogue (the global topic). The former is most often realised in full noun phrases in the English dialogues as in the Japanese dialogues, but pronouns are also used. With regard to ellipsis in association with the local topic, ellipsis is used almost exclusively in a sequence of questions and answers about landmarks, although examples are not many. This ellipsis is recognised as textual ellipsis, as the ellipted items are recoverable from the neighbouring text. The global topic is realised by the first, second and third pronouns, *I, we, you* and *it*, all of which are

used exophorically. Furthermore, when the way of drawing a route is being talked about in the 'Querying instructions' sub-substage (the utterance is coded mainly as the [check] and [query-w] moves), the third person pronoun *it* and the demonstrative *that* which take over the content of the preceding instruction, as well as the first and second personal pronouns, are often used as subjects of the clause. As far as ellipsis goes, these items are ellipted along with the verb *be*, which results in Subject+Finite ellipsis. Figure 8.1 and the following argument in section 8.1.1 indicated that the [check] and [query-w] moves show the most occurrences of Subject and Finite ellipsis across the different moves. Clauses including ellipsis of these pronouns (i.e. *I*, *we*, *you*, *it* and *that*), and auxiliaries or the verb *be*, account for around 30% of all the clauses in these two moves.   Considering that the numbers of elliptical clauses in these two moves account for 52.5% (the [check] move) and 47.2% (the [query-w] move) respectively, Subject and Finite ellipsis is clearly favoured in these moves.

The remarks just made about the relation between ellipsis and other factors show the similarities and differences of the grouping pattern of ellipsis in terms of topic, source of identification of the ellipted items (whether text or situational context), speech acts associated with the use of ellipsis and possible effects (cohesive / interpersonal) between the English and Japanese dialogues. As for similarities, it seems that in cases where ellipted items are recovered from situational context, the exophoric use of the pronouns in English and situational ellipsis (whereby ellipted items are identified exophorically) in Japanese are commonly observed. Also, the distribution of discourse topics and speech acts show a similarity between the two languages. The observations so far may be represented as in Table 8.15.

			English	**Japanese**
Substage	Topic	landmarks (local topic)	Full noun phrases	Full noun phrases
	Associated speech acts	querying on landmarks		
Whole dialogue	Topic	routes (or agent of the action denoted by instruction) (global topic)	Pronouns (*I*, *we*, *you*, *it* (not deictic use)→ **identified exophorically**)	Ellipsis → (**identified exophorically**)
	Associated speech acts	giving instructions / querying on instructions		

Table 8.15 Patterns of the use of referential devices in association with topic and speech act

While global topic is identified exophorically in both languages, the local topic is regularly realised by full noun phrases and at times by pronouns or zero pronouns (ellipsis). In cases where it is realised by ellipsis, my quantitative analysis showed that the frequency of occurrence of the elliptical clause in the move type which deals with the local topic (the [query-yn] move) is quite low. And the way of using ellipsis for the local topic is quite restricted. These are similarities between the English and Japanese dialogues regarding categories of ellipsis (that is, whether the ellipted items are identified linguistically or non-linguistically), the discourse topic and speech acts.

Also, there are differences regarding the use of ellipsis between the two languages. As an instance of them, I will pick out the difference regarding overt and covert subjects in clauses realising the speech act of giving instructions. Given that subjects take responsibility for the proposition of the clause, to have explicit subjects seems to suggest that the English speakers show a certain level of commitment to instructions in the task. Contrarily, when the Japanese speakers give instructions, they make use of subject ellipsis, which results in making the agents of the action unclear. The Japanese pairs do not make it explicit who is supposed to do the action which is denoted in the utterance. It then appears that they show relatively low commitment to instructions, compared with the English participants. It seems that, instead of showing their commitment to the proposition, namely, without clarifying the

responsibility of the role in the interaction, the Japanese participants simply expect each other to fulfil the duty on his / her own.

As mentioned before, perhaps it would be possible to discuss the differences in the degree of commitment between in the English and Japanese dialogues from the viewpoint of politeness. The prevailing politeness theories, such as Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983), discuss linguistic strategies in terms of the dichotomy between positive and negative politeness; in other words, these strategies fall within either positive or negative politeness (Kamio 1997). As the Japanese expression for giving instructions including *-te hoshii* 'ø want ø to do…' has neither the overt subject of the wish nor the subject of the action which is denoted in the clause, ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues can contribute to make the parties who are involved in the action implicit. This is different from English expressions for the same speech act; they have overt parties who are involved in the action, such as *I want you to go due south*. The expressions for giving instructions in the English and Japanese dialogues clearly illustrate the difference in grammar and pragmatics between the two languages. Thus, the differences between English and Japanese regarding the grammar of the language and the difference regarding the degree of speaker's commitment to instructions are associated with each other. And these differences would ultimately be able to be distilled in terms of positive and negative politeness.

8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed ellipsis from interpersonal and cohesive viewpoints, drawing together analyses given in previous chapters and incorporating these two viewpoints in the end. I then gave a summary of the comparison between two languages. I have shown a correlation of elliptical types with their functions in the dialogues. The most common types of ellipsis across the moves are Subject+Finite ellipsis in the English dialogues, and Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues. It was then shown that ellipsis and certain types of verb can cooperate to create

Chapter 8 Discussion: some patterns of ellipsis viewed interpersonally and textually

epistemic and deontic modal effects. The analysis helps us to see that ellipsis, as a grammatical device, can function to express modality reflecting interpersonal effects; for instance, by using Subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, the participants can lower the level of the speaker's commitment to a proposition. On the other hand, in both languages, ellipsis of Subject and Finite and ellipsis of Subject, Finite and Predicator can be used to heighten the level of commitment to the truth of what speakers' are saying. This was followed by a study of cohesion in the dialogues, which revealed that there are two types of topic in the map task dialogues. One is the topic of the whole dialogue, that is, the global topic, (i.e. route); the other is the topic of each substage, that is, the local topic, (i.e. landmark concerned at a given substage). To realise topic continuity at each level, different cohesive devices are used in the two languages. Finally, I observed a correlation between topic, category of ellipsis (whether the ellipted element is identified by seeing linguistic or non linguistic context) and speech acts. English and Japanese showed a similarity in the distribution of a particular type of ellipsis in these respects. I now turn to a discussion of how these findings can be put into practice for pedagogical purposes.

Chapter 9

Pedagogical implications: towards implementation in the classroom

9.0 Introduction

So far, I have presented a comparative description of the grammar and pragmatics of ellipsis in the English and Japanese map task dialogues, using the map task dialogues as data. The research is substantially descriptive, and has produced the following three contributions:

- description of ellipsis in English
- description of ellipsis in Japanese
- enhancement of understanding of how ellipsis in these two languages is similar and different

I discussed the relation between elliptical forms and their speech functions, which developed into the discussion of possible interpersonal effects which are associated with ellipsis as well as the cohesive function of ellipsis in discourse, and eventually the relationship of ellipsis types with sources for reconstruction (linguistic or non linguistic), speech acts and topics associated with ellipsis in discourse. In this chapter, leaving linguistic comparative description of ellipsis, I move on to pedagogical description of ellipsis.

In chapter 1, I raised the problem of how ellipsis is taught in language classrooms, and one of the main objectives of this research is to offer suggestions for it. A rapid survey of existing pedagogical publication indicated that there is little consistent and extensive elucidation of issues, including when ellipsis is normally used, which constituents are to be ellipted, and what kind of interpersonal relationship is associated with the use of ellipsis. In short, information about ellipsis is fragmentally

arranged and presented to learners and it does not address difficulties which learners might encounter when using ellipsis in their target language. The patchy description of ellipsis in current pedagogical publications, then, partly motivates the present research. In the previous analysis chapters, I have established a description of how native speakers of English and Japanese use ellipsis in spoken discourse, although I need to be circumspect about the generalisation of the findings as the data on which the descriptions are based was elicited from a single instrument, i.e. map task. It then seems that I am prepared to discuss how the findings can provide implications for pedagogical settings. The question then is: how is application of the findings to be done? The way linguistic data is exploited for pedagogical settings will vary depending on various factors, such as who will benefit from the implications, in which teaching approach will these findings be implemented?, do learners have specific problems in learning languages?, and if so, what are the problems? To address these issues, the idea of pedagogical description, which in a way contrasts with the idea of linguistic description, plays a central role. Using the concept of pedagogical description, I will discuss a possible way of applying findings from descriptions which are motivated by linguistic interest in ellipsis.

The structure of this chapter is as follows:
- o I will discuss the relationship between linguistic and pedagogical description (section 9.1).
- o Recognising that ellipsis is associated with communicative competence, I will then identify existing problems in teaching ellipsis in the language classroom, along with difficulties which learners might encounter in learning ellipsis, as well as shortcomings in current descriptions of ellipsis in pedagogical publications (section 9.2). Since the research is concerned with English and Japanese, I will focus on difficulties which might be encountered by Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese.
- o I will then move on to discussing suitable grammars of the spoken language and revealing how descriptions of ellipsis can fit within that grammar (section 9.3).

o I will finally establish how implications of findings from linguistic research can be incorporated into pedagogical descriptions by offering suggestions of a pedagogical description of ellipsis which are based on findings from the analysis of ellipsis in the previous chapters (section 9.4).

9.1 Linguistics and Applied Linguistics: bringing linguistics into pedagogical implementation

As stated in chapter 1, this thesis is motivated by pedagogical demands as well as by linguistic interest. The analysis chapters were dedicated to the description of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues, which contribute to developing our knowledge of ellipsis further in these two languages. How, then, can these linguistic findings be turned into contributions to pedagogical settings for material or syllabus designers, textbook writers, teachers and so on? In other words, how can linguistic descriptions be turned into descriptions for pedagogical purposes, that is, pedagogical descriptions? The relationship between linguistic and pedagogical descriptions is summed up as the difference in their aims of description and the criteria for their evaluation (Trappes-Lomax 2006). In fact, it is possible to argue that the relationship between linguistic and pedagogical descriptions reflects the relationship between findings from linguistics and applied linguistics. Findings from linguistic research satisfy linguistic interest as well as validating existing linguistic theories, while findings from applied linguistics research serve to meet the demand from the language classroom. The linguistics approach is also adapted for applied linguistics research. The difference between linguistics and applied linguistics research, then, lies in the motivation of the research. How, then, do they relate to each other?

Pedagogical descriptions are influenced by factors relating to the field in which learning actually takes place. These factors include, for instance, facts about the users (e.g., teachers, material / test writers), facts about the learners (e.g., age, level

and motivation), facts relating to the learning contexts (e.g., types of school, EFL or ESL etc.), facts about the context of use (e.g., language for general or specific purposes), and finally also facts about the approach and method adapted (e.g., varying from grammar-translation to communicative language teaching) (Trappes-Lomax 2006). Taking these factors into consideration, pedagogical descriptions draw on outcomes and descriptions when the source is one of the following four areas:

- Introspection
- Existing linguistic theories and descriptions
- Reference grammars and dictionaries
- Analysis and description of data   (Trappes-Lomax 2006)

With regard to this thesis, the analysis chapters have already provided descriptions of dialogues by native speakers of English and Japanese, so the remaining problem is how the findings of this thesis can be actually adapted for pedagogical purposes. Obviously, language teaching cannot bring results of linguistic analyses directly into the classroom. There need to be filters through which linguistic description can be utilised for pedagogical purposes.

How, then, can the outcome of linguistic research be applied and brought into implementation? In other words, how can linguistics be brought to applied linguistics? Or, how does applied linguistics benefit from linguistics? There are two channels to bring information drawn from linguistics and linguistic theories to practical settings, which reflect the difference regarding the motivation of the particular piece of research; Davies, for example, discusses how the relationship between linguistics and applied linguistics can in fact be described as Linguistics Applied and Applied Linguistics (Davies 1999; Davies and Elder 2004).

One way is straightforward; that is what applied linguistics research does. Research from an applied linguistics perspective starts with practical problems concerning language or possibly language teaching. Recognition of the existing problem is the

starting point of the research. According to the problem raised, the research is designed, and based on the information coming from the research, the problem will be solved. The process is precisely described in these words: '(T)he purpose of applied linguistics is…to explain and solve institutional problems involving language, not to further a linguistic theory' (Davies 1999: 5). The other channel is through adaptation of results from purely linguistic research, which is why Davies calls this approach Linguistics Applied. This kind of research is motivated by linguistic interest, and is carried out to pursue the goal which contributes to develop the concerned area of linguistics. The results produced are then drawn on as practical need arises. In this vein, the findings from chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 can be pedagogically suggestive in certain forms. Obviously, however, findings of linguistic research cannot be directly applied as, for example, it is unlikely to be helpful to students to explain the behaviour of ellipsis in the classroom using terms such as Finite and Predicator. The consensus regarding the impossibility of the direct application of linguistic findings motivates the idea of pedagogical grammar. What then should pedagogical grammar be like? To this question, a suggestion comes from Stern (1983), who argues that it is psychological and sociolinguistic factors that determine the shape of accounts for learners, and he points out that linguistics can provide the language classroom with concepts, models, and ideas about a language in the form of 'interpretation and selection of the description of a language' (Stern 1983: 186).

In concrete terms, Swan (1994) defined six criteria for pedagogic language rules to bridge linguistics and language teaching: truth, demarcation, clarity, simplicity, conceptual parsimony and relevance.

1) Truth: rules should be true, which means that the description should be beyond grammarians' prescriptive prejudices and resistance to language change; for instance, even though some grammarians may personally disapprove of the use of *like* as a conjunction, grammarians' job is to describe the use of *like* as it is, not to accuse speakers of exercising this use of *like*.

2) Demarcation: rules should show the limits of the use of the word or

grammatical feature in question.

3) Clarity: rules should be clear.

4) Simplicity: this is what distinguishes pedagogic rules from general-purpose descriptive ones.

5) Conceptual parsimony: the concept employed to an explanation should be accessible to learners.

6) Relevance: rules should answer the question (and only the question) that the student's English 'asking'.

(Swan 1994: 45-53)

Bearing these rules in the mind I will discuss possible resolutions for the problems mentioned in chapter 1, by addressing the question: do the findings of this research add to our comparative knowledge of ellipsis in spoken English and spoken Japanese in any way or ways that may be turned to practical advantage in the area of pedagogical grammar? First of all, it is necessary to recognise what exactly the problems of learning ellipsis for learners are in actual pedagogical settings.

9.2 Issues of ellipsis in the language classroom

9.2.1 Ellipsis as a realisation of communicative competence

As seen in this thesis so far, ellipsis is a reflection of a certain speech act in a certain context in which the speech occurs; for instance, subject and predicate are very often ellipted from utterances when the instruction follower in the map task dialogues makes a query on detailed information as to how the route should be drawn. Ellipsis is then closely associated with the practice of choosing the appropriate form for a particular speech act in a particular setting. And the appropriate choice of the form, in terms of function and context, is where communicative competence plays a role. I will start with a rapid review of the evolution of the idea of communicative competence.

Since the 1960s, it has been recognised that grammatical knowledge of the target language is not enough for successful communication. In response to this, scholars started to pay attention to the communicative approach, such that this has taken on the position of a widespread approach rather than the grammar-translation method, although the latter is still prevalent in the world today. A communicative approach was advocated by Hymes, who extended the idea of competence (as this term was understood in generative linguistics) to include knowledge of the use of the language to carry out speech acts successfully in a society. Communicative competence is the integration of knowledge about grammar and use of the language (Hymes 1972). Following Hymes, Canale and Swain (1980) divided communicative competence into the following four components: grammatical competence (lexico-grammatical knowledge); sociolinguistic competence (knowledge of appropriateness of the use); discourse competence (knowledge of cohesion and coherence); and strategic competence (knowledge of managing actual communication, e.g., handling breakdown). Canale and Swain's description of communicative competence is today the most widely used in language teaching. Thus, communicative competence is a central concern of the communicative approach; assessment in the communicative approach is dependent on learners' development of communicative competence.

Because what is ellipted is by and large determined by the context in which it occurs, ellipsis is said to be an example of 'contextualisation' (Lyons 1977). The decisive factors in the use of ellipsis include what is emphasised in the sentence, and what speakers hold as shared knowledge. The analysis in earlier chapters showed that ellipsis serves a textual function to create cohesion in a particular way in a certain genre. It can also have interpersonal effects such as creating solidarity. Furthermore, the occurrence and use of ellipsis is sensitive to genre and language. Thus, the occurrence of ellipsis is influenced by the context in which it occurs, and this is the reason why ellipsis is greatly associated with communicative competence. It is not possible to utter full sentences all the time in communication; in order to cope with actual communication, where cohesion, interpersonal effects and genre are to be reflected in linguistic forms, ellipsis needs to be utilised. This view can be seen in the following statement made by Lyons (1977):

> It is part of the language-competence of a speaker of the language (if not of his linguistic competence in the narrower sense) that he should be able to produce grammatically incomplete, but contextually appropriate and interpretable, sentence-fragments. (Lyons 1977: 589)

Ellipsis is one grammatical feature which exactly exemplifies the importance of the appropriate use of the form, required in exercise of communicative competence. From a practical point of view, however, it seems that ellipsis is not easy for learners to become used to and manipulate as even advanced learners find it hard to recognise what elements in sentences should be omitted (Scarcella and Brunak 1981). What, then, are the actual problems which learners encounter as they learn the appropriate use of ellipsis? This is addressed in the next section.

9.2.2 Difficulties encountered by learners

Here I will point out difficulties which learners of English and Japanese might encounter in studying ellipsis, based on the discussion in chapter 2, where characteristics of ellipsis in each language were presented. There are two aspects of difficulties caused by learners' first languages: structural and social/pragmatic.

(i) Structural differences

From the outline of ellipsis in English and Japanese provided in chapter 2, we found that the syntax of English rules out certain types of ellipsis or "null arguments" which are grammatical in Japanese. Along with this rigidness of constituents, English and Japanese have very different syntactic properties, such as word order and behaviour of the Finite elements, as the application of systemic functional grammar to Japanese in chapter 4 revealed. For Japanese learners of English, then, English is thought to have every constituent in the sentence in the fixed order all the time, and the grammar-translation method, which is based on written language grammar and is still the most common way of teaching English, prevents learners from experiencing a good deal of spoken language, which contains numerous examples of ellipsis. For these reasons, Japanese learners of English tend to believe that every constituent

should be explicit in the sentence. When they encounter informal discourse, which includes numerous occurrences of ellipsis, they feel that the text is fragmentary and patchy, which often makes them panic and feel it is challenging to interpret it.

On the other hand, it is reported that the heavy use of null pronouns in Japanese affects English learners' comprehension of text. Yamura-takei and Fujiwara (2003) and Yamura-takei, Aizawa and Fujiwara (2005) pay attention to argument ellipsis as a criterion for assessing difficulties of reading materials for learners of Japanese as a foreign language. They grouped null pronouns into two groups according to the argument type (zero verbal argument and zero nominal argument[65]), and pointed out that the difficulty of reading materials is attributable to the distribution of these two kinds of ellipsis. Types of null pronouns, and especially the latter, create difficulties in learners' comprehension, and therefore could potentially be utilised as factors to measure reading difficulties in the sense that they serve as markers of cohesion in text (Yamura-takei, Aizawa and Fujiwara 2005).

(ii) Pragmatic transfer brought about by cultural differences
The problem regarding use of ellipsis seems to be caused by cross-linguistic differences in the use of ellipsis. In English it is claimed that ellipsis is used on informal occasions among familiar speakers (Nariyama 2004). My analysis, however, showed there is no significant difference regarding the frequency of occurrence of ellipsis between familiar and unfamiliar pairs in the English dialogues. It is speculated that this inconsistency may be attributable to the genre used in the present research, that is, task-oriented dialogues, where the sole goal, completing the task, does not seem to be associated with participant familiarity for English participants. In contrast, there appeared more ellipsis observed in the dialogues

---

[65] An example of zero verbal argument is as follows:

    (ø-ga)   *pan-o*   *tabeta*
    (ø-NOM) bread-ACC   eat-PAST
   'ø ate bread.'   (Yamura-takei, Aizawa and Fujiwara 2005: 359)
An example of zero nominal argument is as follows:

    (ø-no)   *shintyoo-wa 50 cm da.*
    (ø-GEN) height-TOP   50 cm COP
   '(Its) height is 50 cm.'   (ibid.)

among familiar pairs in the Japanese data. Thus, although the observations were made using spoken data in rather a specific genre, the association of ellipsis with familiarity with interlocutors may well be different in English and Japanese discourse of all types as well as also being genre-specific. Failure of adjustment could bring miscommunication as discussed in the previous section.

Moreover, cross-cultural difficulties can arise from different norms in particular contexts between the two languages. As discussed in chapter 8, Japanese clauses do not have explicit agents for predicates, which results in the speaker showing less commitment to the proposition. Recall Subject and Complement ellipsis in the clause in the [instruct] ellipsis, -*taindakedo* 'want to go through' in the [instruct] move; at least from the form it is not clear who wants whom to take the action. Thus, Japanese tends to have covert parties in the action under discussion. In contrast, English has explicit parties in cases such as making an offer or suggestion; for instance, an expression, such as *Why don't you...?* would may sound intrusive for Japanese learners of English, as it explicitly specifies that it is *you*, the hearer, who does the action, and in fact it can even sound as if the speaker accuses the hearer of not doing the action. Similarly, an expression for making an offer or suggestion such as *Do you want me to lock the door?* shows such a high degree of commitment of each party involved in the event that Japanese learners would feel that it sounds unduly obtrusive, as these expressions are totally opposite to the idea that as a speaker you should 'emphasise the obligation you incur' (Hashimoto 2001).

9.2.3 Ellipsis in current pedagogical materials

In this section I will look at the treatment of ellipsis in a sample of currently prevailing textbooks in both languages. First, English textbooks used at secondary schools in Japan are examined, followed by an examination of English grammar books. Then we look at textbooks for learners of Japanese. Textbooks for learners of Japanese to be looked at are written for adult foreign learners, and are mainly used at universities or lifelong learning classes. It is true that the target audiences of the textbooks in these languages are different; English textbooks are for high school

students; Japanese textbooks are for university students or adult learners. However, these textbooks are the most accessible for learners of the two languages, considering the fact that secondary school students are the biggest population of English learners in Japan, while Japanese is not mandatory in English speaking countries, and many English speakers who wish to study Japanese do so in a higher education or lifelong learning context. Therefore, although the readership and context of use of these materials are different, the chosen texts substantially reflect the reality of the description of ellipsis found in teaching materials in the classroom.

9.2.3.1 Accounts of ellipsis in English language pedagogical materials

At schools in Japan, English ellipsis receives little treatment in course books. I looked at textbooks which are used for two types of class at Japanese high schools: seven textbooks for General English[66] and five for Oral Communication II[67] to explore the two functions discussed earlier in this research: ellipsis to realise cohesion and ellipsis to achieve interpersonal effects.

The fact is that there is no reference made to ellipsis in association with cohesion in the seven textbooks for General English examined, although each lesson in the book mainly consists of a certain amount of reading material. The following is an almost the only example of ellipsis in the seven textbooks. In (9.1) learners fill in either *yes* or *no* in the bracket.

(9.1) *Teacher: Did you do your homework?*

---

[66] The textbooks examined are written for English II, which deals with 'General English.' The term 'General English' refers to something slightly different from how it is perceived in English teaching in the UK. Although General English in Japan aims at improving the four skills, reading is in reality the skill which is focused on most. This is mainly because the traditional Grammar-Translation method is still predominant. The objectives of this subject are: 'To further develop students' abilities to understand what they listen to or read and to convey information, ideas, etc. by speaking or writing in English, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication through dealing with a wide variety of topics' (Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, Sports and Technology 2003).

[67] The objectives of Oral Communication II are: 'To further develop students' abilities to organize, present and discuss information, ideas, etc. in English, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication through dealing with a wide variety of topics (Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, Sports and Technology 2003).'

Student: No, I didn't.
Teacher: You didn't?
Student: (   )   (*New Stream II*, p.26)

This type of ellipsis is in fact associated with the most common way of giving positive and negative replies in English.

Examination of the five textbooks for Oral Communication II revealed that instances of ellipsis are occasionally found in utterances among characters. Some examples are seen in (9.2)-(9.7):

(9.2) Mayumi is a Japanese girl studying in the United States, and Dick is an American boy.
    Mayumi: Sorry, I'm late. I had to finish some homework.
    Dick: No problem. <u>Glad you could come</u>.   (*Open Door*, p.30)

(9.3) The same as above.
    Mayumi: I saw a pizza restaurant near the merry-go round.
    Dick: <u>*Sounds good*</u>!   (*Open Door,* p.34)

(9.4) Doctor-patient conversation
    Doctor: What's the matter?
    Patient: I have a high fever.
    Doctor: How long have you had it?
    Patient: <u>For two days</u>.
    Doctor: Do you have a sore throat?
    Patient: Yes, <u>a little</u>.
    Doctor: O.K. I think you have a cold. It's going around now.
                                     (*Open Door*, p.63)

(9.5) Learners complete the following dialogue.
    A: We could study by ourselves in the afternoon.
    B: Are you going to do that? <u>I wouldn't</u>. I would just go home and relax.
    A: (   )   (*Empathy*, p.32)

(9.6) Learners perform a scene from Roman Holiday
    Princess: Mr. Bradley, I have a confession to make.
    Joe: Confession?
    Princess: Yes. I ran away last night…from school.
    Joe: Oh, what was the matter? <u>Trouble with the teacher?</u>
    Princess: <u>No, nothing like that.</u>   (*Empathy,* p.41)

Thus, there are a few examples of ellipsis from dialogues, although no description or explanation of ellipsis is found, much less any reference to the interpersonal effects associated with ellipsis. However, one textbook includes the following two expressions with and without ellipsis (9.9).

(9.7) a. *Chie: Our English classes. We read newspapers, have discussions and perform dramas. We also exchange e-mails with our sister school in Australia.*
  Taro: <u>Sounds exciting</u>.   (*Birdland*, p.7)
  b.   *Paul: Well, I'd like to visit Italy. I'm interested in Italian art and food. I also want to see a soccer game.*
  Nobuko: That sounds exciting.   (*Birdland,* p.17)

Dialogue (9.7a) contains the omission of the subject of *sounds exciting*. An utterance in dialogue (9.7b) includes a subject with the same predicate part. The elliptical utterance in (9.7a), *Sounds exciting,* is issued by Taro, a Japanese boy, and the utterance in (9.7b) is by Nobuko, a Japanese girl. What is noteworthy is that Taro's utterance in (9.7a) is found in a conversation between Taro and Chie, both of them Japanese high school students, while Nobuko's utterance in (9.7b) is observed in a conversation between two Japanese high school students, Takeshi and Nobuko, and an Assistant Language Teacher, Paul. The difference in the occurrence of ellipsis might be explained by the difference in formality between the two conversations. The participants in each conversation indicate a difference in the formality of their utterances; the ellipsis in (9.7a) appears in a conversation among peers, while Nobuko's utterance in (9.7b) appears in a conversation involving students and a teacher, Paul, who is in a higher position than the rest of the participants. In fact, Nobuko's utterance in (9.7b) is a response to Paul's utterance.   It might be possible to say that editors of the text did not make Nobuko omit the subject in consideration of the context in which the conversation occurs. However, the presentation of formality is not very clear as the two conversations take place in different lessons, and it is hardly appropriate to expect this level of register awareness from learners. Thus, even in textbooks used specifically for learning communication, there is an insufficient amount of explanation of the interpersonal effects of ellipsis.

9.2.3.2 Accounts of ellipsis in Japanese language pedagogical materials

Textbooks for learners of Japanese also pay rather little attention to ellipsis in spite of its prevalent use in everyday conversation. *Situational Functional Japanese vol. 1* includes only scant explanation of ellipsis under the title 'About omission.' The description provided there is: '(E)lements that are obvious to the listener are often omitted...' (*Situational Functional Japanese vol.1* p.206). It gives coverage of ellipsis of particle, topic, predicate and noun plus particle. The referents of these ellipses are all recoverable from the preceding text, and the other type of ellipsis, whereby the referent is recovered from the non-linguistic context, is not mentioned. It also makes reference to *chotto*, an expression used in refusals, which was introduced in section 2.4.1 in chapter 2. The expression sounds suitably hesitant and vague so as not to offend the person refused (ibid., p.211). An example of an utterance including *chotto* is (9.8):

(9.8) *Kyoo   wa   chotto (muri   desu)*
today   TOP   a.bit   (impossible COP(POL))
'I'm afraid I can make it today.'

Chotto is a kind of set expression that allows the following clause which includes the refusal part to be ellipted. This way of refusing with clausal ellipsis originates from the speaker's consideration that it is best to avoid saying directly negative responses so as the speaker can save the hearer's as well as his/her own face. *Japanese for Busy People I* does not have a special section for ellipsis, but there are a few descriptions under the title of abbreviation, which explain, in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) terms, nominal and clausal ellipsis. There is also a description titled 'omission of topic', which says that topic is omitted when it is obvious to others (p.20). An informative and practical explanation found there is the replacement of a verb with the copula *desu* when the verb is understood among the interlocutors (p.67), which is equivalent to the '*da* strategy' described by Kuno (1978, 1982). *Nakama* gives a good account of 'making sense out of missing pronouns' for listening comprehension, which mentions the omission of the first and second person pronoun to refer to the speaker and hearer respectively (p.192). There is also an adjacency

312

pair including clausal ellipsis, for the explanation of *kara* 'because' (p.188), as seen in (9.9).

(9.9) Alice: *Yoku terebi-o   mi-masu   ka.*
        often TV-ACC   watch-HON(T) FP$_i$
        'Do you often watch TV?'
    Satoo: *Iie, isogashii desu   kara.*
        no   busy   HON(T) because
        'No, because I am busy.'   (*Nakama* p.188)

The description says that as the clause which ends with *kara* can be used to state a reason, it is not necessary for Satoo to say any negative words in his reply. This is made possible by the context in which it can be used. Overall, no comprehensive accounts are found for any kind of ellipsis.

9.2.3.3 Summary

This brief survey of pedagogical publications reveals that the description of ellipsis in the books examined tends to be scattered, sparse and unsystematic. What is found is mainly a simple explanation of possible forms of ellipsis here and there in a book (e.g., subject and operator are often left out in English). It is probable that one reason for the inadequate description of ellipsis in pedagogical publications, whether in English or Japanese, is that unlike other grammatical features such as modals, passives or participial constructions, elliptical structures do not consist of any grammatical items which are used for it exclusively. There are also many ways of realising ellipsis, such as omission of the initial or final part of the structure, or noun or whole clause; also, ellipsis is used in comparative structures, coordinate structures and in replies, too. This seems to make it hard to establish one category for ellipsis as a section of a grammar book, which results in the above descriptions being dispersed through the whole book. Additionally, from the examination of the treatment of ellipsis in textbooks, it can be seen that little reference is made to the important characteristics of ellipsis, that ellipsis is both a cohesive device and a means of realising interpersonal effects, both of which are based on the fact that ellipsis is licensed by shared knowledge and encouraged by economy.

Accounts of ellipsis may not need to have a section like other grammatical features; for instance, for advanced learners, some examples of ellipsis and a guide provided by teachers for noticing the occurrence of ellipsis in discourse could be adequate. What is problematic, however, is that almost all the publications ignore the functions of ellipsis which are vital for learning ellipsis, as this grammatical feature is an essential component of communicative competence.

9.3 Ellipsis in the discourse grammar of the spoken language

In this section, I will present the importance of teaching the grammar of the spoken language, of which ellipsis is one of the most remarkable features, and also the way the grammar of the spoken language can be described. There are two reasons for focusing on the grammar of the spoken language. First of all, the data which was used for the analysis in this dissertation is spoken data. The contribution of the analysis of spoken language should then be for pedagogical descriptions for spoken language directly. The second reason is that spoken and written languages have in fact quite different features, which are summarised as follows:

- Speaking does not remain after the performance, while writing does remain in the form of letters. The limitation of both speaker's and hearer's information processing caused by time limitation in speech brings about grammatical features which are specific to spoken language.
- Speaking takes place on the spot, while writing describes what has occurred or has been settled. Therefore, speaking is produced instantly, while writing can allow the writer time to create and edit.
- The speaker knows who his/her listeners are and can interact with them, which brings feedback to the speaker on the spot, while the writer dwells in his/her own world in the sense that there is no interaction between the writer

and reader. The writer and reader usually do not share the time of the writing taking place,[68] which prevents the writer from having immediate feedback.

Reflecting these differences, the theoretical rationale behind this distinction of the grammar explains that spoken and written language are not merely different medium but should also be considered to be different systems of morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and the organisation of texts (Biber 1999; Halliday 1989; Miller and Weinert 1998). Thus, it is increasingly recognised that it is important to recognise that these two different media have different grammars, in the context of pedagogical descriptions. Here I start by discussing how the grammar of the spoken language has emerged as a necessary component of language teaching.

As mentioned in section 9.2.1, the characterisations of the four components of communicative competence by Canale and Swain (1980) have served as a theoretical background for syllabus designers, teachers and textbook writers to implement the communicative approach. This is a reaction to problems which arise from ignorance in the classroom of the appropriate use of forms in a speech community, as numerous authors have pointed out. Some authors in fact warn of the results of inappropriate use of linguistic forms; for instance, Paltridge (2006) points out, quoting Tanaka (1997), that in cross-cultural contexts, native speakers of a language are less tolerant of pragmatic errors than they are of grammatical errors; erroneous language forms, which produce speech acts that sound non-standard, can even create communication failure (Cohen and Olshtain 1989). The point to be made here is that lexico-grammatical knowledge does not guarantee successful communication in the target language, as found in a report saying that a 'high level of grammatical competence does not guarantee concomitant high levels of pragmatic competence' (Bardovi-Harlig 1999: 686).

From this background, the importance of pragmatics is today more acknowledged and in fact, teaching pragmatics is becoming more fashionable in language teaching.

---

[68] I exclude internet chatting from this account.

Interlanguage pragmatics is now a flourishing field of second language acquisition (Kasper 2001; Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993; Kasper and Rose 2002; Rose and Kasper 2001); one of the notable projects in this area is the Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP), an international joint project which cross-linguistically compares realisation patterns of the speech acts 'requests' and 'apologies' (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984). At the same time, it is increasingly realised that teaching pragmatics is best achieved through teaching the grammar of the spoken language, since this type of language is typically more influenced by the context in which it occurs than is written language, the grammar of which has often been assumed to be "the" grammar of the language.

Carter and McCarthy are active leaders of those who advocate that teaching of the spoken language should be based on an appropriate description, which should derive from empirical evidence, such as corpus data; a corpus of spoken English (e.g., CANCODE[69]) is, in fact, a source of their own publications, which include a descriptive reference grammar book of spoken and written English (Carter and McCarthy 2006). They argue that the grammar of the spoken language reflects the reality of spoken language use, including features such as ellipsis, and left dislocation, which the grammar of the written language does not manifest (Carter and McCarthy 1995; 2006). To put it another way, again, what is recognised about communicating in a language is that linguistic activity is not equal to producing grammatical sentences which are based on the grammar of the written language. In fact, in the Hallidayan approach, the sentence itself, whether grammatical or not, is recognised to be the unit in the grammar of the written language specifically, whereas the units of communication in spoken language are the clause complexes (Halliday 1989).

The relation between the grammar of the spoken language and the way of teaching it is receiving increasing attention these days, reflecting the fashion for teaching pragmatics. Reflecting this trend, there emerge tried and tested classroom

---

[69] CANCODE is a corpus of spoken English of five million words of naturally-occurring British spoken English. It stands for Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English.

methodologies such as noticing (implications about the use of a particular form in the language, which follows the process that consists of consciousness raising in formal instruction) and learning methods which are formulated especially to develop learners' communicative competence, such as task-based learning, which consists of variety of tasks that learners are expected to perform so as that they develop the grammar of the spoken language. Among the approaches for teaching pragmatics, I will limit the discussion to descriptions of the grammar of the spoken language, that is, the pedagogical description of ellipsis in each language, since this thesis has devoted itself to descriptions of ellipsis in English and Japanese. At the moment, then, the centre of the discussion is how the grammar of the spoken language should be described.

I would suggest that the grammar of the spoken language should be described as discourse-based, not sentence-based. The sentence is the unit for the grammar of the written language and has been prevalent as a unit of teaching grammar. Compared with the idea of sentence grammar, the idea of describing linguistic features in discourse is relatively new (Celce-Murcia 2002; Hughes and McCarthy 1998). Several reasons, which I will discuss shortly, can be pointed out for moving from sentence-based grammar to discourse-based grammar in language teaching. In fact, the fundamental idea for the shift of the unit for grammar teaching is that some grammatical features would be better described in the unit of discourse rather than in the unit of sentence (Hughes and McCarthy 1998). Hughes and McCarthy (1998) point out that these features include the choice of simple past and past perfect,[70] left and right dislocation,[71] and choice of demonstratives and pronouns (*this*/*that*/*it*).[72]

---

[70] By looking at a chunk of discourse, alternative use of simple past and past perfect can be explained; for instance, past perfects can be used for giving a reason or justification for the main events of the narrative, and often follows *because*/*cos*. Ford (1994), who examined the use of *because*/*cos* as justification of events, suggests that *because/cos* co-occur with past perfect in a notable number of each.

[71] Motivation for the use of left dislocation (also called *preposed theme* or *topic*) and right dislocation (also called *tails)* can be explained as the speaker's act of sensitivity to the listeners, e.g., to clarify a particular piece of information in discourse. An example of each phenomenon is:

The white house on the corner, is that where she lives? (left dislocation)

They're incredibly nice, our neighbours. (right dislocation)

(Carter and McCarthy 2006: 193-195)

Description of each of these features which is based on observation of discourse makes a case for the shift of the unit of description; the fact that these linguistic features are described and explained more comprehensively in discourse is a strong motivation for moving the unit of explanation from sentence to discourse. I will look at reasons provided by Hughes and McCarthy (1998) to promote discourse-based grammar, showing how the discourse-based approach is appropriate to describe ellipsis, so as to argue that ellipsis is a grammatical item to be explained in discourse grammar.

First, there are some key features which show differences in the grammar between the spoken and written language, and these differences will be only found by looking at discourse-based data. Ellipsis is one of them - a linguistic feature which occurs far more frequently in the spoken medium, and appears with noticeable frequency in a spoken corpus (Carter and McCarthy 1995). Mainly because of the greater availability of non-linguistic context, ellipsis is used more in speech than in writing (Biber 1999; Carter and McCarthy 1995; 2006); more shared knowledge among speakers allows them to use more ellipsis (Tannen 1989); especially for ellipsis of first and second person pronouns, the presence of speaker and hearer is taken as referents which are non-linguistically provided (Shibatani 1990). With regard to subject ellipsis in Japanese, it is reported that in conversation 70% of subjects are ellipted while in writing this figure drops to 40% (Nariyama 2000). The findings from the analysis chapters in the present thesis also show that ellipsis is frequently used also in the map task dialogues; 67.6% of the total clauses in the Japanese dialogues are elliptical. It is only by the observation of actual discourse that it becomes possible for grammar teachers or material writers to characterise features which are specific to the spoken and written language. By scrutinising spoken discourse, then, it is possible to relate grammatical choices, such as ellipsis, to constraints which are characteristic of spoken language.

---

[72] Paradigms which are organised in the traditional Latin-style grammars do not fit with the paradigms of choices that are observed in real discourse; for instance, the third person pronoun *it* and the demonstratives *this* and *that* come together as members of a paradigm on many occasions. Although the four-member demonstrative (*this, that, these* and *those*) are recognised as members of the paradigm of the pronoun set, the paradigm does not reflect the actual choice available in discourse (McCarthy 1994).

Apart from the fact that ellipsis is a feature frequently found in spoken discourse, there are other reasons why ellipsis can be well described in discourse–based grammars of the spoken language. The next reason is that the reasons for speakers choosing elliptical forms can be explained by looking at a chunk of discourse. When it is said that ellipsis is an omission of grammatical elements in the clause which are normally obligatory in the grammar of the language, the point is that ellipsis does not occur obligatorily in the sense that structural or lexical conditions require it to occur, unlike other grammatical phenomena such as the rule that an infinite verb forms should follow an auxiliary verb. It is a speaker's choice whether s/he uses all the constituents in the utterances or ellipts some of them. It is then necessary to look at the discourse to find out the reality in which constituents can be ellipted as well as to find out motivations for the ellipsis. The following excerpt (9.10) is an example from the English map task dialogues which shows that speakers choose elliptical utterances for a particular reason:

(9.10)

Move 7 instruct so you're beneath it	
	Move 8 check so that I'm underneath it ... so I move right so that I'm underneath it?
Move 9 reply-y so that you're underneath it yes	
	Move 12 ready right ehm
	Move 13 check directly underneath the diamond mine?
Move 14 reply-y mmhmm	

Dialogue q6ec6

In (9.10), the Follower asks about the way s/he draws a route twice (Move 8 and 13). The first time (Move 8) s/he uses the full clauses: *so that I'm underneath it*; *so I move right*; *so that I'm underneath it?* In his / her second question (Move 13), s / he ellipts the subject and *be*, which results in an elliptical utterance. Examination of the

discourse makes us consider the context, which leads to understanding the choice of this type of ellipsis. In the case of the elliptical clause in Move 13, observation of the map task dialogues shows that ellipsis of Subject and Finite often co-occurs with the [check] move, which in this case seems to be for the purpose of economy.

This observation of the occurrence of grammatical features which are not obligatory reflects the idea of a probabilistic view of grammar, whereby grammar is a guideline which could be attained from observations of a particular feature in a numerous examples (Hughes and McCarthy 1998). This view contrasts with a deterministic view of grammar, which deals with core rules of grammar in relation to the grammaticality of the behaviour of sentences, clauses and phrases. These two views are parallel regarding verification; whereas deterministic grammar has clear-cut criteria of grammaticality, probabilistic grammar is open to modification. With the latter, observations are made in different types of discourse including different speakers, writers and genres, in the process of which modification can be made. Once statements from observations are found to be reliable, they are presented to learners so as to make it possible for them to express themselves in the way native speakers do (Hughes and McCarthy 1998). This is where discourse-based grammar plays a role which sentence grammar cannot serve.

The above reason is closely related to the third reason; it is difficult for hearers to understand ellipsis fully without having access to a certain amount of discourse. Locating ellipsis in discourse makes it possible for hearers to understand the function of ellipsis. The following excerpt (9.11) shows that whereas ellipsis is used as a sort of default in Japanese dialogue as a cohesion marker, it is not used when the speaker has a specific focus of attention in the discourse.

(9.11)

| **Move 38 query-yn**
 Nooka-no mon-te   *yuu no*   *wa*
 farmer-GEN gate-QUOT call NMLS TOP
 'Is there something called "farmer's gate"?' | |

ari masu ka there.is HON(T) FP_i	
	Move 39 reply-n *Nai desu ne* there.is-NEG HON(T) FP_c 'There is not (a farmer's gate).'
Move 40 check <u>*Ko*wareta mon*</u> *mo * nani mo* <u>broken gate</u> E anything.else E 'No "broken gate", or anything else.'	

	Move 41 uncodable
	*E
	  hm
	  'Hm'

	Move 42 explain
	**A <u>kowareta mon</u> wa ari masu*
	  well <u>broken gate</u> TOP there.is HON(T)
	  'Well, there is a "broken gate".'

Dialogue j6e8

In this excerpt, the Giver and Follower are talking about whether the Follower's map includes a certain landmark. The Giver asks about *nooka no mon* 'farmer's gate' first (Move 38), which it turned out the Follower does not have on the map. The Follower answers by providing a negative answer (Move 39), where a subject is ellipted as it is identical with the discourse topic, that is, *nooka no mon* 'farmer's gate'. The Giver then asks about whether the Follower has *kowareta mon* 'broken gate' on the map. It is clear from the Giver's saying *mo nanimo* 'anything else' that the Giver wants to confirm that the Follower does not have anything around that area on the map. The Follower replies by revealing that s/he has got *kowareta mon* 'broken gate' on the map. What to note is that in the first answer of the Follower's (Move 38) s / he does not have an explicit subject in the utterance, while in the second answer (Move 42) s/he makes it clear that there is *kowareta mon* 'broken gate' on his/her map by having it as a subject of the clause, although *kowareta mon* 'broken gate' has been already introduced in the discourse by the Giver (Move 40). This is because the Follower, responding to the Giver's confirmation, would like to stress that there is something on his/her map, and it is called *kowareta mon* 'broken gate'. This is also clear from the use of the topic marker *wa* in this utterance, which

serves to emphasise the existence of *kowareta mon* 'broken gate', distinguishing it from *nooka no mon* 'farmer's gate'. Thus, speakers manipulate ellipsis to make exchanges 'well-modulated', that is, to make it clear the centre of attention in the discourse. Thus, there would be no knowing how ellipsis is exploited as well as avoided in dialogues in discourse when we look at 'stand-alone sentences' (Hughes and McCarthy 1998: 275). In other words, ellipsis can be taken as a primary example of grammar as choice, which stands in contrast to the notion of grammar as concerning structure and deals with forms sensitive to a particular context in which the language is used (Carter and McCarthy 2006). Thus, ellipsis is fitted into the motivations for calling for a discourse based approach.

In this section, I have been arguing that ellipsis, which occurs far more frequently in the spoken language than in the written language, should be able to be better described when it is viewed at discourse level; in other words, ellipsis should be explained in discourse grammar, which takes discourse as the basic unit of explanation and contrasts it with sentence grammar. Based on this argument, I will consider a possible form of pedagogical description of ellipsis in the next section. As for what the audience should know about grammatical features, as Celce-Murcia (2002) points out, although the research in functional perspectives, such as by Halliday and West Coast Functionalists, does look at grammatical features in discourse, it still does not provide teachers with clear and complete accounts of the way grammar functions at the discourse level. In other words, it does not offer what teachers should teach in the light of developing learners' communicative competence (such as when the feature occurs, what the feature means in discourse and why the feature is used by a speaker / writer in a particular piece of discourse) (Celce-Murcia 2002: 123). This is where pedagogical description plays a role, in the case of the current research, in the form of a grammar of the spoken language. In the sense that pedagogical description can be based on linguistic description, this chapter serves as a bridge between linguistic research and pedagogical applications.

9.4 Pedagogical descriptions of ellipsis for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese

9.4.1 Contextualisation of the pedagogical description of ellipsis

In this section, I will briefly introduce background information about the following pedagogical description of ellipsis for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese. I will establish three properties of pedagogical description as preliminary task: first, how the description relates to my research in the present thesis; next, the principles on which the pedagogical description will be designed; lastly, how I envisage the description being used by its target users.

First I will contextualise the pedagogical description in terms of how it relates to my thesis research. I will summarise the findings of the exploration of description of ellipsis in some published reference grammars used for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese, and the findings of my research presented throughout the analysis chapters.

	Ellipsis in English		Ellipsis in Japanese	
	Publications (reference grammar) available	**Research findings**	**Publications (reference grammar) available**	**Research findings**
Forms	Subject and auxiliary, copula *be* in questions can be omitted; pronouns and demonstrative pronouns for subject can be omitted; determiners can be omitted (Carter and McCarthy 2006).	Possible ellipsis types are presented.	Elements for topic, subject, object, location and time can be omitted (Yoshida 1973); predicates cannot be omitted; shared elements in question-and-answer can be omitted (Makino and Tsutsui 1989).	Possible ellipsis types are presented.
Textual and/or interpersonal functions	Ellipsis has effects of informality (Swan 1995); cohesive devices (Carter and McCarthy 2006); ellipsis in questions and replies to show interest, surprise, disagreement (Sinclair, Fox and COBUILD 1990).	Ellipsis (zero pronouns) makes modest contribution to cohesion in the map task dialogues.	Ellipsis can take place for psychological reasons (Makino and Tsutsui 1989).	Ellipsis (zero pronouns) makes certain contribution to cohesion in the map task dialogues; ellipsis in a particular speech act can show the speaker's low degree of commitment.
Other descriptions	Fixed expressions are prone to ellipsis (Carter and McCarthy 2006).	Relationship between ellipsis types and speech acts is presented, and some similarities are found in English and Japanese.	Sentences including ellipsis can be often ambiguous in isolation (Makino and Tsutsui 1989).	Relationship between ellipsis types and speech acts is presented, and some similarities are found in English and Japanese.

Table 9.1 Summaries of findings from published reference grammars and present research

For descriptions of ellipsis in grammar reference books written in English, Murphy has a unit titled 'Auxiliary verbs in short answers, short questions etc.', in which he lists short answers such as *Are you working tomorrow? – I am.,* and short questions such as *Are they?* Those short replies express 'polite interest' for what someone has said and 'keep the conversation going' (Murphy 1985: 102). Swan introduces many aspects of ellipsis, including 'abbreviated style, *Essential fee agreed before contract signed*' (Swan 1995: 182). The description is detailed, ranging from ellipsis in conjunction and verb phrase to the omission of the last words of well-known names '*the London Philharmonic* for *the London Philharmonic Orchestra*' (Swan 1995: 177). It is mainly about the grammatical aspects of ellipsis and with respect to effects, only informality is mentioned. *Collins Cobuild English Grammar* presents detailed rules governing the occurrence of ellipsis. The description includes detailed information about the form of ellipsis, while there is little by way of an account about the function of ellipsis. It simply makes a remark that ellipsis often occurs in replies and questions, which serves to show interest or surprise, or disagreement (Sinclair, Fox and COBUILD 1990). Even the pedagogical grammar book which focuses on spoken English grammar, *A Course in Spoken English: Grammar* (Sinclair 1972) does not touch on ellipsis. The grammar reference book which is most concerned with cohesion is '*Cambridge Grammar of English: a comprehensive guide; Spoken and Written English Grammar and Usage*' (Carter and McCarthy 2006). It has a chapter on cohesion and ellipsis is included among the cohesive devices which the chapter introduces. This book also contains a chapter on the spoken language, where situational ellipsis, in contrast to textual ellipsis which is associated with cohesion, is discussed in relative detail.

With regard to ellipsis in reference grammars for learners of Japanese, descriptions of ellipsis are not provided in reference grammar books of Japanese such as *Handbook of Modern Japanese Grammar* (McClain 1981) and *Handbook of Japanese Grammar* (Storm 2003). *Japanese for Today* (Yoshida 1973) touches on elements which can be omitted, by saying '(T)hese non-Predicate phrases may appear in any order and may be omitted whenever they are not necessary to understanding' (Yoshida 1973: 9). An exceptionally rich description is found in *A*

Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar (Makino and Tsutsui 1989), which is designed to incorporate the then-current findings in Japanese linguistics. It makes particular references to ellipsis as characteristic of Japanese grammar. The descriptions contain general rules of ellipsis in Japanese: a topic which is established in the first sentence can be omitted in the second sentence; an element which is shared in the question and answer can be omitted in the answer; a referent which is very close to the speaker and the hearer, or one which can be understood from the context and / or situation can be omitted. Furthermore, the book refers to the interpersonal effects which are associated with ellipsis, such as omitting uncomfortable contents in an utterance to avoid rudeness. As descriptions which are written with teachers of Japanese envisaged as target readers, Noda (2001) describes Japanese grammatical features including ellipsis from the viewpoint of learners' interlanguage, and points out that ellipsis may not cause major difficulty in understanding, but that it often proves a demanding task for learners to put ellipsis into practice.

Except for a few accounts, descriptions of ellipsis in the two languages contain some useful information such as its function as a marker of cohesion. However, the descriptions have the flavour of general statements and hardly address practical difficulties in manipulating ellipsis for each learner, such as producing an appropriate type of ellipsis in a particular speech act, apart from question-and-answer sequences. This is where the current comparative description of ellipsis between English and Japanese plays a role.

As was noted just now, the concern of this description is to provide descriptions which are specifically tailored to the needs of Japanese learners of English and of English learners of Japanese. Owing to the difference in the grammar of the two languages (i.e. the native language of the learners), it is necessary to apply the different principles on which the pedagogical description of ellipsis will be designed.

Ellis (2006), assuming that explicit knowledge of grammar can be converted into implicit knowledge which is a primary substance of SLA competence, suggests that

in the case of teaching explicit knowledge, the relative effectiveness of inductive / deductive grammar teaching is affected by variables such as learners' aptitude for grammatical analysis and the grammatical structure in question. Considering the alleged cognitive difficulty in studying ellipsis which derives from the difference in grammar between English and Japanese, for Japanese learners of English, it is probably a good idea to take an inductive approach, where learners are exposed to English data first so that they discover for themselves the fact that English clauses contain ellipsis as Japanese clauses do. The fact that it is possible that English clauses do not have to include every constituent which is normally obligatory in the grammar will be striking for learners as they are usually taught the grammar of the written language as a norm of the language, which does not include many examples of ellipsis. The realisation is followed by explicit teaching of the way ellipsis is used in English, including possible types of ellipsis, speech acts which particular types of ellipsis are associated with and the pragmatic effects which ellipsis conveys. In contrast, it would be a good idea for English learners of Japanese for explicit teaching to be provided first. It needs to be explained that Japanese is quite different from English in that, owing to its culture where indirect expressions are appreciated, it is quite common that parties in the action can stay covert, which is part of the reasons why subject ellipsis is extremely prevalent in Japanese clauses. On the other hand, English grammar in principle does not allow constituents to be omitted; English learners need to be taught explicitly the widespread use of ellipsis in Japanese. And this is the reason why different approaches are effective for English learners of Japanese and for Japanese learners of English. Because ellipsis is much more prevalent in Japanese than in English, Japanese learners are far more familiar with the idea of saying less in the utterance than English learners. Therefore, realisation of the fact that also in English, constituents can be omitted makes it easier for Japanese learners of English to study ellipsis in English. This is the reason why the description of English ellipsis for Japanese learners of English starts with a discovery exercise.

I will close this introductory part by addressing envisaged target users of my descriptions. All the remarks from the previous section regarding the shift of units

for grammar teaching from sentence to discourse grammar showed that ellipsis should be described in the unit of discourse from the perspective of the grammar of the spoken language. The grammar of the spoken language consists of information about how language is used in actual spoken discourse, which consists of observation of particular grammatical features. The information about the language will be presented to learners by way of teachers or materials writers, rather than being presented directly to the learners. This is because the process of presentation of information involves generalisation of observation which can be done considering the usefulness of each piece of information to learners. Additionally, the usefulness of information about ellipsis will be more appropriate for advanced learners of the language on the ground that ellipsis is an omission, which means that there is a default form that contains constituents which are grammatically obligatory. Beginners of the language may not be familiar enough with the grammar of the language to be conscious of constituents which are necessary to each type of clause; for instance, they may not recognise that transitive verbs require direct objects; they may not even be familiar with grammatical terminology such as auxiliary, adjective; or they may not even know certain types of auxiliaries, such as *will*, *shall*. Beginners would be confused if types of ellipsis (such as ellipsis of subject and auxiliary) were introduced with this terminology. Furthermore, it is true that use of ellipsis which is appropriate in the context is quite important for communication, and native speakers of the language are sensitive to it even when they are talking with non-native speakers. However, it is hardly expected for beginners to manipulate ellipsis, reflecting the context in which communication occurs. Viewed in this light, the consumers / readership of a grammar of the spoken language can be regarded as teachers, trainee teachers and material writers, and the targeted level of learners is advanced. I will then envisage these two groups as direct and indirect audience of my description.

9.4.2 Pedagogical descriptions of ellipsis

Data which is used for the pedagogical descriptions of ellipsis in English and Japanese are taken from map task dialogue corpora in the two languages (HCRC

Map Task Dialogue Corpus for English data; Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus for Japanese data). The corpora are a collection of dialogues in which two people are doing a map task. A map task is a task where two people make up a pair; both of them have a map with them, but one of the maps has a route on it while the other does not. A person whose map has a route gives instructions the other so that the latter is able to draw a route on his/her own map. The reasons for using this type of dialogue as data are threefold. First, the map task is originally a task for language teaching.[73] Secondly, task dialogues include numerous exchanges of question and answer, where ellipsis is frequently observed. Finally, the corpora are parallel. Dialogues in the two corpora were collected in almost the same design, including the environment in which task participants performed the task. This means that the occurrence of ellipsis under the same conditions is guaranteed in providing descriptions of ellipsis in each language. The variety of grammar and vocabulary varies from genre to genre. Having a single genre as a data source, the description in the comparative manner will be more effective.

9.4.2.1 Pedagogical descriptions for Japanese learners of English

1 Exercise

Learners listen to a conversation which does not include ellipsis. Preferably the conversation includes numerous exchanges by speakers, and they give opinions about how the conversation sounds. An example of an excerpt of a conversation is found in (1) and (2). G indicates that the utterance is from the instruction giver, and F indicates that the utterance is from the instruction follower.

(1)
> G: right at at …at the flat rocks turn and come down the bottom towards the buffalo
> F: t--…t—so…oh well…I'll go past the saloon bar…I'll keep it on my right and down towards the buffalo
> G: don't go in the saloon bar.
> F: I'll try hard not to (go in the saloon bar).
> G: ken I knew you will (try hard not to go in the saloon bar).
>
> (dialogue q5ec5)

---

[73] Details of the task are available in Anderson et al. (1984).

(2)

    G: you got a picnic site there?
    F: No I haven't (got a picnic site there).
    G: no…okay…ehm
    F: (Is it) almost to the bottom?
    G: (It is) almost to the bottom of the page. Eh…okay. Have you got an
    adventure playground?
    F: hu-huh I have (got an adventure playground).
    G: okay   (dialogue q3ec5)

The elements within the parentheses are omitted in the original dialogues.
Conversations which do not include ellipsis would sound extremely redundant. At
this point, it is important that learners realise that English clauses would sound
unnatural without ellipsis. This can be followed by learners' looking at the
transcription of the conversation. Japanese learners are not familiar with the fact that
constituents can be omitted in English clauses, as the grammar-translation approach
which is still prevalent in the classroom mainly shows that every constituent in
clauses has to be overt in English clauses. However, Japanese learners are in fact
familiar with the phenomenon of ellipsis, as Japanese is well known for its heavy use
of ellipsis, especially ellipsis of subjects, as found in the following excerpt (3).

(3)

    G: *De sugu   mata jujutsu yama- no   shita-o   tooru no*
      and right.after again curse mountain-GEN under-ACC pass   FP$_a$
      'And then, immediately (ø) pass under the "Cursed Mountain again".'

     F: *Un shita-o   tootte jujutsu yama-te   kaite aru   tokoro*
       right underneath-ACC pass curse mountain-QUOT write there.is point
       'Right, should (ø) go underneath (Cursed Mountain) to the writing
       "Cursed mountain"?'

      made ikeba ii   no
      to   go-if good FP$_i$

    G: *Mada   mada   hidari*
      further   further left
      'Much further left.'

     F: *Mada   hidari*
      further left
      'Further left.'   (dialogue j4e7)

The translation in the excerpt indicates that two participants omit subjects in their utterances. This is followed by an exchange of utterances which consists only of adverbials. In fact, Japanese dialogues can function only with adverbials, as found in (3). All the utterances in (4) consist only of adverbials.

(4)
> G: *Sore-no   hidari gawa-o   …koo   massugu*
>   it-GEN   left   side-ACC   like.this straight
>   'Straight, like, along its left-hand side.'
>
> F*: Un   tateni * … suichokuni*
>   uh   lengthwise vertically
>   'Right. Lengthwise, vertically?'
>
> G: **Tateni   suichokuni*
>   lengthwise   vertically
>   'Lengthwise, vertically.'
>
> F*: Shu…ppatsu chiten-no… ue   atari   gurai*
>   start   point-GEN   above around something.like.that
>   'Somewhere above the starting point?'
>
> G*: Shu…ppatsu chiten-no   ue…   un<…>i   ue*
>   start   point-GEN above well   (false start) above
>   'Above the starting point, well, a point like two or three centimetre
>   above (the starting point).'
>
>   *ni   san   senchi   gurai   n   tokoro kana*
>   two three centimetre somewhere.like.that   NMLS point   FPindr
>
>   F*: Un   un*
>   yes   yes
>   'Yes, yes.'   (dialogue j4n7)

Owing to the heavy use of ellipsis in their own language, Japanese learners will not have major difficulty in leaving out constituents in speech. Therefore, appreciation of missing constituents on the transcription serves as sort of 'awakening' regarding the reality of English language for them. The realisation will be a huge step towards skilful manipulation of ellipsis in English.

2 Explain and examples

(I) WHY ARE CONSTITUENTS OMITTED?

There are reasons why speakers omit some constituents in the clause.

- Ellipsis is economical as speakers do not have to repeat items.
- Ellipsis makes it possible to focus on a particular piece of information in the utterance.
- Ellipsis is associated with particular effect, such as familiarity between speakers.

Ellipsis is common in informal speech, when speakers are close to each other and the genre of speech includes many question and answers exchanges.

(II) WHICH CONSTITUENTES ARE OMITTED?

English clauses can be divided into two parts: (i) subjects and auxiliaries including the verb *be*; (ii) main verbs and the rest of the clause. Whereas some auxiliaries such as *will, must, may* and the verb *be*, are always found by themselves in the clause, others become visible, only when in questions or negative clauses; for instance, *I <u>do</u> not play the piano*, *<u>Did</u> she like the cake?* When auxiliaries are explicit, these two parts (i.e. (i) and (ii)) can be units for ellipsis to occur.

(i) Ellipsis of the initial part of the clause

    (5) G: right. (can you) See the start?   (dialogue q5nc5)

    (6) G: in that case eh well gold mine on my map…is halfway between rock fall
        and banana tree.
      F: (Is it) directly below?   (dialogue q4ec8)

Sometimes only auxiliaries are omitted.

    (7) (do) You have carved stones?   (dialogue q3ec7)

In this case, the following answer is most of the time positive.

(ii) Ellipsis of the final part of the clause

    (8) F: It's above them?
      G: Yeah it is (above them).   (dialogue q6nc6)

There are two types of ellipsis, depending on the way hearers identify elements which are omitted. One is situational ellipsis, where omitted elements are identified from the situational context. The other is textual ellipsis, where omitted elements are identified from the neighbouring text, as seen in (8). Ellipsis of the initial part of the clause is often associated with situational ellipsis, as seen in (9) and (10).

(9) G: f--…past the diamond mine
    F: (Should I) pass it?   (dialogue q5nc5)

(10) G: you know the sideways shape of an eye you get at school? (It is) that sort
      of idea of a curve.
                              (dialogue q6nc6)

There is no knowing what is ellipted from the neighbouring text. Therefore, the ellipsis in (9) and (10) is situational ellipsis.

Although in English subject and auxiliary make up a unit to be omitted, the most familiar type of ellipsis for Japanese learners of English will be omission of subjects, as the National Language Research Institute (1955) in Japan reports that 70% of subjects in conversations are omitted in Japanese. As it happens in Japanese, subjects are omitted in English. However, unlike Japanese, the environments in which subjects are omitted in English are quite restricted. Ellipsis of subjects in English mostly occurs when the mood of the clause is declarative and verbs express the mental process of the speaker. Since the mental process is hardly known by others, the most common omitted subject is the first person pronoun, *I*.

(11) (I) Didn't know that film was on tonight.
                        (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 181)

Also, ellipsis of subjects is in general restricted to informal speech.

(12) A: What's the matter?
    B: (I) Can't find my glasses.   (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 183)

In the case of the map task dialogues, subject ellipsis occurs when speakers are talking about themselves in declaratives.

(13) (I) don't have spring bogs. (dialogue q4ec8)

(14) (I) don't have anything. (dialogue q2ec6)

Although ellipsis of the subject alone is possible, most of the time with first person subjects in declaratives, the subjects are omitted along with the auxiliary in both declaratives and interrogatives, especially in the latter, as found in the above examples (5), (6), (9) and (10).

(III) WHEN DOES ELLIPSIS OCCUR?

There is a relation between what constituents are omitted in the clause and what the utterance including the clause does in discourse, i.e. its speech act. The following table shows constituents which can be omitted in key speech acts:

Possible types of ellipsis for different speech acts

	Subject	Auxiliary	Verb/adjective	(object / complement /adverb)
Giving information	(It)	Is		directly underneath the diamond mine.
	(I)	Don't	have	one
	(I)	('ll)	Score	that out.
Asking / telling someone to do something			(Go)	Underneath the fort.
Asking questions	(Do you)		Know	how you can see the roof of the saloon bar?
	(Am I)		Going	across the top of the safari track?
	(Is it)			How far?
	(Should I go)			Due south directly?

The table indicates that it is possible to use only adverbials for making suggestions and asking questions. The types of ellipsis which are observed in 'asking / telling someone to do something' and 'asking questions' are similar to the types of ellipsis in these speech acts in Japanese. Both languages can make use of adverbials to accomplish these speech acts.

As for question and answer exchanges, questions are followed by answers which very often include omission.

Yes-no question →Answer

- Yes – omission of subject and auxiliary (the verb *be*)
  - omission of verb and object
  - (auxiliary left in)
- No – omission of verb and object
  - (auxiliary left in)

Wh questions → Answer - omission of subject and auxiliary

Examples are found in (17)-(20).

[*A and B are doing a task in which A is giving instructions to B so as that B can draw a route on the map.*]

Yes-no question and answer

Depending on focus of the information, what is omitted is affected. Although all the following excerpts (17)-(19) contain polarity questions, ellipsis of subjects and auxiliaries results in relatively less focus on polarity and more focus on entities in question; the question and answer in the first two excerpts ((17) and (18)) pay more attention to landmark features rather than polarity, while those in the third excerpt pay more attention to polarity:

(17) A: Where is your ghost town?
 B: it's between the walled city and the carved wooden pole just.
 A: Is it south of the walled city I assume this is sou--?
 B: (it is) sou--south of the wall, yes. (dialogue q5ec5)

(18) A: and…right the way down the side of the page…'till you come to the
      noose. (have you) got a noose?
    B: (I have) got a noose.   (dialogue q6ec6)

(19) A: now…you can come… …directly down. Have you got a gold mine?
    B: No I certainly haven't (got a gold mine).
    A: No you don't (have a gold mine). Have you got a rock fall at the bottom?
    B: I have (got a rock fall) yes.   (dialogue q4nc8)

Wh question and answer

(20) A: just go s--…ehm to the left the bandit territory…go north… …until you
      get to eh just…about level to where the top of his…the tree is
    B: what tree (is it)?
    A: (it is) the tree in the bandit territory.   (dialogue q3nc7)

Also, apart from the above examples of types of ellipsis, many formulaic expressions contain ellipsis:

(21) (It's a) good job I've left a little hole, then.

(22) (I'll) see you later/tomorrow/soon…

(23) (You) never know.   (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 187)

3 Exercise

Lastly, learners do a map task and record the dialogues. The transcribed dialogues are compared the outcome of native speakers. The following points will be focused:

- omission of subjects, verbs and objects
- relationship between occurrence of omission and what speakers do with the utterance (e.g., giving instructions, asking questions)
- relationship between omitted elements and what speakers do with the utterance (e.g., giving instructions, asking questions)

The comparison will reveal how similar and different the use of ellipsis between English and Japanese is. The discovery of the properties of the two languages regarding ellipsis will make it easy for Japanese learners of English to speak English without a great deal of effort. Because they are used to not saying every constituent in the clause, what is necessary is that they realise that spoken English also uses the same tactic as Japanese in general does. In this vein, Japanese learners of English have great potential to manipulate ellipsis skilfully in English.

9.4.2.2 Pedagogical descriptions for English learners of Japanese
1 Explain and examples

(I) WHY IS ELLIPSIS PREVALENT IN JAPANESE?

It will be helpful for English learners of Japanese to be taught explicitly the background of heavy use of ellipsis in Japanese, that is, syntactic and pragmatic properties which encourage speakers to use ellipsis, as in these respects English and Japanese are quite different. This type of difference can hardly be recognised by learners by themselves.

First, as for the grammatical reason, Japanese is equipped with systems which allow constituents to be covert in terms of production and interpretation. Unlike English, Japanese grammar does not require all the constituents to be explicit in the clause. To take a radical position, Japanese can omit any constituents in the clause. Additionally, Japanese is equipped with the developed system which makes it possible that omitted elements can be identified, such as honorific language and expressions for the acts of giving and receiving.

Secondly, as one of the characteristics of Japanese, which derives from Japanese culture, explicit expressions are avoided. For instance, this is clear when Japanese speakers are giving instructions / suggestions. Data is from the Chiba Map Task Dialogue corpus.

(1) G: *Ja   tabun   ne<…>sore yorimo…ano migi-no   sen zoi*
    well probably FP$_c$ that from   well right-hand.side-GEN line along
    'Well, probably, from that point…along the line at the right-hand side, '

  F: *Un*
    right
    'Right.'

  G: *Ni… | kite   hoshii desu.*|
    along come want   HON(T)
    '(ø) want (ø) to come along'

  F: *kita   yo*
    come-PAST FP$_a$
    '(ø) came.'   (dialogue j5e5)

Kite hoshii desu '(ø) want (ø) to come along' is the equivalent of the English
expression of stating the speaker's wish (such as *I want you to move in a diagonal
line up to that.* (dialogue q6ec6)). Unlike English expressions, however, in Japanese,
who wishes the action and who in fact does the action are not explicit. This is
because if both of them are overt in the utterance, the speaker's attitude is quite
intrusive.

This aspect of Japanese is very different from the learners' own language (English).
For instance, in English *Do you want me to do…*, as in *Do you want me to close the
window?,* is a common expression to give an offer of the speaker's taking a certain
action.   This expression, however, sounds quite intrusive to Japanese speakers for
expressions to ask a favour. This is because the agent of the wish and the agent of
closing the window are explicitly referred to as *you* and *me* respectively, so that 'who
does favour for whom' is too obvious. The overt agents make the expression sound
rather condescending.

(II) WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES FROM ELLIPSIS IN ENGLISH?
There are two points regarding the notable difference between Japanese and English
ellipsis. Firstly, the most striking fact about ellipsis in Japanese is the massive
occurrence of subject ellipsis. This extremely heavy use of ellipsis of subjects is
explained with respect to the indirectness of the parties involved in the proposition.

Research shows that 70% of subjects in Japanese conversations are omitted (Nariyama, 2000). It is not very common in Japanese to have an explicit subject as these overt agents accentuate the responsibility for the action (e.g., the action of wishing and action which is wished to be carried out, in the case of asking a favour). Although subject ellipsis is possible in English, subject ellipsis in Japanese is far more widely used. For instance, in English, the environment in which subject ellipsis occurs is restricted; first person pronominal subjects can under particular conditions be omitted in declaratives, and usually co-occur with verbs which express the mental state of the speaker (such as, *think*, *remember*); the second person pronominal subjects can be omitted in interrogatives. In contrast, these restrictions are not observed in Japanese, as is shown in (2):

(2) G: *basha-no   sharin-te   yuu no-ga*
     wagon-GEN wheel-QUOT call NMLS-NOM
     'There is something called wagon wheel on my map, but it seems there is not on your map.'

     kotchi   ni   aru   n   da   kedo
     this.one on there.is NMLS COP though

     socchi   ni   nai   rashii no   ne
     that.one on there.is-NEG seems FP_a FP_c

  F: *Aa   son-na n   yoku oboeteru.*
    oh such   NMLS well remember
    ($\varnothing$=you) remember such things well.   (dialogue j6n6)

The instruction follower (F) uses subject ellipsis with the verb expressing a mental state *oboeteru* 'remember', but the omitted subject is not the speaker, but the hearer. This is not observed in English.

Secondly, auxiliaries and main verbs are, unlike English, usually bound in Japanese clauses; elements indicating tense, polarity and modality can be all attached to a main verb, as found in (3):

(3)   *hanasanakattandaroo*
segmentation into morphemes: hanasa - nakat - ta - n - daro-o

original form of the morpheme:	hanasu	nai	ta	no	da	u
meaning:	speak	NEG	past	NMLS	COP	SUP
						(plain)

'would not have spoken'

These elements, which make up a sort of group, are bound and do not become independent on its own in the clause. Therefore, once the verb is omitted, elements attached to it are omitted, too.

(4) G: …*ginkoo-no   migi   gawa gurai   made*
            silver.mine-GEN right-hand side   roughly to
            'Roughly to the right-hand side of the silver mine'

   F: *hai*
        right
        'Right.'

   G: *kite-kudasai*
        come-IMP-DIR-POL
        'please, come along.'

    F: *kyuujuu do   ni   migi ni.*
        90   degrees at   right   towards
        '(should I turn) at 90 degrees to the right?'

The speaker F's second utterance, asking a question, consists only of adverbials 'at 90 degrees' and 'to the right', and the subject and main verbs with a question marker are omitted altogether. Contrarily, in English, meanings, such as polarity, tense and modality, are expressed by auxiliaries, including *be*, *do*, *will*, *must*, *may* and so on. In general, they are omitted with subjects in the clause. As a result, only main verbs remain as seen in (5). Or, main verbs and objects are omitted, which results in subjects and auxiliaries remain as found in (6).

(5) (Can you) see the apache camp?   (dialogue q5nc5)

(6) G: Have you got the diamond mine?
    F: Yes, I have (got the diamond mine).   (dialogue q7ec7)

Thus, Japanese main verbs are not separated from elements whose meaning would be expressed by auxiliaries in English. In English, then, subjects and these auxiliaries

are usually omitted together. This is partly the reason why the subject ellipsis is observed far more frequently in Japanese than English.

One thing to note is the behaviour of copula *da* (plain form) / *desu* (polite form). Copula *da* / *desu* is usually translated into the verb *be* in English   It attaches nouns to make the noun serve as predicate. It is recognised that by attaching the copula to a noun, the status of clause will be bestowed upon the outcome. This copula can be omitted, very often along with subject ellipsis, and the remaining elements in the predicate part are nouns, as seen in (7).

   (7) G: …*migishita   kurai   ni   ki   masu   yone.*
           lower.left roughly to come HON(T) FP_{ac}
           (ø) come to the lower left, I suppose.

      F: *Migishita.*
        lower.left
        '(Is)(it) lower left?'   (dialogue j8e8)

As a result, only nouns are left in, and depending on context, they can serve as various speech acts, such as making statement and asking questions.

(III) WHEN DOES THE ELLIPSIS OCCUR?

Although Japanese allows omissions of elements to take place more frequently than English, the omission does not occur completely freely. Any combination of omitting two or more constituents is not possible; there are patterns of ellipsis in Japanese. The table below shows that syntactic categories which can be omitted, and the combinations of them are quite similar to those in English. It has to be noted that the use of utterances consisting only of adverbs as a result of subjects and verbs for asking / telling someone to do something and asking questions are also observed in English.

Possible types of ellipsis for different speech acts

	Subject	**(object/complement /adverb)**	**Verb+auxiliaries/ adjective**	**(Copula)**
Giving information	(ø)		*Kimashita* come-PAST '(ø) came.'	
	(ø)		*Nai desu* there.is-NEG HON(T) '(ø) doesn't exist.'	
	(ø)	*Mokuhyoochiten* finish 'Finish.'		(ø)
Asking / telling someone to do something	(ø)	*Mashitani* *tootteiki masu* straight.down go.through HON(T) '(ø) goes through straight down.'		
	(ø)	*Tatami iwa-no* flat rock-GEN 'Where is (it) in relation to flat rocks?' *donohen* whereabout		*desu ka* COP(POL) FP$_i$
	(ø)	*Migi ni* right to 'To the right.'	(ø)	
Asking questions	(ø)		*Nai desu ka* there.is-NEG HON(T) FP$_i$ 'Doesn't (ø) exist?'	
	(ø)	*Maue ni* straight.up towards 'Straight up?'	(ø)	
	(ø)	*Hidariue* upper.left 'Upper left?'		(ø)

2 Exercise

It will be effective to make learners realise how native speakers use ellipsis, since it is hard to outline useful and digestible production rules for many features of spoken language in Japanese, including ellipsis. As one suggestion, discourse analysis would serve to help learners raise their awareness about ellipsis. For instance, as subject is relatively easy grammatical concept for learners and also it is highly characteristic of Japanese clauses, subject ellipsis can be checked in Japanese and English by English learners of Japanese. Furthermore, since subject ellipsis is

thought to be a sort of default in Japanese, it will be useful to recognise on which occasion a subject is made explicit, paying attention to the type of entity of subjects (such as whether it is animate or inanimate; in declaratives or interrogatives, in the case of latter, whether it is yes-no question or *wh*-question). Learners will find that subject ellipsis is widely observed in Japanese, regardless of these properties of subjects.

9.5 Conclusion

The aims of this research are (a) to present a linguistic description of ellipsis in English and Japanese (see chapter 5 for a quantitative description of English and Japanese ellipsis, chapters 6 and 7 for extensive accounts of each type of ellipsis and chapter 8 for discussion of interpersonal and textual functions of ellipsis, and the relationship between theses functions and other factors including discourse topics), and (b) to present a pedagogical description of ellipsis for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese. This chapter focused on the latter. Considering the significance of ellipsis as a grammatical feature in speech, the publications which are currently available for learners of each language do not seem to treat ellipsis as thoroughly as it deserves.

The descriptions which were presented in the last section are specifically designed for Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese. The descriptions derive from the linguistic research into ellipsis. The modification of the linguistic description was done by considering the specific linguistic background which learners of each language have, and the presentation of the description also reacts to this specificity by differentiating approaches to be taken to learners of each language (that is, an inductive approach to Japanese learners of English and a deductive approach to English learners of Japanese). Although some of the existing textbooks and reference grammar books do refer to ellipsis, the description does not look sufficient once learners in fact face the situation in which they have to produce

ellipsis appropriately in terms of form and function. The present description
addresses the practical use of ellipsis in communication; that is, it indicates which
types of ellipsis are used for particular speech acts. Through looking at the relation
between form and function, it emerges that English and Japanese share considerable
similarity in the use of ellipsis. A tailored approach to learners (although this would
be not practical in terms of publications) and suggestions for the use of ellipsis in
relation to function can thus be considered in the classroom.

There are two points I will raise for future work. Since the map task dialogues do
not demonstrate many example of ellipsis (null pronoun) which create referential
chains, the present descriptions do not refer to the function of ellipsis as a marker of
cohesion. Another description which is based on research using another genre
should focus on this point considering the fact that ellipsis is a significant contributor
to cohesion in text. Relating to the first point, the other point to be noted is that the
data in the map task dialogues is rather unique: nobody does a map task in their daily
life. This uniqueness in genre seems to set up limitations for applying the findings to
speech in other genres. It is the tenet of systemic functional grammar that language
features are genre-specific; lexico-grammatical features differ in different genres, as
a genre is realised by language: the examples of the 'giving instructions' speech act
in the map task dialogues reflect lexico-grammar specific to that genres. For
instance, in task-oriented dialogues, confirmation requests – associated with one of
sub-substages in the map task dialogues (Querying instructions) – are more
frequently observed than in everyday conversation, and participants prefer to ask in
partial forms whether the hypotheses they have made about issues are correct or not,
rather than asking the interlocutor to repeat the utterance (Rieser and Moore 2005).
Thus, examination of ellipsis in the map task dialogues could be hardly exercised for
pedagogical grammar in the context of teaching features of spoken language in
general. In fact, everyday conversation is the most common genre chosen for
teaching spoken grammar in general English coursebooks, although this would not
be the case with business English coursebooks.

However, the map task dialogues reveal features which are common with other types of task-oriented dialogues, with regard to how the language is structured and the purpose of communication. As discussed in chapter 3, the map task dialogues have three stages as their schematic structure: the Opening, Task-performance and Closing, which other task-oriented genres also have, for example service encounters (Ventola 1987), telephone conversations (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) and business meetings (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997). In addition, task-oriented dialogues take on a transactional aspect of language use, the transfer and negotiation of information (Davies 2006), as in the map task dialogues. In this vein, the map task dialogues and business talk have the similar characteristics. Also, as Rieser and Moor (2005) point out, characterisations of task-oriented dialogues include more cautiousness, and frequent exchanges of questions and answers. All this leads to envisaging possible occasions on which task-oriented-flavoured conversations would take place, such as at a travel agency service counter, where speakers are cautious about the details of the content, i.e. flight numbers, destinations, dates and so on. Thus, it may be possible to apply the findings of this project to other types of task-oriented conversations.

Whatever the genre in which ellipsis is dealt with, learning ellipsis will change the views about the target language which learners hold. Since ellipsis is prevalent in all languages, language learning is incomplete without learning it. Furthermore, and for the same reason of ellipsis being cross-linguistically observed, learners can, through learning ellipsis, recognise similarities and differences in systems which deal with interpersonal and cohesive functions between their own language and their target language. Particular speech acts are associated with similar types of ellipsis in both the English and Japanese dialogues. In contrast, the degree of explicitness with regard to agents of a certain speech act such as giving instructions is quite different between the languages, and this difference is often observed through the use of ellipsis of the subjects which are responsible for the denoted action. In this light, ellipsis is a linguistic feature which can profitably be used to make students aware both of cross-linguistic divergence and convergence. I believe that once learners realise and get used to the flexibility of the target language, the rules on ellipsis

taking place and the associated interpersonal effects, they will find communication in the target language much less painful as it will be obviously easier to say less than more.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

As was discussed in chapter 1, a good deal of work has discussed ellipsis from various perspectives, whether formal or functional. Among these numerous approaches to ellipsis, this thesis was intended to give a description of the actual use of ellipsis in discourse, specifically in task-oriented dialogues. Additionally, since ellipsis plays a key role in appropriate communication in languages, it should not be ignored in language teaching. Ellipsis is a fruit of form, function and context; it needs to be taught in an appropriate way to learners. In this sense, the comprehensive description which illustrates elliptical utterances and their relation to speech acts in task-oriented dialogues can serve to give implications for language teaching. Overall, the aims of the study were:

- to provide descriptions of elliptical utterances both in English and Japanese discourse
- to present the relation of elliptical forms to functions and glean insights about the factors which influence choices of elliptical expressions in spoken language
- to discuss what is ellipted in a clause and when ellipsis takes place, in terms of (1) the manner in which speech takes place; (2) the relationships between the speakers, i.e. their familiarity with each other; (3) language (English and Japanese)
- to draw some pedagogical implications from the study.

Chapter 2 revealed that research into ellipsis so far has been undertaken in various areas, including syntax (under such names as deletion, empty categories or gapping) and pragmatics (in the treatment of cohesion). However, no work has been done to investigate ellipsis from the viewpoint of form, function and the context in which it occurs, and the relation of ellipsis to these aspects of language use. This thesis is therefore an attempt to provide a comprehensive description of ellipsis in English

and Japanese, that is, a comparative description of ellipsis in a particular activity type. Since the occurrence of ellipsis is considerably influenced by context, for the comparative study it was necessary to use data which was collected under the same conditions in both English and Japanese. This led us to use the map task dialogues as an elicitation device. Chapter 3 was dedicated to describing the map task dialogues, along with the effects of: availability of visual information and participant familiarity. The map task corpus is parallel corpora of English and Japanese, which guarantees the same designs. An overview of the dialogues was presented in the form of genre analysis. It also tells us that the main two speech acts in the dialogue are giving instructions and query on information.

In chapter 4, an introduction to the framework which was used for the analysis was presented. Systemic functional linguistics has been developed mainly with regard to English. It is still controversial how this grammar is to be applied to Japanese: in particular it has been claimed that Finite is not necessary to the Mood and Residue structure in Japanese. I emphasised the necessity of Finite in Japanese, suggesting the following two grounds as proofs: the non-finite *-te* form exists, and the copula *da* / *desu*, which functions as Finite for some predicates, is found independently. This analysis of Japanese makes it possible for me to give a better comparative description of ellipsis in Japanese and English, one which brings out the points of similarity, as well as the differences.

To pursue the aims of the thesis, throughout chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8, I examined ellipsis in the two languages from two directions: form to function, and function to form. As a way of reviewing the main findings of the thesis, I now summarise my answers to the research questions. By providing these answers and incorporating them into the findings of the other parts of the present research which are now available after all the analyses have been carried out, these answers to the research questions can serve to bring out the main theme of the research, that is, a comprehensive comparative description of ellipsis in a particular type of discourse.

Research question 1

What types of ellipsis are observable in English and Japanese?

Table 10.1 is a list of the ellipsis types which are observed both in the English and Japanese map task dialogues. Table 10.2 shows the types of ellipsis which are only found in one of the two languages.

Subject
Subject+Finite
Subject+Finite+Predicator
Finite
Predicator

Table 10.1 Ellipsis types in English and Japanese

English	Complement
	Predicator+Complement
	Subject+Finite+Predicator+Complement /Adjunct
Japanese	Subject+Complement
	Finite+Predicator

Table 10.2 Ellipsis types specific to one language

Ellipsis types in Table 10.1 occur far frequently than ellipsis types in Table 10.2. In fact, these types of ellipsis in Table 10.2 occur very rarely. As for the ellipsis types which are commonly found in the English and Japanese dialogues, although there are five types of ellipsis which are commonly found in the English and Japanese dialogues, the frequency of occurrence of each type is different from language to language; for instance, Subject ellipsis is the most prevalent type of ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, while it rarely occurs in the English dialogues.

There are two general points to be noted regarding the difference in constituents related to verbs in the two languages. First, the Finite shows different characteristics in the English and Japanese dialogues. Recall that the Finite is the element which conveys tense. In English, the Finite occurs either independently or bound with a lexical verb in the clause. In case the Finite is observed independently, it is either an inflected form of non-finite *be*, an auxiliary *do* or modal auxiliaries. On the other

hand, the Japanese Finite is not realised independently apart from when it is realised as the copula *da / desu*. The different realisation of Finite in the two languages results in different associations with move types in the map task dialogues. Secondly, Predicator ellipsis needs to be recognised as behaving differently in the two languages (this type of ellipsis is observed exclusively for ellipsis of verbs in imperatives). Although the Predicator is in general not independently found in Japanese clauses, for this research I recognise the Predicator to be ellipted in the case of an omission of non-finite verbs in imperatives.

The occurrence of different types of ellipsis derives from two reasons. First, syntactic differences have effects on the possible forms of elliptical clauses. For instance, in Japanese, apart from the copula *da / desu*, the verb in the predicate is mainly realised in Finite and Predicator, that is, the two elements are morphologically bound. Therefore, even if the verb is transitive and strictly sub-categorises for a Complement, ellipsis of Predicator+Complement does not occur in Japanese, while it does in English. Thus, possible types of ellipsis are related to the grammar of the language.

The other reason for the occurrence of different types of ellipsis in the two languages is that formulaic expressions for accomplishing particular speech acts in each language cause ellipsis specific to the language. For instance, Subject+Complement ellipsis in Japanese, which is frequently used in the [instruct] move, reflects the formulaic way of asking others to take a certain action. There are also types of ellipsis which are infrequently observed, such as ellipsis of Subject+Finite+Complement (in English), and Subject+Predicator, Finite+Complement (in Japanese). Because of their low frequency of occurrence, however, these were not treated as independent categories in this research.

Research question 2

How do visibility and familiarity between interlocutors affect the occurrence of elliptical utterances?

The analysis in section 5.3.1 showed that potentially the variables contained in the task design can have an effect on the frequency of the occurrence of elliptical clauses in each language.

Although the result does not reach statistical significance, my data suggests that: the English participants used more ellipsis when they did not have visual information about their interlocutor than when they did; the Japanese participants used more ellipsis when interlocutors were familiar with each other than when they were not. The result that participant familiarity would not influence the use of ellipsis in the English dialogues is striking as it is claimed that ellipsis is more used in conversation among people close to each other (Tannen 1989).

The analysis of the English pairs supports, and adds to, the analysis of Boyle et al. (1994), who argue that greater efficiency of the dialogues which were carried out when interlocutors can maintain eye contact derives from the exchange of visually transmitted, non-verbal signals. Boyle et al. (1994) established the relation between the availability of visual information, number of turns, number of word tokens in a whole dialogue and number of words per turn, and report that dialogues where the interlocutors do not have visual information have more turns, and more word tokens, with fewer words per turn. It follows that participants who cannot see each other use shorter clauses than those who can see each other; for the same degree of success of task performance, there are more turns, more word tokens and fewer words per turn in the non-visibility condition than in the visibility condition. As the present research indicates, it seems that the ways of responding to questions have effects on the efficiency of performing the task. In fact, the main source of difference in the use of English ellipsis in contexts with and without visual information comes from the highly favoured ellipsis in the [reply-n] move, where in fact all the clauses in this move in the eight dialogues under the non-visibility condition are elliptical. The outcome of the heavy use of ellipsis in negative responses is that speakers who cannot see each other do not sound very cooperative compared with those who can;

the latter supplies more information than merely suggesting polarity in their negative replies.

Note that all the above explanations are solely concerned with the English dialogues. The Japanese speakers in the map task dialogues were not affected by the availability of visual information, but potentially by familiarity between task participants, which is the opposite of the results with the English speakers. The Japanese speakers who were familiar with each other seemed to use more ellipsis than those who were not; the analysis in fact illustrated that across the different moves, familiar pairs used more ellipsis than unfamiliar pairs. The results seem to support the claim that familiarity prompts more ellipsis. However, there is an exceptional move, the [instruct] move, in which unfamiliar pairs used more ellipsis than did familiar pairs. The [instruct] move which serves for the 'giving instruction' speech act is associated with Predicator ellipsis, Subject+Complement ellipsis and mostly Subject ellipsis. Among them, Subject ellipsis in the [instruct] move in the Japanese dialogues is associated with a particular modality, such as altering the illocutionary force of giving instructions, which is motivated by the speaker's intention not to make instructions sound command-like or even to create solidarity. It can then be speculated that it could be a possible explanation for this finding that the unfamiliarity between participants prompts them to use more indirect forms including Subject ellipsis for giving instructions.

Thus, in the Japanese dialogues the physical condition does not seem to matter; rather, the social association can appear to be important in determining the linguistic forms. For statistical validity, further research with more dialogues is needed.

Research question 3
For what speech acts do speakers use ellipsis?

The question can be paraphrased as 'when is ellipsis used?' First of all, it should be noted that in the English dialogues the full clause is the most common way of

realising speech acts. If we consider where ellipsis does occur, however, the [check], [query-w], [reply-y] and [reply-n] moves are realised in elliptical clauses around half of the time in these moves. Among them, the [reply-n] moves include a high percentage of elliptical clauses relative to the total clauses found in the move, as was discussed in dealing with research question 2. In contrast, the [instruct], [explain] and [query-yn] moves include a small amount of ellipsis. In the English dialogues, then, my findings indicate that ellipsis is exploited more in an exchange of question and answer sequence than in giving instructions.

On the other hand, in the Japanese dialogues, elliptical clauses are preferred over full clauses to accomplish the speech acts of giving instructions and asking for information of landmark / instructions; in the Japanese dialogues, heavy use of ellipsis is observed throughout the moves, compared to English. Apart from the [query-yn] move, all the moves include ellipsis in more than half of the clauses. Especially, responding moves, such as the [clarify], [acknowledge], [reply-w] and the [ready] move, favour elliptical realisation.

There are similarities between the languages: (1) the [query-yn] move makes use of least elliptical clauses in both languages; (2) more ellipsis is found in responding moves. As for the first point, one possible explanation is that this is because the existential sentence structure of Japanese prevents ellipsis from occurring. The move asks about the existence of landmarks on a map, and landmarks which are being asked about (and which therefore should be explicit) are in Subject position in Japanese clauses. Since Subject ellipsis is the principal contributor to the heavy use of ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues, the reduced occurrence of Subject ellipsis reduces the rate of elliptical clauses in the [query-yn] move. Also, in the English dialogues, for asking about landmarks, the clause structure *Do you have-?* is used. This type of clause does not fit with the prevalent types of ellipsis, that is, Subject+Finite ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis in English, which actually boost the ellipsis rate in the dialogues; utterances such as *Have a rope bridge?* or *Rope bridge?* are rare. It could be speculated that these are reasons why the [query-yn] move does not fit in with ellipsis.

As for the second point, the closer look at distribution of elliptical clauses in section 5.3.2 in chapter 5 demonstrated that the difference regarding the frequency of occurrence of elliptical clauses between initiating and responding moves is clearer in the English dialogues than in the Japanese dialogues; in other words, the moves mainly associated with the Giver (the moves [instruct], [explain] and [query-yn]) are less associated with ellipsis in the English dialogues. This could be because the [instruct] and [explain] moves are a realisation of the 'statement' speech act in the Hallidayan system: 'statements' are typically associated with declaratives, and in fact these moves are realised in declaratives in the dialogues. The English instructions are issued with explicit agents of the action, compared with the Japanese instructions which are closely related with Subject ellipsis. With regard to the [explain] move, this move serves to state that the speaker has a certain landmark on the map or that the speaker is at a certain position on the map so as to tell the interlocutor whether the speaker is in the position in which the interlocutor wants him / her to be. It could, therefore, be presumed that the biggest contributor to ellipsis in the English dialogues, that is, Subject+Finite ellipsis with the 'statement' speech act, does not often occur, as this type of ellipsis is not compatible with declaratives. In the case of the Japanese dialogues, however, numbers of examples of Subject ellipsis are still observed, as Subject ellipsis is compatible with declaratives.

Research question 4

Do types of ellipsis correlate with particular speech acts, such as giving instructions? In other words, is there any link between the particular types of constituents ellipted and particular speech acts?

Different types of ellipsis were not evenly distributed among different moves. Speech acts can be associated with particular types of ellipsis, and the pattern of this association is similar between the two languages. This is notable with Predicator ellipsis, Subject+Finite ellipsis and Subject+Finite+Predicator ellipsis; their associations with moves in the dialogues are almost similar between the English and

Japanese dialogues. Put in more general terms, both English and Japanese task participants did not say subjects and verbs, and used only adverbials when they gave instructions, made queries and replied to them. Despite the differences in pragmatics which are derived from each culture as well as the difference in syntax between the two languages, the environments in which the same patterns of ellipsis are observed are similar in discourse (although with the exception of the Finite, which, in order to be ellipted, requires different syntactic environments to in the two languages).

Research question 5

Which kinds of communicative / interpersonal effects are types of ellipsis associated with? Put another way, are types of ellipsis linked to particular communicative/interpersonal effects?

The genre analysis revealed that speech acts found in the map task dialogues are mainly categorised into 'statement' and 'question' speech acts in Hallidayan terms. The components in the dialogue structure can be simplified as follows:

Statement: Giving instruction – acknowledging

Question: a. Questioning about landmarks – answering

      b. Questioning about a manner – answering

Although the Givers give instructions, typically these are not in form of commands, but simply give information for the task to be performed. They do not have any authority to command instructions to the Followers. The [instruct] move was therefore categorised as a 'statement'. It still requires some special attention, however, as instructions by the Givers can still take the form of command-like instructions, such as *Go due south* (q3ec7 Move 6). In other words, the Givers' statements can be deontic. This is also the case with Japanese. In the Japanese dialogues, it seems that for the purpose of mitigating this deontic flavour of instruction-giving, ellipsis is exploited. The mitigation itself can be found in the English dialogues, but in many cases, it is not achieved with ellipsis, but with

different strategies, e.g., by varying sentence structures e.g., *I want you go to…due south…* (q3ec7 Move 36); in the English dialogues, participants are more assertive about the action to be taken in the task, especially with regard to instructions. In the light of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987), this difference in realising instruction-giving speech act between in the English and Japanese dialogues can be associated with positive and negative politeness respectively, in the sense that the English participants make speaker and hearer get involved in the activity explicitly, while the Japanese participants prefer covert agents of actions in the speech act of giving instructions, which is a realisation of negative politeness.

When questions are made, the Subject, Finite and / or Predicator are very often ellipted both in the English and Japanese dialogues. By ellipting the Subject, Finite and / or Predicator, a sharp contrast between correct and incorrect information is made, which generates another type of epistemic expression: asserting a statement with 'certainty', which is the case with the dialogues in both languages. From these two observations, it seems possible to suggest that ellipsis in 'statement' and 'question' speech acts can serve as modal expressions to vary the degree of the speaker's commitment to what s / he says.

Research question 6

How is ellipsis used for speakers to form referential chains? In other words, how can ellipsis contribute to the realisation of topic chains?

It was shown that there are two types of discourse topics in the map task dialogues: one is a landmark in each substage in the Task-performance stage, and the other is a topic for the whole dialogue, i.e. 'a route being drawn'. With regard to the first topic, an examination of one excerpt from each language demonstrated that full noun phrases are more favoured than pronouns or zero pronouns (ellipsis) for forming referential chains, both in the English and Japanese dialogues. This technique for topic development is unexpected as it is widely claimed that full noun phrases are replaced by pronouns or zero pronouns once the topic has been established. Previous

work (Yoshida 2008) also reports that full noun phrases are frequently used in the map task dialogues. In fact, Yoshida (2008) showed that full noun phrases are used more in the Japanese dialogues than in the English dialogues. This could be because in the Japanese dialogues some full noun phrases are accompanied by demonstratives, while in the English dialogues demonstratives do not accompany full noun phrases as demonstratives themselves can contain a certain amount of information (as can be seen in the use of the third person pronouns *it* as well as the demonstrative pronoun *that*); in other words, information which is equivalent to full noun phrases is condensed in *it* or *that*.

In cases where subsequent reference is not made by full noun phrases, pronouns and zero pronouns (ellipsis) are observed both in the English and Japanese dialogues, but with different frequency; pronouns are used more in the English dialogues than zero pronouns, while zero pronouns are used more in the Japanese dialogues than pronouns. This result is compatible with the well-known claim that whereas pronouns in English are favoured for referential chains, zero pronouns are favoured in Japanese. In this study, as an explanation for this difference in the distribution of formal options for topic continuity, it can be pointed out that English pronouns can be used in a wider range of positions in the clause, compared with Japanese zero pronouns (ellipsis).

It was found that the third person pronoun *it* and demonstrative pronoun *that* were also used frequently with regard to the other topic, i.e. a route on the map, where the English and Japanese participants used different forms to refer to it. The English participants made use of first and second person pronouns, as well as third person pronouns *it*. This third person pronoun *it* and the demonstrative pronoun *that* for representing information in which the route is a topic was widely used when the participants were talking about the way in which the route was drawn, and in fact, these two pronouns (*it* and *that*) were ellipted together with *be*, which results in Subject+Finite ellipsis, the most common type of ellipsis in English. The Japanese speakers never used pronouns to refer to the route on the map, but they did exploit Subject ellipsis.

In chapter 8 it was claimed that in the case of the Japanese dialogues, there is an interplay between the topic (i.e. landmarks and the route being drawn) and the source of recovering the ellipted elements, (i.e. whether the ellipted items are identified from the text or from non-linguistic context, or in Quirk et al.'s (1985) terminology, whether it is textual / situational) – textual ellipsis is associated with landmarks on the map as a topic in a substage in the Task-performance stage (the local topic). In contrast, situational ellipsis is associated with the route which is a topic penetrating the dialogues (the global topic). This relation could in turn be discussed in terms of the forms and functions of ellipsis; whereas textual ellipsis which is associated with landmarks serves as a cohesive marker (the textual function of ellipsis), situational ellipsis, especially Subject ellipsis, which is related to the route, can serve as a modality expression (the interpersonal function of ellipsis).

This interplay seems to be the case with the English dialogues; there seems to be a moderate relationship between ellipsis, topics and the linguistic / non-linguistic recovery of the items. Although it does not occur frequently, in cases where ellipsis is used for landmarks (the local topic), the ellipted items are identified from the linguistic context. When the participants are talking about the route (the global topic), they use the personal pronominal subjects exophorically to refer to the route (e.g., *I*, *we*, *you*). Furthermore, when more information about the route is asked for, the subject, which is often the third person pronoun *it* or demonstrative pronoun *that*, undergoes situational ellipsis; *it* or *that,* along with the verb *be*, is ellipted.

As a result, it seems that there is a similar interplay in both English and Japanese regarding the relation between particular types of ellipsis, the associated topic, speech acts and linguistic / non-linguistic identification of ellipted items; it is noticeable that particular types of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues can be associated with particular speech acts in discourse, and these types of ellipsis can have particular interpersonal effects. Here, I suggest one of the similarities of the use of ellipsis in the English and Japanese dialogues.

The other similarity lies in the relation between ellipsis types and their associated functions in the English and Japanese dialogues. The types of ellipsis which are commonly found in the English and Japanese dialogues are far more frequently observed than the types of ellipsis which are found only in the dialogues of one language. In fact, among ellipsis types which are commonly observed in the English and Japanese dialogues, ellipsis types and their associated move types are similar in the English and Japanese dialogues; speakers of these two languages ellipt similar constituents when they accomplish the same speech act. This is a striking finding as the two languages have quite different syntactic and pragmatic systems. At the same time, this result supports the claim that different languages converge in speech (Halliday 1989). Similarly, Miller and Weinert (1998), who examined grammatical features which are characteristic of spoken language, suggest that devices which serve for highlighting in spoken discourse, such as ellipsis and the positioning of constituents carrying given information in the clause-initial position, occur across languages: 'what is just as interesting is the fact that the same general devices occur across languages' (Miller and Weinert 1998: 262). Possibly, the similarities come from the circumstantial constraints on linguistic performances in speech such as time limitations, information processing requirements by interlocutors as well as advantages of being present on the spot for the communication: 'functional constraints of the spoken language exert similar constraints on different language systems' (Leech 2000: 714). Thus, ellipsis can be a feature characteristic of spoken language which bridges different languages in the sense that the way in which ellipsis is used in discourse shows similarity across languages.

Needless to say, there is also a difference in the use of ellipsis between the two languages. For example, giving instructions is where the significant difference lies between the English and Japanese dialogues, as the Japanese participants ellipted subjects of motion verbs when they were giving instructions at all times, which is not the case with the English participants. It seems that the difference in whether the parties involved are verbalised or not reflects the degree of the speaker's commitment to the activity. Thus, the findings about differences and similarities in

the use of ellipsis between the English and Japanese dialogues can give suggestions
for the language classroom.

Pedagogical implications

The similarities and differences regarding the behaviour of ellipsis in discourse in
terms of the association between ellipsis types and speech acts can have considerable
implications for language teaching. In this vein, chapter 9 proposed some possible
applications of the results of the linguistic research to pedagogical description. Good
manipulation of ellipsis is associated with communicative competence, as ellipsis is
an example of the 'contextualisation' of language system (Lyons 1977). The
competence requires the four types of knowledge which comprise communicative
competence: knowledge about grammar, knowledge about text (cohesion),
appropriate use of language and managing actual communication (Canale and Swain
1980).

Bearing in mind the difficulties which learners of each language might encounter, the
pedagogical descriptions of ellipsis provided a bridge between linguistic descriptions
and information about language which is accessible to learners. Since ellipsis is a
feature essential to the spoken language and its forms and functions can be
appreciated in discourse, ellipsis will be described within the framework of
discourse-based grammar of the spoken language. It has been claimed that the
grammar of the spoken language indicates similarity across various languages owing
to the special constraints inherent in the medium of speech. In fact, my analysis
showed that the relation between ellipsis types and their associated speech acts
reveals considerable similarities between the English and Japanese dialogues. In this
sense, learning to use ellipsis will contribute to learners' reducing a burden of
manipulating the target language to some extent at least in speech.

Other implications

Apart from the pedagogical implications, this study contributes to discourse analysis
from the linguistic point of view, by offering a comprehensive comparative
description of ellipsis in task-oriented dialogues. The analysis revealed the generic

structure of the map task dialogues as well as the strategies to realise the speech acts observed in them, such as giving instructions and asking for clarification. Furthermore, this study supports the view that efficiency is observed in the English dialogues when task participants can see each other (Boyle et al. 1994). This verification could, in turn, have insights for managing elliptical utterances in telephone conversations, for example.

This research also addresses issues in applying systemic functional grammar to an analysis of Japanese dialogues. Because this grammar framework was developed mainly with regard to English, its application to Japanese, at the moment, varies from author to author. The model which was presented in this research will be an option for describing Japanese discourse in the systemic functional approach. There are still additional implications in that, for instance, the findings offer contributions for computational linguistics, as the results of the analyses provide associations between the occurrence of ellipsis and the functions which ellipsis is connected with, and it could also be a basis for modelling ellipsis in natural language.

Recommendation for further research

As recommendations for further research, I would suggest the following three main points. First, I suggested in the quantitative analysis in chapter 5 that participants without visual information do not seem to be very cooperative, which is based on another claim that the [reply-n] move serves to demonstrate whether participants are cooperative or not. The existing research points out the correlation of eye contact with commitment to the ongoing talk (Goodwin 1981: Kendon 1990). It is necessary to find out whether the same observation (i.e. uncooperativeness in dialogues where speakers cannot see each other) can be made regarding any other aspects of the dialogue, such as frequency of backchannels, so as to confirm the observation. Also, it is worth while investigating whether the use of ellipsis will be affected if commitment to the task is obviously required; for instance, if participants are made to achieve the task in accordance with some extra benchmarks imposed and in a limited amount of time.

Secondly, as the examination of topic continuity in chapter 8 showed, subject ellipsis in the Japanese dialogues is notably associated with the overall topic, which is the route being drawn on the map. When instructions are given, the global topic serves as an implicit subject. Ellipsis of subject in giving instructions is associated with softening the command-like flavour of the speech act. I would expect that further investigation will reveal the relationship between realising a global topic and expressing deontic modality, in terms of subject ellipsis in Japanese in other genres. Additionally, in relation to cohesion, further research should focus on whether the way of realising the double topic in the map task dialogues is also observed in other genres, and how ellipsis is exploited in the text.

Finally, it will be worthwhile investigating the possibilities regarding the pedagogical implications which the findings of the present study also could provide for other types of genre. The genre analysis in chapter 3 showed that the discourse structure of the map task dialogues is quite similar to everyday conversation in the sense that both of them have a pre-request sequence realised by four position structure. Additionally, asking questions and giving instructions, which are the two major speech acts observed in the map task dialogues, are quite normal speech acts in everyday life. Therefore, although normally nobody does a map task in everyday life, the type of discourse instantiated by the map task dialogues is not particularly unusual. It then seems that it is, to some extent, possible to apply findings from task-oriented dialogues to everyday conversation, as well as to task-oriented conversations.

This research was partly motivated by the need to explore ways of teaching ellipsis in the language classroom, in addition to by linguistic interest in ellipsis in discourse. It is generally recognised that applied linguistics is a 'consumer of theories' (Davies 1999: 6). However, language teaching / learning can keep generating questions regarding language day by day in the classroom (Davies 1999: Stern 1983); teaching language requires teachers or textbook writers to recognise what they teach: how is the intonation of a particular word affected by its location in the sentence? Why is a constituent located in a particular position in the sentence? How is the meaning of a

word determined? Is there any rule for combining words to create new words? Why is one particular form of the sentence, not another, used to accomplish a certain speech act? It also frequently happens that questions about language come from learners. For instance, ellipsis is an example of a phenomenon which shows the reality of language use that is not found in the formal accounts which most practitioners usually have as their main resource for language descriptions. It is in fact part of the motivation of this research to find out the use of ellipsis from the viewpoint of form and function. In this sense, language teaching can also contribute to further linguistic theory by providing research questions which are related to the nature of the language.

References

Anderson, A.H., Bader, M., Bard, E.G., Boyle, E., Doherty, G., Garrod, S., Isard, S., Kowtoko, J., McCallister, J., Miller, J., Sotillio, C., Thompson, H.S. and Weinert, R. 1991. The HCRC Map Task Corpus. *Language and Speech* 34: 351-366.

Anderson, A.H., Brown, G., Schillcock, R. and Yule, G. 1984. *Teaching Talk: Strategies for Production and Assessment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Argyle, M., Lalljee, M. and Cook, M. 1968. The effects of visibility on interaction in a dyad. *Human Relations* 21: 13-17.

Backhouse, A.E. 1993. *The Japanese Language: an Introduction.* Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. 1999. Exploring the interlanguage of interlanguage pragmatics: a research agenda for acquisitional pragmatics. *Language Learning* 49: 677-713.

Bargiela-Chiappini, F. and Harris, S. 1997. *Meaning Language: the Discourse of Corporate Meetings.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bhatia, V.K. 1993. *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings.* London: Longman.

Biber, D. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English.* Harlow: Longman.

Bloor, T. and Bloor, M. 2004. *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (2nd ed.) London: Arnold.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. and Kasper, G. 1989. *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Blum-Kulka, S. and Olshtain, E. 1984. A Cross-cultural study of speech act realisation patterns (CCSARP). *Applied Linguistics* 5: 196-213.

Boyle, E., Anderson, A.H. and Newlands, A. 1994. The effects of visibility on dialogue and performance in a cooperative problem solving task. *Language and Speech* 37 (11): 1-20.

Brown, G. and Yule, G. 1983. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P. and Levinson, S.C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bybee, J. 1995. The semantic development of past tense modals in English. In *Modality and Grammar in Discourse*, J. Bybee and S. Fleischman (eds), 503-517. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bygate, M. 1996. Effects of task repetition: appraising the developing language of learners. In *Challenge and Change in Language Teaching*, J. Willis and D. Willis (eds), 136-146. Oxford: Heinemann.

Bygate, M. 2001. Effects of task repetition on the structure and control of language. In *Task-based Learning: Language Teaching, Learning and Assessment*, M. Bygate, P. Skehan and M. Swain (eds.), 23-48. London: Longman.

Canale, M. and Swain, M. 1980. Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics* 1: 1-47.

Carletta, J., Isard, A., Isard, S., Kowtko, J., Doherty-Sneddon, G. and Anderson, A. 1996. HCRC Dialogue structure Coding Manual. http://www.hcrc.ed.ac.uk/publications/tr-82.ps.gz (April, 2007)

Carletta, J., Isard, A., Isard, S., Kowtko, J., Doherty-Sneddon, G. and Anderson, A. 1997. The reliability of a dialogue structure coding scheme. *Computational Linguistics* 23: 13-31.

Carter, R. and McCarthy, M. 1995. Grammar and the spoken language. *Applied Linguistics* 16(2): 144-158.

Carter, R. and McCarthy, M. 2006. *Cambridge Grammar of English: a Comprehensive Guide Spoken and Written English Grammar and Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Celce-Murcia, M. 2002. Why it makes sense to teach grammar in context and through discourse. In *New Perspectives on Grammar Teaching in Second Language Classrooms*, E. Hinkel and S. Fotos (eds.), 119-134. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Clancy, P. 1980. Referential choice in English and Japanese narrative discourse. In *The Pear Stories: Cohesive, Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*, W. Chafe (eds.), 127-201. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Clancy, P., Thompson, S., Suzuki, R. and Tao, H. 1996. The conversational use of reactive tokens in English, Japanese and Mandarin. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 355-387.

Clark, H.H. 1996. *Using Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, H.H. and Brennan, S.E. 1991. Grounding in communication. In *Perspectives on Socially Shared Cognition*, R.B. Resnick, J. Levine and S.D. Teasley (eds.), 127-149. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Clark, H.H. and Wilkes-Gibbs, D. 1986. Referring as a collaborative process. *Cognition* 22: 1-39.

Cohen, A.D. and Olshtain, E. 1989. Speech act behaviour across languages. In *Transfer in Production*, H.W. Dechert and M. Raupach (eds.), 53-67. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Cook, G. 1989. *Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crystal, D. 1991. A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (3rd ed.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Davies, A. 1999. *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics: From Practice to Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Davies, A. and Elder, C. 2004. *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

Davies, B. 2006. Testing dialogue principles in task-oriented dialogues: an exploration of cooperation, collaboration, effort and risk. *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics* 11: 30-64.

Doherty-Sneddon, G., Anderson, A., O'Malley, C., Langton, S., Garrod, S. and Bruce, V. 1997. Face-to-face and video-mediated communication: a comparison of dialogue structure and task performance. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied* 3 (2): 105-125.

Duncan, S. 1972. Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 223: 283-292.

Eggins, S. 1994. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Pinter.

Eggins, S. and Slade, D. 1997. *Analysing Casual Conversation.* London: Cassell.

Ellis, R. 2006. Current issues in the teaching of grammar: an SLA perspective. *TESOL Quarterly* 40: 83-107.

Falk, J. 1980. The conversational duet. Papers presented at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, Berkeley.

Ferrara, K. 1992. The interactive achievement of a sentence: joint productions in a therapeutic discourse. *Discourse Processes* 15: 207-228.

Flowerdew, J. 1993. An educational, or process, approach to the teaching of professional genres. *ELT Journal* 47: 305-316.

Ford, C. 1994. Dialogic aspects of talk and writing: Because on the interactive-ended continuum. *Text* 14: 531-554.

Fox, B.A. 1987. *Discourse Structure and Anaphora: Written and Conversational English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fox, B.A. 1996. *Studies in Anaphora*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fry, J. 2003. *Ellipsis and Wa-marking in Japanese Conversation.* London: Routledge.

Georgakopoulou, A. and Goutsos, D. 1997. *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Givόn, T. 1983. Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-language Study. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goodwin, C. 1981. Conversational Organisation: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. 1986. Between and within: Alternative sequential treatments of continuers and assessments. *Human Studies* 9: 205-217.

Goodwin, C. and Goodwin, M.H. 1987. Concurrent operations on talk: Notes on the interactive organization of assessments. *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics* 1(1): 1-54.

Greenbaum, S. and Nelson, G. 1999. Elliptical clauses in spoken and written English. In *The Clause in English: In Honour of Rodney Huddleston*, P. Collins and D. Lee (eds.), 45: 111-125, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grice, H. 1975. Logic and Conversation. In *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, P.Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds.), 41-58. New York: Academic Press.

Grundy, P. 2008. *Doing Pragmatics* (3rd ed.). London: Hodder Education.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1989. *Spoken and Written Language* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Arnold.

Hankamer, J. and Sag, I. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7: 391-428.

Hasan, R. 1978. Text in the systemic-functional model. In *Current Trends in Text Linguistics*, W. Dressler (ed.), 228-246. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Hashimoto, R. 2001. Jujuhyoogen no goyooron [Pragmatics of giving and receiving expressions]. *Gengo* 30: 46-51.

Hankamer, J., and Sag, I. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. Linguistic Inquiry 7: 391-428.

Hasegawa, Y. 1986. On the so-called "zero pronouns". *Linguistic Review* 4: 289-342.

Hasegawa, Y. 1996. *A Study of Japanese Clause Linkage*. Stanford, Tokyo: CSLI Publications, Kuroshio Publisher.

Hashimoto, R. 2001. Juju hyoogen no goyoo ron [Pragmatics of giving and receiving expressions]. *Gengo* 30 (5): 46-51.

Hayashi, M. 2003. *Joint Utterance Construction in Japanese Conversation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hinds, J. 1982a. *Ellipsis in Japanese.* Carbondale, Alberta: Linguistic Research.

Hinds, J. 1982b. Japanese conversational structure. *Lingua* 57: 301-326.

Hinds, J. 1983. Topic continuity in Japanese. In *Topic Continuity in Discourse*, T. Givón (ed.), 43-93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Horiuchi, S., Yoshino, A., Naka, M., Tsuchiya, S. and Ichikawa, A. 1997. The Chiba Map Task Corpus Project. *Working Paper of Engineering Department of Chiba University* 48: 32-60.

Huddleston, R.D. and Pullum, G.K.2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hughes, R. and McCarthy, M. 1998. From sentence to discourse: Discourse grammar and English language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 32: 263: 287.

Hymes, D. 1972. On communicative competence. In Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings, J.B. Pride and J. Holmes (ed.), Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hyon, S. 1996. Genres in three traditions: Implications for ESL. *TESOL Quarterly* 30: 693-722.

Iwasaki, S. 2002. *Japanese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

James, C. 1980. *Contrastive Analysis*. Harlow: Longman.

Jefferson, G. 1972. Side sequences. In Studies in Social Interaction, D. Sudnow (ed.), 294-338. New York: Free Press.

Jefferson, G. 1984. Notes on a systematic deployment of the acknowledgement tokens "yeah" and "mm hm". *Papers in Linguistics* 17: 197-216.

Joseph, J.E., Love, N. and Taylor, T. J. 2001. *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought II: the Western Tradition in the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge.

Kageyama, T. 1995. *Dooshi Imiron* [*Semantics of Verbs*]. Tokyo: Kuroshio.

Kamio, A. 1990. *Joohoo no Nawabari Riron: Gengo no Kinooteki Bunseki* [*Theory of the Territory of Information: Functional Analysis of Language]*. Tokyo: Taishukan.

Kamio, A. 1995. Territory of information in English and Japanese and psychological utterances. *Journal of Pragmatics* 24: 235-264.

Kamio, A. 1997. Territory of Information. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kasper, G. 2001. Four perspectives in L2 pragmatic development. Applied Linguistics 22: 502-530.

Kasper, G. and Blum-Kulka, S. 1993. *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kasper, G. and Rose, K. R. 2002. *Pragmatics Development in a Second Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kendon, A. 1990. *Conducting Interaction: Patterns of Behaviour in Focused Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuno, S. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Kuno, S. 1978. *Danwa no Bumpoo*. [*Grammar of Discourse*]. Tokyo: Taishuukan.

Kuno, S. 1982. Principles of discourse deletion – Case studies from English, Russian and Japanese. *Journal of Semantics* 1: 61-93.

Kuno, S. 1995. Null elements in parallel structures in Japanese. In *Japanese Sentence Processing*, R. Mazuka and N. Nagai (ed.), 209-233. Hillsdale, NJ.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kuroda, S. Y. 1965. *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language*. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lee, A. 2005. Effect of familiarity on knowledge synchronisation. Paper Presented at the AISB symposium on Mind-Minding Agents. Hatfield, England.

Leech, G. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Leech, G. 2000. Grammars of spoken English: New outcomes of corpus-oriented research. *Language Learning* 50: 675-724.

Lerner, G. H. 1991. On the syntax of sentences in progress. *Language in Society* 20: 441-458.

Lerner, G. H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context free operation of a context sensitive organization. *Language in Society* 32: 177-201.

Lerner, G. H. and Takagi, T. 1999. On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: A co-investigation of English and Japanese grammatical practices. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 49-75.

Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lobeck, A. 1995. *Ellipsis: Functional Heads, Licensing, and Identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Makino, S. 1993. Shooryaku no nichiei hikaku [Contrasting Japanese and English ellipsis]. *Nihongogaku* 12: 41-49.

Makino, S. and Tsutsui, M. 1989. *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar* [*Nihongo Kihon Bunpoo Jiten*]. Tokyo: Japan Times.

Martin, J. R. 1992. *English Text: System and Structure*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Martin, S.E. 1975. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Maynard, S. 1986. On back-channel behaviour in Japanese and English casual conversation. *Linguistics* 24: 1079-1108.

Maynard, S. 1997. *Japanese Communication: Language and Thought in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

McCarthy, M. 1994. It, this and that. In *Advances in Written Text Analysis*, M. Coulthard (ed.), 266-275. London: Routledge.

McCarthy, M. and Carter, R. 1994. *Language as Discourse: Perspectives for Language Teaching*. Harlow: Longman.

McClain, Y. M. 1981. *Handbook of Modern Japanese Grammar: Including Lists of Words and Expressions with English Equivalents for Reading Aid* [*Koogo Nihon Bumpoo Binran: Nihongo Tokushu Hyoogen to Sono Eigo Sootoo Yaku oyobi Reidai tsuki*]. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.

McGloin, N. 1990. Sex difference and sentence-final particles. In *Aspects of Japanese Women's Language*, S. Ide and N. McGloin (ed.), 23-41. Tokyo: Kuroshio.

McShane, M. J. 2005. *A Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, J. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merritt, M. 1976. On questions following questions in service encounters. *Language in Society* 5: 315-357.

Mikami, A. 1970. *Bunpoo Shooronshuu* [*Articles on Grammar*]. Tokyo: Kuroshio.

Miller, C. 1970. Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70: 151-167.

Miller, C. 1994. Rhetorical community: The cultural basis of genre. In *Genre and the New Rhetoric*, A. Freeman and P. Medway (ed.), 67-78. London: Taylor and Francis.

Miller, J. E. and Weinert, R. 1998. *Spontaneous Spoken Language: Syntax and Discourse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, Sports and Technology. 2003. The course of study for foreign languages.

Mitchell, T. F. 1957. The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica: A situational statement. *Hesperis*: 26: 31-71.

Murphy, R. 1985. *English Grammar in Use* [*with Answers*]*: A Self-study Reference and Practice Book for Intermediate Students with answers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myhill, J. 1992. *Typological Discourse Analysis: Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Linguistic Function*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Nariyama, S. 2002. Referent Identification for Ellipted Arguments in Japanese. PhD dissertation, University of Melbourne.

Nariyama, S. 2003. *Ellipsis and Referent Tracking in Japanese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nariyama, S. 2004. Subject ellipsis in English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 237-264.

National Language Research Institute, 1955. *Danwa no Jittai* [*Study of Discourse*], Tokyo.

Noda, H. 2001. *Nihongo Gakushuusha no Bunpoo Shuutoku* [Language Acquisition by Japanese learners]. Tokyo: Taishuukan Shoten.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of English Language*. London: Longman.

Paltridge, B. 2006. *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Ricento, T. 1987. Clausal ellipsis in multi-party conversation in English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 11: 751-775.

Rieser, V. and Moore, J. D. 2005. Implications for generating clarification requests in task-oriented dialogues. Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics.

Rose, K. R. and Kasper, G. 2001. *Pragmatics in language Teaching*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rutter, D. R. and Stephenson, G. M. 1977. The role of visual communication in synchronizing conversation. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 7: 29-37.

Sacks, H. and Jefferson, G. 1992. Lectures on Conversation. Oxford: Blackwell.

Scarcella, R. and Brunak, J. 1981. On speaking politely in a second language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 27: 59-75.

Schegloff, E. A. 1972. Notes on a conversational practice: Formulating place. In *Studies in Social Interaction*, D. Sudnow (ed.), 75-119. New York: Free Press.

Schegloff, E. A. 1982. Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some use of 'Uh-HUH' and other things that come between sentences. In *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and Linguistics*, D. H. Tannen (ed.), 71-93. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. and Sacks, H. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8: 289-327.

Scwabe, K. and Winkler, S. (ed.) 2003. *The Interfaces: Deriving and Interpreting Omitted Structures*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shibamoto, J. 1980. Contributions of sociolinguistics to language science: Language and sex. *Language Science* 4: 115-129.

Shibatani, M. 1990. *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sinclair, J. M. 1972. *A Course in Spoken English: Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, J. M. and Coulthard, M. 1975. *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: the English used by Teachers and Pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, J. M., Fox, G. and COBUILD. *Collins COBUILD English Grammar*. London: Colllins.

Stern, H. H. 1983. *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Storm, H. 2003 *A Handbook of Japanese Grammar*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swan, M. 1994. Design criteria for pedagogical learning rules. In *Grammar and the Language Teacher*, M. Bygate, A, Tonkyn and E. Williams (ed.), 45-55. New York: Prentice Hall.

Swan, M. 1995. Practical English Usage (2nd ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sweet, H. 1899. *The Practical Study of Languages: A Guide for Teachers and Learners…with Tables and Illustrative Quotations*. London: J. M. Dent & Co.

Taboada, M. T. 2004. *Building Coherence and Cohesion*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Takami, K. 1997. *Kinooteki Toogoron* [*Functional Syntax*]. Tokyo: Kuroshio.

Tananka, H. 2005. Grammar and the "timing" of social action: Word order and preference organization in Japanese. *Language in Society* 34: 389-430.

Tanaka, K. 1997. Developing pragmatic competence: A learners-as-researchers approach. *TESOL Journal* 6: 14-18.

Tannen, D. 1984. *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk Among Friends*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Teruya, K. 2004. Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Japanese. In *Language Typology: A Functional Perspective*, A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin, and C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (ed.), 185-254. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Thompson, G. 1996. *Introducing Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Thompson, S. 1994. Frameworks and contexts: A genre-based approach to analysing lecture introductions. *English for Specific Purposes* 13: 171-186.

Trappes-Lomax, H. 2006. Topics in Grammar and Discourse: Description and Application [Handout]. Edinburgh: the University of Edinburgh: MSc in Applied Linguistics.

Tsujimura, N. 2007. *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Vallduvâi, E. 1992. *The Informational Component*. New York, London: Garland.

Ventola, E. 1987. *The Structure of Social Interaction*. London: Pinter.

Wilson, P. 2000. *Mind the Gap: Ellipsis and Stylistic Variation in Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.

Yamura-takei, M., Aizawa, T. and Fujiwara, M. 2005. Diversity of ZEROS in Japanese discourses: A corpus analysis and a tool for language teachers. Paper presented at the Pacific Association for Computational Linguistics.

Yamura-takei, M. and Fujiwara, M. 2003. Understanding Zeros and Coherence in Japanese. Paper presented at the Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics.

Yngve, V. H. 1970. On getting a word in edgewise. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 6: 567-578.

Yoneha, O. S. 2003. Conversational styles and ellipsis in Japanese couple's conversations. In *Discourse and Silencing*, L. Thiesmeyer (ed.), 79-109. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Yoshida, E. 2008. Patterns of Use of referring Expressions in English and Japanese Dialogues. PhD dissertation, the University of Edinburgh.

Yoshida, Y. 1973. *Japanese for Today*. Tokyo: Gakken.

Textbooks:

Birdland: Oral Communication II 2007. Tokyo: Bun-eido.

Empathy: Oral COmmuication II 2007. Tokyo: Kyoiku Shuppan.

Japanese for Busy People I: The New Version of the Most Effective Course of Spoken, Everyday Japanese. The Association for Japanese-Language Teaching. 1994 Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Nakama: Japanese Communication, Culture, Context. 1998. S. Makino, Y.A.Hatasa, K. Hatasa. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

New Stream II 2007. Osaka: Zoshindo.

Open Door to Oral Communication: Book II. 2007. Tokyo: Bun-eido.

Situational Functional Japanese: Volume One: Notes. Tsukuba Language Group. 1991. Tokyo: Bonjinsha.

Appendix A:

1 The design of the Map Task Corpus

1.1 The HCRC Map Task Corpus

Set 1: subjects who do the task with the unfamiliar pair first							
First time of doing a role				Second time of doing a role			
A1-B1	*B2-A2*	*A2-A1*	*B1-B2*	*A2-B2*	*B1-A1*	*A1-A2*	*B2-B1*
q1nc1(12)	q1nc2(9)	q1nc3(6)	q1nc4(3)	q1nc5(6)	q1nc6(3)	q1nc7(12)	q1nc8(9)
q1ec1(12)	q1ec2(9)	q1ec3(6)	q1ec4(3)	q1ec5(6)	q1ec6(3)	q1ec7(12)	q1ec8(9)
q2nc1(15)	q2nc2(8)	q2nc3(5)	q2nc4(2)	q2nc5(5)	q2nc6(2)	q2nc7(15)	q2nc8(8)
q2ec1(15)	q2ec2(8)	q2ec3(5)	q2ec4(2)	q2ec5(5)	q2ec6(2)	q2ec7(15)	q2ec8(8)
q3nc1(14)	q3nc2(11)	q3nc3(4)	q3nc4(1)	q3nc5(4)	q3nc6(1)	q3nc7(14)	q3nc8(11)
q3ec1(14)	q3ec2(11)	q3ec3(4)	q3ec4(1)	q3ec5(4)	q3ec6(1)	q3ec7(14)	q3ec8(11)
q4nc1(13)	q4nc2(10)	q4nc3(7)	q4nc4(0)	q4nc5(7)	q4nc6(0)	q4nc7(13)	q4nc8(10)
q4ec1(13)	q4ec2(10)	q4ec3(7)	q4ec4(0)	q4ec5(7)	q4ec6(0)	q4ec7(13)	q4ec8(10)
Set 2: subjects who do the task with familiar pair first							
First time of doing a role				Second time of doing a role			
A1-A2	*B2-B1*	*A2-B2*	*B1-A1*	*A2-A1*	*B1-B2*	*A1-B1*	*B2-A2*
q1nc1(12)	q5nc2(9)	q5nc3(6)	q5nc4(3)	q5nc5(6)	q5nc6(3)	q5nc7(12)	q5nc8(9)
q5ec1(12)	q5ec2(9)	q5ec3(6)	q5ec4(3)	q5ec5(6)	q5ec6(3)	q5ec7(12)	q5ec8(9)
q6nc1(15)	q6nc2(8)	q6nc3(5)	q6nc4(2)	q6nc5(c5)	q6nc6(2)	q6nc7(15)	q6nc8(8)
q6ec1(15)	q6ec2(8)	q6ec3(5)	q6ec4(2)	q6ec5(5)	q6ec6(2)	q6ec7(15)	q6ec8(8)
q7nc1(14)	q7nc2(11)	q7nc3(4)	q7nc4(1)	q7nc5(4)	q7nc6(1)	q7nc7(14)	q7nc8(11)
q7ec1(14)	q7ec2(11)	q7ec3(4)	q7ec4(1)	q7ec5(4)	q7ec6(1)	q7ec7(14)	q7ec8(11)
q8nc1(13)	q8nc2(10)	q8nc3(7)	q8nc4(0)	q8nc5(7)	q8nc6(0)	q8nc7(13)	q8nc8(10)
q8ec1(13)	q8ec2(10)	q8ec3(7)	q8ec4(0)	q8ec5(7)	q8ec6(0)	q8ec7(13)	q8ec8(10)

1.2 Chiba Map Task Dialogue Corpus

Set 1: subjects who do the task with the unfamiliar pair first							
First time of doing a role				Second time of doing a role			
A1-B1	*B2-A2*	*A2-A1*	*B1-B2*	*A2-B2*	*B1-A1*	*A1-A2*	*B2-B1*
J1n1(12)	J1n2(9)	J1n3(6)	J1n4(3)	J1n5(6)	J1n6(3)	J1n7(12)	J1n8(9)
J1e1(12)	J1e2(9)	J1e3(6)	J1e4(3)	J1e5(6)	J1e6(3)	J1e7(12)	J1e8(9)
J2n1(15)	J2n2(8)	J2n3(5)	J2n4(2)	J2n5(5)	J2n6(2)	J2n7(15)	J2n8(8)
J2e1(15)	J2e2(8)	J2e3(5)	J2e4(2)	J2e5(5)	J2e6(2)	J2e7(15)	J2e8(8)
J3n1(14)	J3n2(11)	J3n3(4)	J3n4(1)	J3n5(4)	J3n6(1)	J3n7(14)	J3n8(11)
J3e1(14)	J3e2(11)	J3e3(4)	J3e4(1)	J3e5(4)	J3e6(1)	J3e7(14)	J3e8(11)
J4n1(13)	J4n2(10)	J4n3(7)	J4n4(0)	J4n5(7)	J4n6(0)	J4n7(13)	J4n8(10)
J4e1(13)	J4e2(10)	J4e3(7)	J4e4(0)	J4e5(7)	J4e6(0)	J4e7(13)	J4e8(10)
Set 2: subjects who do the task with familiar pair first							
First time of doing a role				Second time of doing a role			
A1-A2	*B2-B1*	*A2-B2*	*B1-A1*	*A2-A1*	*B1-B2*	*A1-B1*	*B2-A2*
J5n1(12)	J5n2(9)	J5n3(6)	J5n4(3)	J5n5(6)	J5n6(3)	J5n7(12)	J5n8(9)
J5e1(12)	J5e2(9)	J5e3(6)	J5e4(3)	J5e5(6)	J5e6(3)	J5e7(12)	J5e8(9)
J6n1(15)	J6n2(8)	J6n3(5)	J6n4(2)	J6n5(5)	J6n6(2)	J6n7(15)	J6n8(8)
J6e1(15)	J6e2(8)	J6e3(5)	J6e4(2)	J6e5(5)	J6e6(2)	J6e7(15)	J6e8(8)
J7n1(14)	J7n2(11)	J7n3(4)	J7n4(1)	J7n5(4)	J7n6(1)	J7n7(14)	J7n8(11)
J7e1(14)	J7e2(11)	J7e3(4)	J7e4(1)	J7e5(4)	J7e6(1)	J7e7(14)	J7e8(11)
J8n1(13)	J8n2(10)	J8n3(7)	J8n4(0)	J8n5(7)	J8n6(0)	J8n7(13)	J8n8(10)
J8e1(13)	J8e2(10)	J8e3(7)	J8e4(0)	J8e5(7)	J8e6(0)	J8e7(13)	J8e8(10)

2 Dialogue Moves

There are twelve moves in the coding scheme:

Six initiating moves:

- **[instruct]** - commands the partner to carry out an action
- **[explain]** - states information which has not been elicited by the partner (e.g. some fact about either the domain or the state of the plan or task)
- **[check]** - requests the partner to confirm information that the checker has some reason to believe, but is not entirely sure about. Almost always about some information which the speaker has been told.
- **[align]** - checks the attention or agreement of the partner, or his/her readiness for the next move. The purpose of the move is for the transferer to know that the information has been successfully transferred, so that they can close that part of the dialogue and move on.
- **[query-yn]** - asks the partner any question which takes a "yes" or "no" answer and does not fall into the previous two categories. Most often about what the partner has on the map.
- **[query-w]** - any query which is not covered by the other categories.

Five response moves:

- **[acknowledge]** - a verbal response which minimally shows that the speaker has heard the move to which it responds
- **[reply-y]** - any reply to any query with a yes-no surface form which means "yes", however that is expressed. Normally only appear after **[query-yn], [align]** and **[check]**.
- **[reply-n]** - a reply to a query with a yes/no surface form which means "no"
- **[reply-w]** - any reply to any type of query which doesn't simply mean "yes" or "no"
- **[clarify]** - a repetition of information which the speaker has already stated, often in response to a check move.

One pre-initiating move:

- **[ready]** - a move which occurs after the close of a dialogue game and prepare the conversation for a new game to be initiated

(http://www.hcrc.ed.ac.uk/maptask/interface/expl.html#moves)

3 Coding reliability

The third, fifth and seventh columns 'A & B', 'B & C' and 'C & A' represent whether Rater A and B, Rater B and C, and Rater C and A, assign the same move to a move segment respectively: 0 indicates that the coding by two coders are the same; 1 stands for the different coding. The total number of moves in dialogue j5n6 is 120.

	Coder A	A & B	Coder B	B & C	Coder C	C & A	Coder A
Move 1	ready	0	ready	0	ready	0	ready
Move 2	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 3	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 4	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 5	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 6	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 7	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 8	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 9	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 10	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n
Move 11	check	1	query-yn	0	query-yn	1	check
Move 12	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 13	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 14	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 15	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 16	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 17	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 18	check	0	check	0	check	0	check
Move 19	reply-y	1	clarify	1	reply-w	1	reply-y
Move 20	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 21	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 22	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 23	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 24	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 25	ready	1	instruct	1	ready	0	ready
Move 26	check	0	check	1	query-w	1	check
Move 27	clarify	0	clarify	1	reply-w	1	clarify
Move 28	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 29	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 30	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 31	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 32	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 33	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 34	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 35	check	0	check	0	check	0	check
Move 36	instruct	1	clarify	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 37	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 38	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 39	instruct	1	explain	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 40	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge

Move 41	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 42	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 43	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 44	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 45	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 46	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 47	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 48	query-yn	0	qeury-yn	1	quey-w	1	query-yn
Move 49	reply-y	0	reply-y	1	reply-w	1	reply-y
Move 50	instruct	1	explain	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 51	explain	1	uncodable	0	uncodable	1	explain
Move 52	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 53	uncodable	0	uncodable	0	uncodable	0	uncodable
Move 54	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 55	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	check	1	acknowledge
Move 56	check	1	query-yn	1	check	0	check
Move 57	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 58	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 59	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 60	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	quey-yn	0	query-yn
Move 61	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n
Move 62	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 63	instruct	1	explain	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 64	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 65	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	1	check	1	acknowledge
Move 66	acknowledge	1	clarify	0	clarify	1	acknowledge
Move 67	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	1	check	1	acknowledge
Move 68	acknowledge	1	clarify	0	clarify	1	acknowledge
Move 69	acknowledge	1	instruct	0	instruct	1	acknowledge
Move 70	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 71	check	1	query-yn	0	query-yn	1	check
Move 72	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 73	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 74	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 75	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 76	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 77	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 78	check	1	query-yn	0	query-yn	1	check
Move 79	acknowledge	1	reply-y	0	reply-y	1	acknowledge
Move 80	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 81	instruct	1	explain	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 82	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 83	check	0	check	0	check	0	check
Move 84	clarify	0	clarify	1	instruct	1	clarify
Move 85	acknowledge	1	uncodable	1	check	1	acknowledge
Move 86	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 87	check	0	check	0	check	0	check
Move 88	instruct	1	clarify	1	instruct	0	instruct
Move 89	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge

Move 90	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 91	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 92	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 93	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 94	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 95	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 96	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 97	query-yn	0	qeury-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 98	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n	0	reply-n
Move 99	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn	0	query-yn
Move 100	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 101	check	1	query-yn	0	query-yn	1	check
Move 102	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 103	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y	0	reply-y
Move 104	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 105	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 106	uncodable	0	uncodable	0	uncodable	0	uncodable
Move 107	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 108	acknowledge	1	uncodable	1	check	1	acknowledge
Move 109	instruct	0	instruct	1	clarify	1	instruct
Move 110	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 111	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 112	explain	1	instruct	0	instruct	1	explain
Move 113	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 114	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 115	uncodable	0	uncodable	1	check	1	uncodable
Move 116	clarify	1	explain	0	explain	1	clarify
Move 117	acknowledge	0	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	0	acknowledge
Move 118	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct	0	instruct
Move 119	explain	0	explain	1	instruct	1	explain
Move 120	explain	1	acknoweldge	0	acknowledge	1	explain
		97/120		99/120		94/120	
Percentage of agreement		80.83%		82.50%		78.33%	

Appendix B:
Samples of English and Japanese map task dialogues, along with maps used

1 English map task dialogue (dialogue q7ec7)
1.1 Original transcript

GIVER: okey-dokey ... right ... so , your start's away up in the top , you got you got a wee cross ?

FOLLOWER: uh-huh .

GIVER: right , have you got the diamond mine ?

FOLLOWER: yes i have .

GIVER: well , if you ... dis-- ... come down ... down the west side of that ... and hang a left right underneath it ... right underneath the "d" of the diamond .

FOLLOWER: right , to what point will i draw a l-- ?

GIVER: eh ... go along , you've not got the graveyard sure you've not ?

FOLLOWER: no .

GIVER: right , tell you what right there's a graveyard about an inch and a half ... to the ... ... east of the diamond mine , and you go along ... under the diamond mine and underneath the graveyard .

FOLLOWER: have you got the ravine ?

GIVER: no .

FOLLOWER: have you got carved stones ?

GIVER: yes .

FOLLOWER: well , the ravine's just ... an inch below the carved stones .

GIVER: rightee-ho , so , if you go along 'til ... ... about a centimetre before you get to your ravine .

FOLLOWER: aha ... ... right .

GIVER: then head north ... to the we-- ... past ... you pass the west side of the carved stones .

FOLLOWER: over the top of the carved stones ?

GIVER: yes .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: right , and have you got the indian country ?

FOLLOWER: mmhmm .

GIVER: so you come down the other side of the carved stones ... down ... ... and ... when you get to the top of the indian country ... ... just , you've not got the great rock eh , yeah just go down to the top of the indian country first , now , to the left ... sorry to the west of the indian country there's a great rock .

FOLLOWER: no not on this one .

GIVER: right , well , on this one there's a great rock , so .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: if you ... go down a ... what does it say a f-- ... about a forty-five degree angle ... direct from ... directly above ... ... the ... big teepee .

FOLLOWER: mmhmm .

GIVER: or wigwam .

FOLLOWER: so i'll draw a line straight across to above that ?

GIVER: yeah , when you get to above the big teepee ... ... then ... ... it'll be ... go down about an inch ... inch and a half ... at a forty-five degree angle from that .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: then ... you go along ... over th-- ... over to the top of the gold mine .

FOLLOWER: right , that's below the diamond mine ?

GIVER: yeah they're ... yeah ... directly below uh-huh .

FOLLOWER: a good bit below it , uh-huh .

GIVER: yeah , so you .

FOLLOWER: what side of the top to right in the middle ?

GIVER: eh the west side .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: right ?

FOLLOWER: near the gallows ?

GIVER: yeah , you're about ... forty-five degree bearing away from that .

FOLLOWER: oh right okay .

GIVER: and you ... ... go down south until you're about ... two thirds of the way ... down towards the great rock .

FOLLOWER: where the totem pole ... ... the bottom of the where the totem pole would be ?

GIVER: yeah .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: and then you go , have you got the trout farm ?

FOLLOWER: uh-huh , it's away over below the indian country .

GIVER: yeah , well , you go al-- , right , you're ... you're at your totem pole on your map i think it is ?

FOLLOWER: uh-huh , at the bottom i'm below the trout farm .

GIVER: yeah ... right well , if you go along underneath your totem pole for about an inch ... ... it may ... aye may be just over an inch .

FOLLOWER: until the other side of the totem pole ?

GIVER: mmhmm , then ... ... head up towards the trout farm ... ... with your line coming down there g-- ... going up to the "t" the first "t" , then ... have you've not got the fort sure you haven't the cavalry ?

FOLLOWER: no , no .

GIVER: well , if you go along after the trout farm if you .

FOLLOWER: right , i'll go ... up ... to ... how far from the "t" ?

GIVER: right bel-- ... right underneath it .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: now , i'd say if you go along ... east about two inches , then .

FOLLOWER: right so , i'm just past the far edge of the trout farm ?

GIVER: eh if you move it higher up ... give it a wee bit further than that .

FOLLOWER: right okay .

GIVER: then , you've got the cattle stockade ?

FOLLOWER: uh-huh , away down the bottom .

GIVER: yeah well , if you go straight down ... passing that on the east side ... just right until you come to the "e" .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: then , go westerly under it ... ... until you come to the "c" ... the f-- "c" in cattle .

FOLLOWER: oh the "c" of cattle .

GIVER: yeah , right , i'd presume that you've got something between the bandit territory and the cattle stockade ?

FOLLOWER: yes , a parched river bed .

GIVER: judging b-- , yeah , well , if you ... ... do-- ... drive over the top of that ... just over the top of it and then come down the other side underneath the bandit territory , then , have you got the wee cross for your finish ?

FOLLOWER: no .

GIVER: no , well , about an inch to the left of the wee tree ... an inch and a half to the left of the wee tree that the bandit's lying up against .

FOLLOWER: mmhmm .

GIVER: your wee f-- your finish sign's there , eh if you go under your bandit territory and up to it .

FOLLOWER: right , i'm under the "b" of bandit just now .

GIVER: you just go straight up to your wee cross .

FOLLOWER: about how far up ... about an ... uh an inch ?

GIVER: it's about ... prr ... an inch ... inch or so .

FOLLOWER: right .

GIVER: there we go ... and that's us one map complete .

FOLLOWER: that's it

1.2 Transcript with move annotation

GIVER	FOLLOWER
Move 1 ready okey-dokey ... right ... so	
Move 2 instruct your start's away up in the top	
Move 3 query-yn you got you got a wee cross ?	
	Move 4 reply-y uh-huh
Move 5 ready right	
Move 6 query-yn have you got the diamond mine ?	
	Move 7 reply-y yes i have
Move 8 ready well	
Move 9 instruct if you ... dis-- ... come down ... down the west side of that ... and hang a left right underneath it ... right underneath the "d" of the diamond	
	Move 10 acknowledge right
	Move 11 query-w to what point will i draw a l-- ?
Move 12 reply-w eh ... go along	
Move 13 query-yn you've not got the graveyard sure you've not ?	
	Move 14 reply-n no
Move 15 ready right	
Move 16 explain tell you what right there's a graveyard about an inch and a half ... to the ... ... east of the diamond mine	
Move 17 reply-w and you go along ... under the diamond mine and underneath the graveyard	
	Move 18 query-yn have you got the

	ravine ?
Move 19 reply-n no	
	Move 20 query-yn have you got carved stones ?
Move 21 reply-y yes	
	Move 22 ready well
	Move 23 explain the ravine's just ... an inch below the carved stones
Move 24 acknowledge rightee-ho	
Move 25 ready so	
Move 26 reply-w if you go along 'til ... ... about a centimetre before you get to your ravine	
	Move 27 acknowledge aha ... ... right
Move 28 instruct then head north ... to the we-- ... past ... you pass the west side of the carved stones	
	Move 29 check over the top of the carved stones ?
Move 30 reply-y yes	
	Move 31 acknowledge right
Move 32 ready right	
Move 33 query-yn and have you got the indian country ?	
	Move 34 reply-y mmhmm
Move 35 instruct so you come down the other side of the carved stones ... down ... ... and ... when you get to the top of the indian country ... ... just	
Move 36 explain you've not got the great rock eh	
Move 37 instruct yeah just go down to the top of the indian country first	

Move 38 ready now	
Move 39 explain to the left ... sorry to the west of the indian country there's a great rock	
	Move 40 explain no not on this one
Move 41 align right ?	
Move 43 ready well	
Move 44 explain on this one there's a great rock	
Move 46 ready so	
	Move 45 acknowledge right
Move 47 instruct if you ... go down a ... what does it say a f-- ... about a forty-five degree angle ... direct from ... directly above ... ... the ... big teepee	
	Move 48 acknowledge mmhmm
Move 49 instruct or wigwam	
	Move 50 check so i'll draw a line straight across to above that ?
Move 51 reply-y yeah	
Move 52 clarify when you get to above the big teepee ... ... then ... ... it'll be ... go down about an inch ... inch and a half ... at a forty-five degree angle from that	
	Move 54 acknowledge right
Move 53 instruct then ... you go along ... over th-- ... over to the top of the gold mine	
	Move 56 acknowledge right
	Move 57 query-yn that's below the diamond mine ?
Move 58 reply-y yeah they're ... yeah ... directly below uh-huh	

	Move 59 query-yn a good bit below it ?
	Move 59.9 acknowledge uh-huh
Move 61 reply-y yeah	
Move 61.9 instruct so you	
	Move 62 query-w what side of the top to right in the middle ?
Move 63 reply-w eh the west side	
	Move 64 acknowledge right
Move 65 align right ?	
	Move 66 query-yn near the gallows ?
Move 67 reply-y yeah	
Move 68 reply-w you're about ... forty-five degree bearing away from that	
	Move 69 acknowledge oh right okay
Move 70 instruct and you ... ... go down south until you're about ... two thirds of the way ... down towards the great rock	
	Move 71 query-yn where the totem pole ... ... the bottom of the where the totem pole would be ?
Move 72 reply-y yeah	
	Move 73 acknowledge right
Move 74 instruct and then you go	
Move 75 query-yn have you got the trout farm ?	
	Move 76 reply-y uh-huh
	Move 77 explain it's away over below the indian country
Move 78 acknowledge yeah	

Move 79 ready well	
Move 80 instruct you go al--	
Move 81 ready right	
Move 82 align you're ... you're at your totem pole on your map i think it is ?	
	Move 83 reply-y uh-huh
	Move 84 explain at the bottom i'm below the trout farm
Move 85 acknowledge yeah ... right well	
Move 86 instruct if you go along underneath your totem pole for about an inch ... ... it may ... aye may be just over an inch	
	Move 87 check until the other side of the totem pole ?
Move 88 reply-y mmhmm	
Move 89 instruct then ... ... head up towards the trout farm ... ... with your line coming down there g-- ... going up to the "t" the first "t"	
Move 90 query-yn then ... have you've not got the fort sure you haven't the cavalry ?	
	Move 91 reply-n no
	Move 93 reply-n no
Move 94 ready well	
Move 95 instruct if you go along after the trout farm if you	
	Move 96 ready right
	Move 97 check i'll go ... up ... to ... how far from the "t" ?
Move 98 reply-w right bel-- ... right	

underneath it	
	Move 99 acknowledge right
Move 100 ready now	
Move 101 instruct i'd say if you go along ... east about two inches	
Move 101.9 ready then	
	Move 102 ready right so
	Move 103 check i'm just past the far edge of the trout farm ?
Move 104 reply-w eh if you move it higher up ... give it a wee bit further than that	
	Move 105 acknowledge right okay
Move 106 ready then	
Move 107 query-yn you've got the cattle stockade ?	
	Move 108 reply-y uh-huh
	Move 109 explain away down the bottom
Move 110 ready yeah well	
Move 111 instruct if you go straight down ... passing that on the east side ... just right until you come to the "e"	
	Move 112 acknowledge right
Move 113 ready then	
Move 114 instruct go westerly under it ... ... until you come to the "c" ... the f-- "c" in cattle	
	Move 115 acknowledge oh the "c" of cattle
Move 117 acknowledge yeah	
Move 118 ready right	

Move 119 query-w i'd presume that you've got something between the bandit territory and the cattle stockade ?	
	Move 120 reply-y yes
	Move 122 reply-w ≫a parched river bed
Move 121 query-w judging b-- ?	
Move 123 acknowledge yeah	
Move 124 ready well	
Move 125 instruct if you ... ... do-- ... drive over the top of that ... just over the top of it and then come down the other side underneath the bandit territory	
Move 126 ready then	
Move 127 query-yn have you got the wee cross for your finish ?	
	Move 128 reply-n no
Move 129 acknowledge no	
Move 130 ready well	
Move 131 explain about an inch to the left of the wee tree ... an inch and a half to the left of the wee tree that the bandit's lying up against	
	Move 132 acknowledge mmhmm
Move 133 explain your wee f-- your finish sign's there	
Move 134 instruct eh if you go under your bandit territory and up to it	
	Move 135 ready right
	Move 136 explain i'm under the "b" of bandit just now
Move 137 instruct you just go straight up to your wee cross	

	Move 138 query-w about how far up ... about an ... uh an inch ?
Move 139 reply-w it's about ... prr ... an inch ... inch or so	
	Move 142 acknowledge right
Move 143 explain there we go ... and that's us one map complete	
	Move 144 acknowledge that's it

1.3 Maps

1.3.1 Giver's map used in dialogue q7ec7 (map no. 14)

1.3.2 Follower's map used in dialogue q7ec7 (map no. 14)

START ✗

diamond mine

carved stones

ravine

gallows

indian country

gold mine

trout farm

totem pole

great rock

bandit territory

parched river bed

cattle stockade

++3f
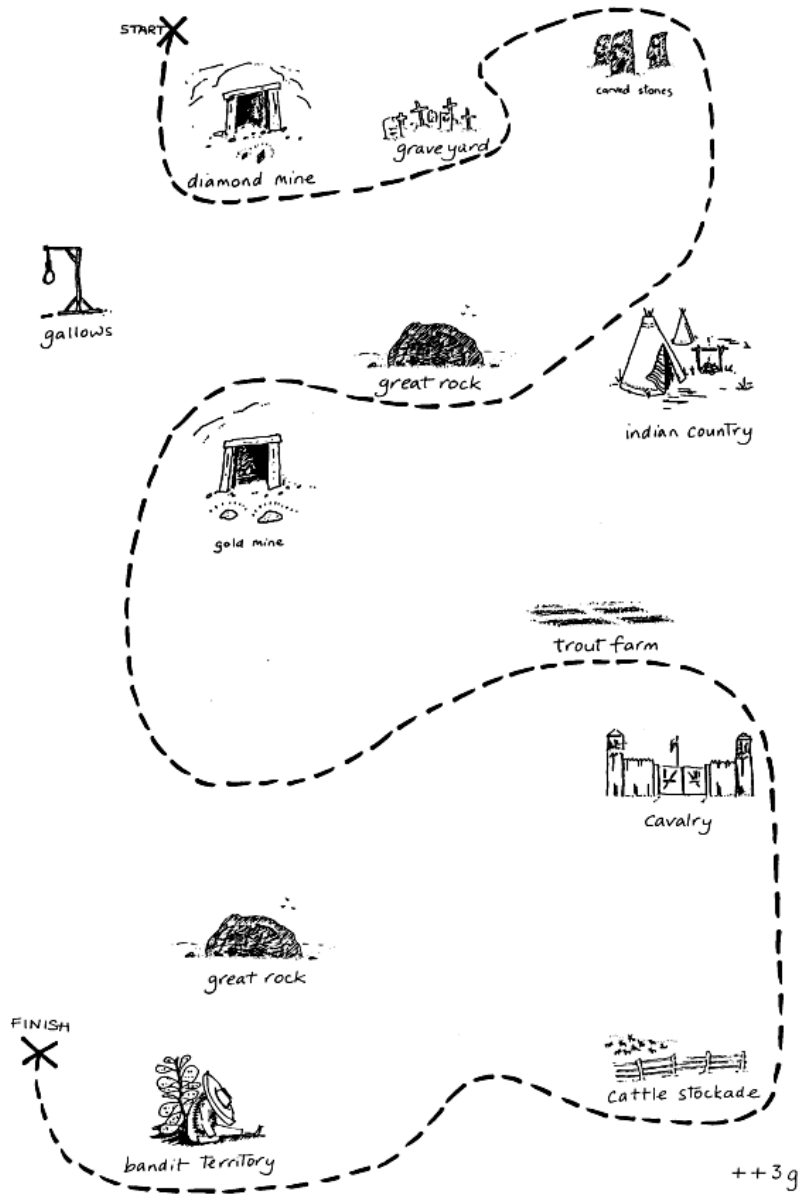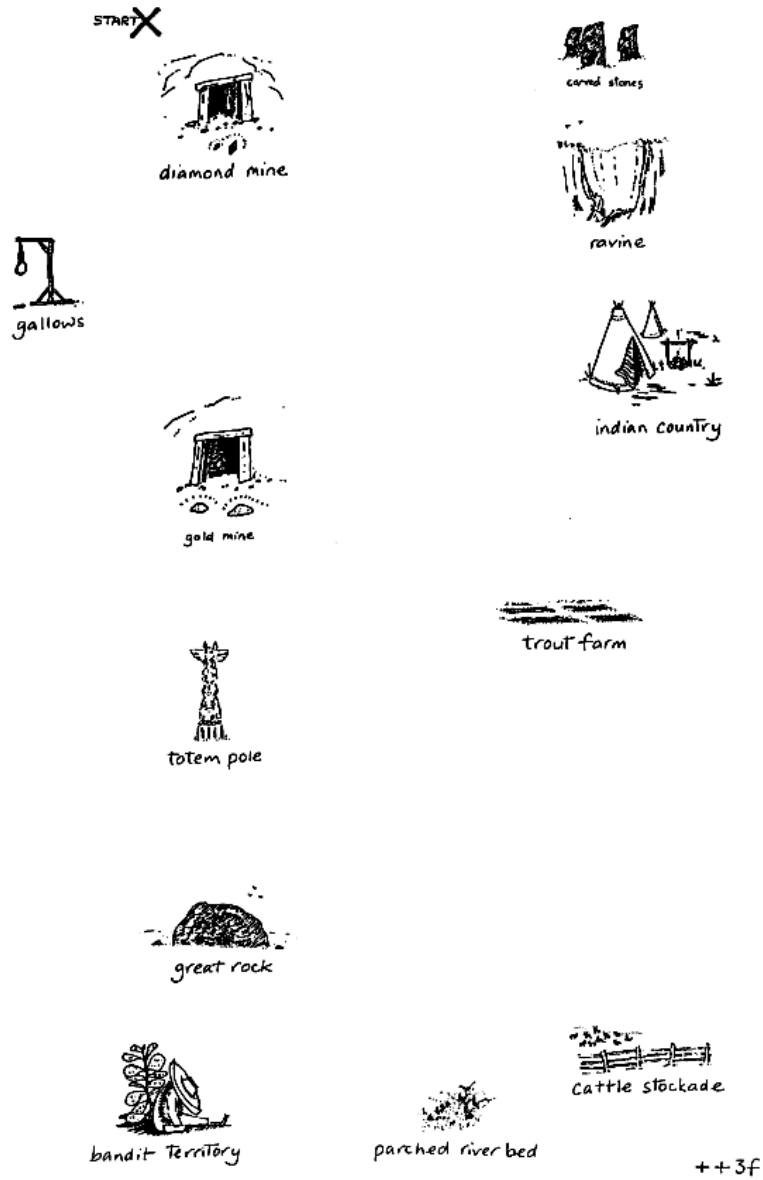
2 Japanese map task dialogue (dialogue j7e7)
2.1 Original transcript

00:03:536-00:04:288 G:いきます+

00:04:288-00:04:400 F:+はい

00:05:584-00:08:592 G:まず<208>*しゅっぱつちてんのみぎしたに{ぎん<128>こう}
00:06:288-00:06:448 F:　　　　　　*うん

00:09:392-00:09:600 F:うん

00:09:616-00:10:240 G:があるよね

00:10:288-00:10:432 F:うん

00:11:008-00:12:592 G:そこを<352>{しゅっ<112>ぱつ(ち);次の発話に続く

00:13:008-00:14:912 G:ちてんからしたにおりてきて;noise1000

00:15:024-00:15:312 F:した

00:15:488-00:17:728 G:うん<160>*ぎんこうのひだりがわ<368>を
00:15:872-00:16:032 F:　　　　　　*うん

00:17:792-00:17:968 F:うん

00:18:208-00:19:184 G:{くだっ<112>て}きて

00:19:200-00:19:376 F:うん

00:19:600-00:21:296 G:ぎんこうのしたまで{いっ<112>た}ら

00:21:328-00:21:488 F:うん

00:23:024-00:23:808 G:うんみぎに

00:24:064-00:24:336 F:みぎ

00:24:512-00:24:768 G:うん;発話後呼吸音

00:25:152-00:27:024 F:でぎんこうのみぎがわに{きちゃっ<112>て}いいの

00:27:136-00:28:000 G:うん<304>*で
00:27:536-00:27:680 F:　　　　　　*うん

00:28:560-00:30:704 G:ここにぼちがあるんだけどそっちにはたぶんない

00:31:200-00:31:600 F:うんない+

00:31:520-00:32:304 G:+ないよね*うん
00:32:032-00:32:192 F:　　　　　　　*うん

00:32:736-00:35:392 G:ぎんこうのみぎがわにぼちが<384>あるんだけ*ど
00:35:248-00:35:472 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

00:36:736-00:36:912 G:そ

00:37:632-00:40:960 G:うんだいたいここらへんにぼちがあると{おもっ<160>*て}<240>そこを
00:39:968-00:40:144 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

00:41:536-00:42:240 G:のしたを

00:42:496-00:42:608 F:うん

00:43:312-00:45:840 G:うんだからみぎ<128>に{ずっ<112>と}{いっ<256>て};発話後呼吸音

00:45:968-00:46:112 F:うん

00:47:936-00:49:968 G:で<112>ぼちをまわりこむんだけど

00:50:080-00:50:256 F:うん

00:51:296-00:53:392 G:せきぞう<144>てあるよ*ねみぎうえに*うん;発話後呼吸音
00:52:416-00:52:672 F:　　　　　　　　　*ある
00:53:168-00:53:328 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

00:54:496-00:55:744 G:だからぎんこうの

00:56:624-00:56:848 G:みぎ

00:57:280-00:59:376 G:ぎんこうのしたをずっとみぎにきて+

00:59:328-00:59:504 F:+うん

01:01:248-01:03:056 G:うんなん<112>なんていったらいいのかなそ

01:03:792-01:06:224 G:まんなからへんにぼちがあるんだけど*かみの
01:05:792-01:05:984 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

01:06:448-01:06:624 F:うん

01:07:216-01:08:112 G:そこを{ちょっ<144>と}

01:08:864-01:09:984 G:うえに{いっ<272>て}

01:10:096-01:10:256 F:うん

01:10:640-01:13:072 G:でせきぞうのうえがわを<304>こうに

01:13:664-01:14:384 F:せきぞうのうえ;疑問調

01:14:560-01:16:784 G:うんうえを<144>*うん<144>{ぐるっ<288>と}
01:15:536-01:15:696 F:　　　　　　　　*うん

01:17:872-01:19:200 F:みぎが*わにいって
01:18:400-01:20:112 G:　　　　*うん<224>みぎがわに{いっ<368>*て}
01:19:904-01:20:112 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

01:20:800-01:22:016 G:でしたにおりて<144>くる

01:24:048-01:24:208 F:うん

01:24:560-01:24:816 G:で

01:25:904-01:28:656 G:ちょっとしたにおりてきたら{い*んでぃあんの<160>むら}があるだけど+;発話前後呼吸音
01:27:104-01:27:216 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

01:28:608-01:28:832 F:+うん

01:29:488-01:29:968 G:あるよね

01:29:984-01:30:176 F:うん

01:30:736-01:33:184 G:そういんであんのむらの<256>ひだりがわを;発話後呼吸音

01:33:376-01:33:536 F:うん

01:34:688-01:37:712 G:なんかひだりななめしたに<112>いくかんじでこうに<160>おりてくるのね

01:39:152-01:40:064 F:ひだりななめした;疑問調

01:40:112-01:40:352 G:うん;発話前後呼吸音

01:41:408-01:41:584 F:うん

01:42:256-01:42:608 G:で

01:43:344-01:44:208 G:おりてくる*と
01:44:288-01:44:432 F:　　　　　*うん

01:46:128-01:48:672 G:おおきないわがあるんだけどそっちにはたぶんないとおもう;発話後呼吸音

01:48:768-01:49:888 F:おおきないわあるよ

01:50:144-01:50:512 G:ある;発話後呼吸音,疑問調

01:50:512-01:51:552 F:ひだりしたのほうでしょ

01:51:920-01:53:696 G:いやそんなしししたじゃ{なく<176>て}+

01:53:600-01:53:824 F:+うん

01:54:752-01:59:024 G:あ(の)いんであんのむらのひ*だりがわにおおきな*いわがもういっこあんのね<368>うんないよね
01:56:016-01:56:144 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん
01:57:104-01:59:200 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*あわ<272>うんない<336>うん<368>うん

01:59:600-02:00:768 G:できんこうあるよ*ね
02:00:640-02:01:040 F:　　　　　　　　　*うんある

02:01:344-02:01:440 G:うん

02:03:008-02:04:016 G:で{きん<128>こう}

02:04:928-02:08:256 G:が{あっ<256>て}*そのみぎのみぎななめうえぐらいにおおきないわがあるのね+
02:05:824-02:06:016 F:　　　　　　　*うん

02:08:240-02:08:448 F:+うん

02:09:040-02:11:872 G:うん<208>そのおおきないわのしたをとおってくるんだけど+

02:11:856-02:12:032 F:+うん

02:12:704-02:14:576 G:うんだからひだりにおりてきて

02:14:608-02:14:752 F:うん

02:15:920-02:17:808 G:(ひ)<112>ひだりにまっすぐいくかんじで;noise1000

02:18:016-02:18:192 F:うん

02:18:800-02:20:080 G:できんこうのうえを;「うえを」を強調

02:20:608-02:20:768 F:うえ

02:21:568-02:21:744 G:うん;発話後呼吸音

02:22:624-02:23:888 G:あおりてきちゃったしたまで+;「したまで」を笑いながら発話

02:23:808-02:24:256 F:+うん;笑いながら発話

02:24:448-02:24:944 G:ごめん;笑いながら発話

02:24:960-02:25:408 F:ううんいいよ

02:25:552-02:27:008 G:うんいんであんのむらの

02:27:424-02:29:184 G:よこらへんをひだりにいくんだけど+

02:29:184-02:29:376 F:+うん

02:29:920-02:33:264 G:でひだりに{いっ<128>て}<288>きんこうのうえを{ぐるっ<160>と}{まわっ<192>て}

02:33:424-02:33:584 F:うん

02:34:592-02:35:632 G:したにおりてくんのね

02:35:920-02:36:544 F:ひだりがわを;疑問調

02:36:960-02:40:064 G:うんそうそうそう*そう<160>ごめん<160>うん(しで)したにおりてき*て;noise1000
02:37:696-02:37:888 F: *うん
02:39:968-02:40:144 F:
*うん

02:42:848-02:46:032 G:{ますの<176>ようしょくじょう}てひだりみぎがわにあるよ*ね
02:45:920-02:46:336 F: v   *うん
ある

02:46:512-02:46:720 G:うん;発話前呼吸音

02:47:296-02:47:584 G:で

02:49:024-02:49:952 G:きんこうの;発話後呼吸音

02:50:208-02:50:352 F:うん

02:51:584-02:54:352 G:うんきんこうと{お}<352>おおきないわの

02:54:368-02:54:544 F:うん

02:56:880-02:58:736 G:あのしたのほうのおおきないわ*ね<256>の;発話後呼吸音
02:58:064-02:58:288 F: *うん

03:00:128-03:02:576 G:まんなかよりちょっとしたが(わ)<320>から

03:02:624-03:02:800 F:うん

03:04:080-03:05:696 G:ますのようしょくじょうのほうに

03:07:072-03:08:528 G:{ちょっ<160>と}みぎあがりに+

03:08:464-03:08:640 F:+うん

03:09:600-03:10:816 G:みぎにいくのね;「ね」は息をはきながら

395

03:11:104-03:11:232 F:うん

03:11:520-03:11:744 G:うん;発話後呼吸音

03:12:160-03:14:272 F:ますのようしょくじょうのうえがわしたがわ;疑問調

03:14:400-03:15:728 G:したが*わ<224>(う)うん
03:14:896-03:15:760 F:　　　*したがわ<192>うん

03:16:400-03:19:376 G:ますのようしょくじょうの<336>ましたを*<112>{とおっ<336>*て};
発話後呼吸音
03:18:400-03:18:576 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん
03:19:344-03:19:552 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

03:21:040-03:22:368 G:きへいたいのとりである

03:22:896-03:23:904 F:きへい<272>ない;noise1000

03:24:176-03:26:224 G:ないか*<192>ますのようしょくじょう*の;発話後呼吸音
03:24:704-03:24:912 F:　　　*うん
03:26:128-03:26:336 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

03:27:008-03:29:936 G:みぎしたにあん<144>あんのね*<336>ぼくじょうのかこいあるよね+
03:28:384-03:28:608 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

03:29:888-03:30:096 F:+ある

03:30:720-03:31:248 G:あれの

03:32:192-03:33:648 G:まっすぐうえにあるんだけど+

03:33:600-03:33:808 F:+うん

03:34:656-03:34:928 G:うん

03:35:456-03:36:912 G:ここにだいたいあるとし*て
03:36:864-03:37:040 F:　　　　　　　　*うん

03:37:728-03:38:416 G:その

03:39:744-03:42:128 G:きへいたいのとりでを*<160>まわりこんで
03:41:120-03:41:280 F:　　　　　　　*うん

03:42:384-03:43:424 F:みぎがわ{を[?]}<144>から;疑問調

03:43:504-03:47:440 G:うんみぎがわからまが<128>まわりこん*で<288>まっすぐしたに{お
りてっ<304>て}+
03:45:376-03:45:552 F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

03:47:392-03:47:584 F:+うん

03：48：608-03：50：608 G：ぼくじょうのかこいのしたを；発話後呼吸音

03：50：864-03：51：024 F：うん

03：51：632-03：52：704 G：ひだりに〈240〉いく

03：52：976-03：53：120 F：うん

03：55：216-03：55：376 G：で

03：55：952-03：57：056 G：ここらへん（に）なんかあるでしょ

03：57：376-03：58：512 F：{ひあがっ〈128〉た}かわ*がある
03：58：272-03：59：424 G：　　　　　　　　　　　*うんうんひあがったかわ；笑いながら発話

03：59：472-03：59：664 F：うん

03：59：936-04：00：864 G：のうえを；発話後呼吸音

04：00：928-04：01：104 F：うん

04：01：600-04：04：352 G：こうにちょっとやまがたになるみたい*に〈128〉うえを{とおっ〈160〉て}
04：03：152-04：03：552 F：　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うんうん

04：04：368-04：04：544 F：うん

04：05：552-04：08：848 G：かいぞくのなわばりのしたを〈112〉*あちがさんぞくだったごめん；「あ、ちが」を笑いながら発話
04：07：424-04：07：616 F：　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

04：08：880-04：09：136 F：うん

04：09：136-04：09：696 F：{笑い}

04：09：376-04：11：040 G：さんぞくのなわばりのしたを；笑いながら発話

04：11：056-04：11：248 F：うん

04：12：064-04：13：536 G：ぐんぐんひだりに{いっ〈208〉*て}
04：13：456-04：13：648 F：　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*うん

04：14：528-04：17：392 G：{ちょっ〈128〉と}うえの〈144〉うえに{いっ〈160〉た}（あた）あたりがもくひょうちてん；発話後呼吸音

04：18：496-04：18：592 F：はい

04：19：104-04：19：248 G：うん

04：20：048-04：20：448 G：{おっ〈160〉けー}

04:20:576−04:20:736 F：うん

2.2 Transcript segmented and allocated moves

code number: j7e7u
map number: 14
giver: j7ea1
follower: j7eb1

Giver	Follower
Move 1 (ready) いきます+	
	Move 2 (acknowledge) +はい
Move 3 (check) まず…*しゅっぱつちてんの みぎしたにぎん…こう	
	Move 4 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 5 (acknowledge) うん
があるよね	
	Move 6 (reply-y) うん
Move 7 (instruct) そこを…{しゅっ…ぱつ (ち)<…>ちてんからしたにおりてきて	
	Move 8 (check) した
Move 9 (reply-y) うん… Move 10 (instruct) *ぎんこうのひだりがわ… を	
	Move 11 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 12 (acknowledge) うん
くだっ…てきて	
	Move 13 (acknowledge) うん
ぎんこうのしたまでいっ…たら	
	Move 14 (acknowledge) うん
Move 15 (instruct) うんみぎに	
	Move 16 (acknowledge) みぎ
Move 17 (acknowledge) うん	
	Move 18 (check) でぎんこうのみぎがわに{き ちゃっ…て}いいの
Move 19 (reply-y) うん… Move 20 (explain) *で	
	Move 21 (acknowledge) *うん
ここにぼちがあるんだけどそっちにはたぶん ない	
	Move 22 (reply-y) うんない+
Move 23 (acknowledge) +ないよね*うん	
	Move 24 (acknowledge) *うん
Move 25 (explain) ぎんこうのみぎがわにぼち が…あるんだけ*ど	
	Move 26 (acknowledge) *うん
Move 27 (instruct) そ<…>うんだいたいここら へんにぼちがあるとおもっ…*て…そこを	
	Move 28 (acknowledge) *うん
のしたを	
	Move 29 (acknowledge) うん

うんだからみぎ…にずっ…といっ…て	
	Move 30 (acknowledge) うん
で…ぼちをまわりこむんだけど	
	Move 31 (acknowledge) うん
Move 32 (check) せきぞう…てあるよ*ねみぎ うえに*うん	
	Move 33 (reply-y) *ある
	Move 34 (acknowledge) *うん
Move 35 (instruct) だからぎんこうの<…>みぎ <…>ぎんこうのしたをずっとみぎにきて+	
	Move 36 (acknowledge) +うん
うんなん…なんていったらいいのかなそ <…>まんなからへんにぼちがあるんだけど* かみの	
	Move 37 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 38 (acknowledge) うん
そこをちょっ…と<…>うえにいっ…て	
	Move 39 (acknowledge) うん
でせきぞうのうえがわを…こうに	
	Move 40 (check) せきぞうのうえ;疑問調
Move 41 (reply-y) うんうえを…*うん…ぐる っ…と	
	Move 42 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 43 (acknowledge) みぎが*わにいって
Move 44 (clarify) *うん…みぎがわにいっ…* て	
	Move 45 (acknowledge) *うん
でしたにおりて…くる	
	Move 46 (acknowledge) うん
Move 47 (explain) ちょっとしたにおりてきた らい*んでぃあんの…むらがあるだけど+	
	Move 48 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 49 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 50 (check) あるよね	
	Move 51 (reply-y) うん
Move 52 (instruct) そういんであんのむらの… ひだりがわを	
	Move 53 (acknowledge) うん
なんかひだりななめしたに…いくかんじでこ うに…おりてくるのね	
	Move 54 (check) ひだりななめした;疑問調
Move 55 (reply-y) うん	
	Move 56 (acknowledge) うん;
Move 57 (explain) で<…>おりてくる*と	
	Move 58 (acknowledge) *うん
おおきないわがあるんだけどそっちにはたぶ んないとおもう	
	Move 58 (explain) おおきないわあるよ
Move 59 (query-yn) ある疑問調	
	Move 60 (clarify) ひだりしたのほうでしょ

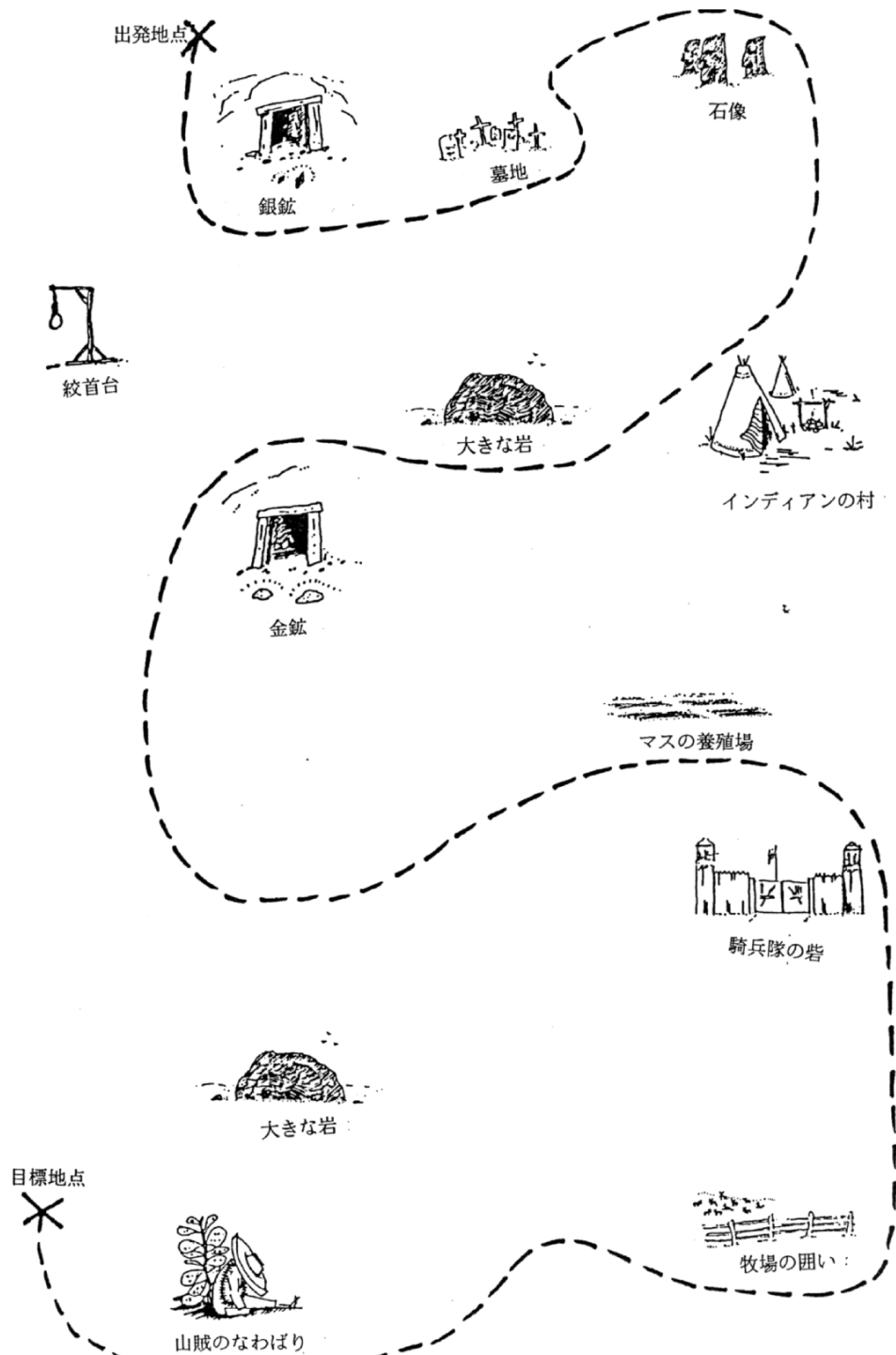|	
Move 61 (explain) いやそんなししたじゃ{なく…て}+	
	Move 62 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 63 (explain) あ(の)いんであんのむらのひ*だりがわにおおきな*いわがもういっこあんのね…うんないよね	
	Move 64 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 65 (acknowledge) *あわ…うんない…うん…うん
Move 66 (check) できんこうあるよ*ね	
	Move 67 (reply-y) *うんある
Move 68 (explain) うん<…>できん…こう<…>があっ…て*そのみぎのみぎななめうえぐらいにおおきないわがあるのね+	
	Move 69 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 70 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 71 (instruct) うん…そのおおきないわのしたをとおってくるんだけど+	
	Move 72 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 73 (instruct) うんだからひだりにおりてきて	
	Move 74 (acknowledge) うん
ひ…ひだりにまっすぐいくかんじで	
	Move 75 (acknowledge) うん
Move 76 (instruct) できんこうのうえを	
	Move 77 (acknowledge) うえ
うん<…>あおりてきちゃったしたまで+	
	Move 78 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 79 (explain) ごめん	
	Move 80 (acknowledge) ううんいいよ
Move 81 (instruct) うんいんであんのむらの<…>よこらへんをひだりにいくんだけど+	
	Move 82 (acknowledge) +うん
でひだりにいっ…て…きんこうのうえをぐるっ…とまわっ…て	
	Move 83 (acknowledge) うん
したにおりてくんのね	
	Move 84 (check) ひだりがわを;疑問調
Move 85 (reply-y) うんそうそうそう*そう…ごめん… Move 87 (instruct) うん(しで)したにおりてき*て;	
	Move 86 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 88 (acknowledge) *うん
Move 89 (check) ますの…ようしょくじょう}てひだりみぎがわにあるよ*ね	
	Move 90 (reply-y) *うんある
Move 91 (instruct) うん<…>で<…>きんこうの	
	Move 92 (acknowledge) うん
うんきんこうと{お}…おおきないわの	

	Move 93 (acknowledge) うん
あのしたのほうのおおきないわ*ね…の	
	Move 94 (acknowledge) *うん
まんなかよりちょっとしたが(わ)...から	
	Move 95 (acknowledge) うん
ますのようしょくじょうのほうに<…>ちょっ…とみぎあがりに+	
	Move 96 (acknowledge) +うん
みぎにいくのね	
	Move 97 (acknowledge) うん
Move98 (acknowledge) うん	
	Move 99 (query-w) ますのようしょくじょうのうえがわしたがわ;疑問調
Move 100 (reply-w) したが*わ…(う)うん	
	Move 101 (acknowledge) *したがわ…うん
Move 102 (instruct) ますのようしょくじょうの…ましたを*…とおっ…*て	
	Move 103 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 104 (acknowledge) *うん
Move 105 (query-yn) きへいたいのとりである	
	Move 106 (reply-n) きへい…ない;
Move 107 (acknowledge) ないか*… Move 109 (explain) ますのようしょくじょう* の	
	Move 108 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 110 (acknowledge) *うん
みぎしたにあん…あんのね*… Move112 (check) ぼくじょうのかこいあるよね+	
	Move 111 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 113 (reply-y) +ある
Move 114 (explain) あれの<…>まっすぐうえにあるんだけど+	
	Move 115 (acknowledge) +うん
Move 116 (instruct) うん<…>ここにだいたいあるとし*て	
	Move 117 (acknowledge) *うん
その<…>きへいたいのとりでを*…まわりこんで	
	Move 118 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 119 (check) みぎがわ{を[?]}…から;疑問調
Move 120 (instruct) うんみぎがわからまが…まわりこん*で…まっすぐしたに{おりてっ…て}+	
	Move 121 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 122 (acknowledge) +うん
ぼくじょうのかこいのしたを	
	Move 123 (acknowledge) うん
ひだりに…いく	

|	
	Moe 124 (acknowledge) うん
Move 125 (check) で<…>ここらへん(に)なんかあるでしょ	
	Move 126 (reply-w) ひあがっ…た}かわ*がある
Move 127 (instruct) *うんうんひあがったかわ	
	Move 128 (acknowledge) うん
のうえを	
	Move 129 (acknowledge) うん
こうにちょっとやまがたになるみたい*に…うえを{とおっ…て}	
	Move 130 (acknowledge) *うんうん
	Move 131 (acknowledge) うん
Move 132 (instruct) かいぞくのなわばりのしたを… Move 133 (explain) *あちがさんぞくだったごめん	
	Move 134 (acknowledge) *うん
	Move 135 (acknowledge) うん<…>{笑い}
Move 136 (instruct) さんぞくのなわばりのしたを	
	Move 137 (acknowledge) うん
ぐんぐんひだりにいっ…*て	
	Move 138 (acknowledge) *うん
ちょっ…とうえの…うえにいっ…たあたあたりがもくひょうちてん	
	Move 139 (acknowledge) はい
Move 140 (align) うん<…>おっ…けー	
	Move 141 (reply-y) うん

2.3 Maps
2.3.1 Giver's map used in dialogue q7ec7 (map no. 14)

2.3.2 Follower's map used in dialogue q7ec7 (map no. 14)

出発地点 ✕

銀鉱

石像

渓谷

紋首台

インディアンの村

金鉱

マスの養殖場

トーテムポール

大きな岩

山賊のなわばり

干上がった川

牧場の囲い
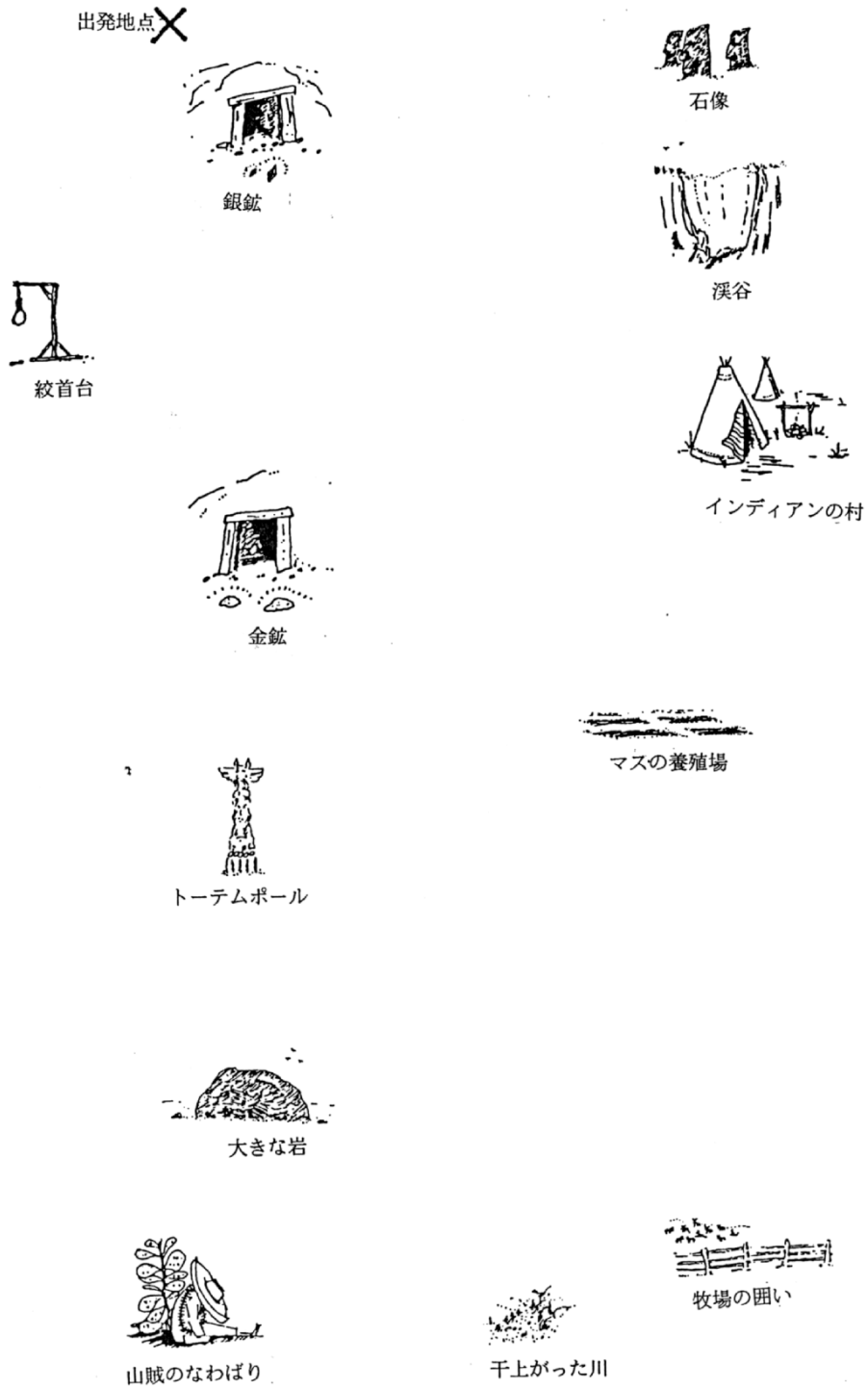
Appendix C:
Conventions in transcripts

Japanese Map Task Dialogue:

… A pause lasting more than 100 milliseconds and less than 400 milliseconds

<…> A pause lasting more than 400 milliseconds

* the point where overlapping starts

+ an occasion on which an utterance is followed by the other's utterance immediately before the former finishes his/her utterance (the duration of the overlap is less than 100 milliseconds)