

### Reference in three keys

In this talk, I will compare between three types of pragmatic approaches to referring expressions, assuming two interrelated goals: (1) to shed light on theories of reference by analyzing different approaches to the grammar-pragmatics interface (2) to shed light on theories of the grammar-pragmatics interface by analyzing reference.

A minimalist brand of pragmatic research views pragmatic interpretative mechanisms as lying outside the grammar. Grice 1975, and later the Neo-Griceans (Horn 1984, Levinson 2000) and Relevance theorists (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995) take conventionality to be the hallmark of grammar, and inference as the hallmark of pragmatics. Such researchers see as their goal to tease apart coded and inferred meanings, relegating to inference (rather than code) as much meaning as they possibly can. Accordingly, Kempson 1988, Reboul 1997 and Levinson 1987, 1991, 2000, Wilson 1992 have argued that extragrammatical pragmatics (Relevance theory for the first two, Neo Gricean maxims for the third) can successfully account for referential choices in discourse.

An intermediate position re the grammar-pragmatics interface is presented by functional pragmatists. Since semantically equivalent forms are used under different contextual circumstances, a distribution which we cannot inferentially account for, they argue for form-(discourse) function correlations within the grammar (see Prince 1978, 1988). Referential theories in this spirit are Chafe 1976, 1994, Givón 1983, Ariel 1990, 2001, and Gundel et al 1993. Under these theories, referential forms are each correlated with some discorsal or cognitive function (e.g., pronouns with 'activated' for Chafe, 'high accessibility' for Ariel, 'in focus' for Gundel et al, etc.).

Discourse grammarians present the most radical approach to the grammar-pragmatics interface. Many reject the grammar-pragmatics divide: Discorsal patterns driven by pragmatic pressures grammaticize and actually constitute grammar. Hard-core grammatical phenomena, and not only optional choices among alternative forms, are accounted for by discorsal (pragmatic) factors according to Bybee et al 1994, Du Bois 1987, Givón 1984, Hopper 1987, and Hopper and Thompson 1980. Ariel 1999, 2000, where I examine the discorsal and typological distributions of pronouns, resumptive pronouns, verbal agreement markers and unexpressed (zero) subjects, analyze grammatical and grammaticized referential forms as resulting from recurrent discorsal patterns.

My conclusion re reference is that its many aspects require us to rely on all three types of pragmatic approaches (even though some specific theories may have to be rejected). Similarly, my conclusion re the different approaches to the grammar-pragmatics interface is that they actually complement each other, and are equally important for accounting for the whole array of linguistic phenomena (even though some approaches may only be suited for some but not all linguistic phenomena).

## References

- Ariel, Mira 1990. *Accessing Noun Phrase antecedents*. London: Routledge.
- 1999. Cognitive universals and linguistic conventions: The case of resumptive pronouns. *Studies in language* 23: 2. 217-69.
- 2000. The development of person agreement markers: From pronouns to higher accessibility markers. In Michael Barlow and Suzanne Kemmer eds. *Usage-based models of language*. Stanford: CSLI. 197-260.
- 2001. Accessibility theory: An overview. In Ted J.M. Sanders, Joost Schilperoord and Wilbert Spooren, eds., *Text representation: Linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 29–87.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca 1994. *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago: The university of Chicago Press.
- Chafe, Wallace L 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In Charles N Li ed. *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press. 25-55.
- 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Du Bois, John W. 1987. The discourse basis of ergativity. *Language* 63: 4. 805-55.
- Givón, Talmy 1983 ed. *Topic continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 1984. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction*, vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grice, Paul H 1975. Logic and conversation. In Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan eds. *Syntax and semantics 3: Speech acts*. New-York: Academic press. 41-58.
- Gundel, Jeanette K, Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69:2.274-307.
- Hopper, Paul 1987. Emergent grammar. *BLS* 13. 139-55.
- and Sandra A Thompson 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56: 4. 251-99.
- Horn, Laurence R 1984. A new taxonomy for pragmatic inference: Q-based and R-based implicatures. In Schiffrin ed. 11-42. Schiffrin, Deborah 1984 ed. *Meaning, form and use in context*. Washington D.C: Georgetown University press.
- Kempson, Ruth M 1988. Grammar and conversational principles. In Frederick Newmeyer ed. *Cambridge linguistic Survey, Vol. 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C Levinson, 1987. Pragmatics and the grammar of anaphora: A partial pragmatic reduction of binding and control phenomena. *Journal of linguistics* 23. 379-434.
- 1991. Pragmatic reduction of the binding conditions revisited. *Journal of linguistics* 27. 107-61.
- 2000. *Presumptive meanings*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Prince, Ellen F 1978. A comparison of WH-clefts and IT-clefts in discourse. *Language* 54: 4. 883-906.
- 1988. Discourse analysis: A part of the study of linguistic competence. In Frederick J Newmeyer ed. *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey*, vol. 2. 164-182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Reboul, Anne 1997. What (if anything) is accessibility? A relevance-oriented criticism of Ariel's accessibility theory of referring expressions. In John H Connolly, Roel M Vismans, Christopher S Butler and Richard A Gatward eds. *Discourse and pragmatics in functional grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 91-108.
- Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson. 1986/1995. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wilson, Deirdre, 1992. Reference and relevance. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 4. 165-91.