

Modeling Information Structure for Computational Discourse and Dialog Processing

Ivana Kruijff-Korbayová

korbay@coli.uni-sb.de

http://www.coli.uni-sb.de/~korbay/esslli04/

ESSLLI 2004 Advanced Course Nancy, 16-20 August 2004



Lecture 1 Outline

- Information Structure Partitioning
- Question test for IS
- IS Realization Means
- IS Semantics
- Meaning Differences due to IS
- IS and Discourse Dynamics
- Course Outline

Reading:

- Course Reader: Chapter 1: Introduction
- Course Reader: Section: 2.1: Two Dimensions of IS.
- For further reading suggestions see course website



(1) Sign in London underground: Dogs must be carried.

Can be read (capitals denote intonation center):

(Halliday, 1970)

- (2) a. Dogs must be CARRIED.
 - b. Dogs must be carried.

There are differences in meaning:

- (1') a. If you have a dog, you must carry it.
 - b. What you must do is carry a dog. (i.e., not allowed to enter without)
- The same or similar meanings can be realized in various ways.
- Different languages may use different ways.



(3) German:

- a. Hunde mussen GETRAGEN werden.
 - Dogs must carried be
- b. Es mussen HUNDE getragen werden. It_{explet} must_{3pl} dogs_{nom} carried_{part} be_{inf}.

(4) Czech:

- a. Psi se musí NÉST. $\operatorname{Dogs}_{nom} \text{ refl } \operatorname{must}_{3pl} \operatorname{carry}_{inf}$
- b. Musí se nést PES. Must $_{3sq}$ refl carry $_{inf}$ dog $_{nom}$



Czech newspaper 1990:

(Hajičová)

(5) Dobrá zpráva je, že Češi udělali revoluci.

Good news is that Czechs made revolution.

The good news is that the Czechs made a revolution.

Špatná zpráva je, že revoluci udělali Češi. Bad news is that revolution made Czechs.

The bad news is that the/a revolution was made by the Czechs.

(or: . . . it was the Czechs who made the/a revolution)



Dialog with an intelligent-home application: (Kruijff-Korbayová et al., 2003)

- (6) U: What devices are there in the house?
 - S: There is a STOVE in the KITCHEN, a RADIO in the kitchen and a radio in the BATHROOM.
 - U: What is the status of the radios?
 - S: The radio in the KITCHEN is ON. The radio in the BATHROOM is OFF.
 - U: Which devices are on?
 - S: The radio in the KITCHEN is on. The STOVE in the kitchen is on.
- The same (default) realization would not be appropriate in all cases.
- Wrong realization maybe be disturbing or misleading.
- The realization of system output needs to be controlled according to context.

Information Structure Partitioning



What is Information Structure?

- IS comprises the utterance-internal structural and semantic properties reflecting the relation of an utterance to the discourse context, in terms of the discourse status of its contents, the actual and attributed attentional states of the discourse participants, and the participants' prior and changing attitudes (knowledge, beliefs, intentions, expectations, etc.) (Kruijff-Korbayová and Steedman, 2003)
- IS is represented as a partitioning of utterance meaning w.r.t. how parts of an utterance depend on and affect the context
- IS is reflected in/by the surface realization of the utterance



Two Dimensions of Information Structure

 A partitioning of utterance meaning into what the speaker means to address and what the speaker means to say about it:

Theme the part which relates it to the purpose of the discourse and anchors the content to the context (i.e., what speaker and hearer are attending to); "point of departure"

Rheme the part which advances the discourse, i.e., adds or modifies some information "about the Theme"

• A partitioning of utterance meaning according to which parts contribute to distinguishing the actual content from alternatives in the discourse context:

Background the non-discriminating part(s), same across alternatives **Focus** the discriminating part(s), different from alternatives

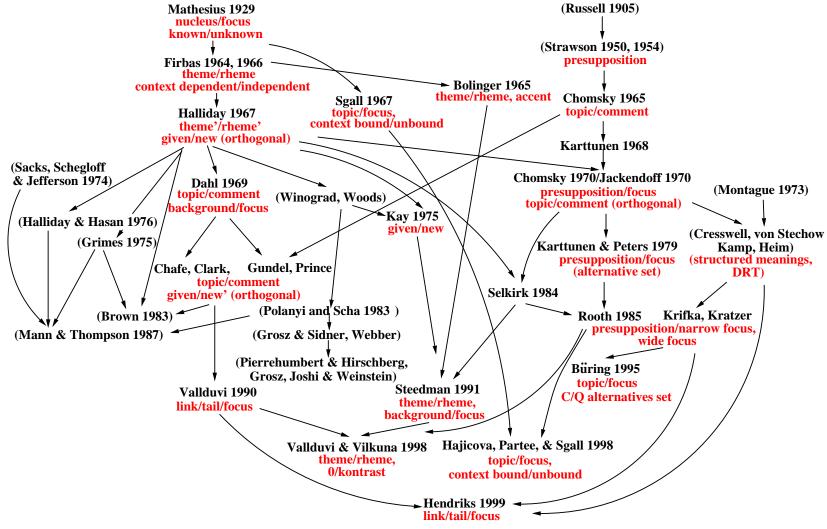


Approaches to IS

Theories of IS differ in

- how they define the partitioning more precisely
- which of the two dimensions they concentrate on when they consider both, how they combine them
 - "embedded": Sgall, Hajičová et al. (CB/NB deeper within Topic and Focus; contrastive Topic, Focus proper); Valdduví (Link/Tail in Ground); Steedman (Background-Focus within Theme and Rheme)
 - "orthogonal": Halliday (Thematic Structure vs. Information Stucture);
 Chomsky, Jackendoff . . . (Topic-Comment vs. Presupposition-Focus)





Question Test for IS

- Operational test of the appropriateness of a particular IS w.r.t. given context
 - Question represents the context
 - Theme reflects the question, and Rheme is what answers the question
 - (7) Q. What does John do? A. John writes NOVELS

 Theme

 (8) Q. Who writes NOVELS? A. JOHN writes novels.
- Exchanging (7.Q) and (8.Q) yields incoherent Q-A pairs.
- Do not confuse with Q-A pairs in a natural dialogue!

Rheme

Theme

cont'd

Question Test: Focus Projection

- Phonological focus: word(s) carrying pitch accent
 - (9) John flew from London to ${
 m PARIS}.$
- Semantic focus: narrow vs. broad projection of phonological focus
 - (10) Where did John fly (to) from London?

 John flew from London to PARIS. (narrow)
 - (11) What flight did John make?

 John flew <u>from London to Paris</u>. (broad 1)
 - (12) What did John do?

 John flew from London to PARIS. (broad 2)
 - (13) What happened?

 <u>John flew from London to Paris</u>. (broad 3)



(14) From which place did John fly to Paris?

John flew from $\underline{\text{LONDON}}$ to Paris.

(narrow)

(15) Who flew from London to Paris?

<u>JOHN</u> flew from London to Paris. (narrow)

(16) What happenned to Nixon?

Nixon <u>DIED</u>. (narrow)

(17) Who died? $NIXON \text{ died.} \qquad \qquad \text{(narrow)}$

(18) What happenned?

a. <u>NIXON died</u>. (broad)

b. Nixon DIED. (broad)



IS Realization Means

IS Realization

- There are various means of IS realization.
- Various means can be used also in combination, and they interact.
- Different languages employ and combine the means differently, depending on their typological characteristics.
- The means (strategies):
 - Intonation: placement and type of pitch accents and boundary tones
 - Word order: ordering of constituents within a clause, ordering of clauses
 - Syntactic structure: e.g., fronting ("topicalization"), lef/right dislocation,
 there-insertion, it-cleft, wh-cleft, dative-shift, passivization, etc.
 - Morphological marking; e.g., particle 'wa' in Japanese
 - Ellipsis (deletion)
- Marked vs. unmarked (default, "out-of-the-blue")



IS Realization Means: Intonation

(Steedman, 2000) for English; similarly (Uhmann, 1991; Fery, 1993) for German:

- Theme/Rheme partitioning
 - Determines overall intonation pattern
 - Theme and Rheme as one intonation phrase each (boundary between)
 - Theme-accents: $L+H^*$, L^*+H (prototypical Theme-tune: $L+H^*LH\%$)
 - Rheme-accents: H^* , L^* , H^*+L , $H+L^*$ (prototypical Rheme-tune: $H^*LL\%$)
- Background/Focus partitioning
 - Determines placement of pitch accents on particular words
 - Focus: marked by pitch accent
 - Background: unmarked by pitch accent

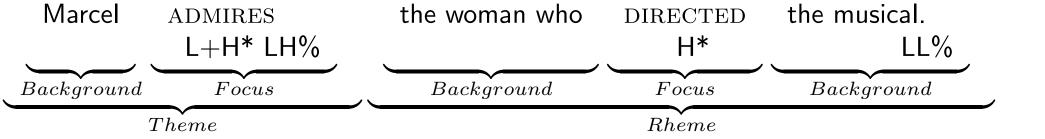


IS Realization Means: Intonation

Intonation is (said to be) the predominant means of IS realization in English.

Example from (Steedman, 2000)

(19) I know that Marcel likes the man who wrote the musical. But who does he admire?





IS Realization Means: Word Order

- "Default" progression is from "old" to "new" information:
 - Theme before Rheme
 - Background before Focus (at least within Rheme)
- Different ordering typically motivated in/by discourse context, e.g., Rheme before Theme (*subjective ordering* in (Firbas, 1971; Firbas, 1992))
- But: Modulo syntactic constraints!
 - Typological characteristic of a language as SVO, VSO, OVS, etc.
 - Focus-position before verb (e.g., Hungarian, Turkish)
 - Verb-secondness, clitic-placement, heavy-constituent shift, adjectives before head-noun, etc.



IS Realization Means: Word Order

WO is (said to be) the predominant IS realization means in Czech ("free WO").

What happened? Češi udělali revoluci.

(20)

Rheme

The Czechs made a revolution.

- (21) What about the Czechs?

 Češi udělali revoluci.

 Theme

 Rheme
- (22) Who made a revolution?

 Revoluci udělali Češi.

 Theme
 Rheme
- (23) What about the Czechs and revolution?





IS Realization Means: Word Order

- WO freedom is a matter of degree.
- Even in languages with "fixed" WO, there may be some freedom, e.g.:
- (24) German: "free" WO in middle field (*G. Mittelfeld*)

 Jan hat Maria GESTERN gesehen. Jan hat gestern MARIA
 Jan has Maria yesterday seen. Jan has yesterday Maria
 gesehen.
 seen.
- (25) English: some fewwdom in order of modifiers
 - a. John flew from London to PARIS.
 - b. John flew to London from Paris.



IS Realization Means: Syntax

Syntactic constructions that allow one to change order:

- fronting (so-called topicalization)
- left dislocation
- right dislocation
- there-insertion
- cleft
- pseudo-cleft
- dative shift
- passivization

Differences across languages!

Differences in contextual appropriateness.

(Prince, 1978)



IS Realization Means: Syntax

- (26) Comics, John hates.
- (27) Comics, John hates them.
- (28) John hates them, comics.
- (29) There is a troll in the garden.
- (30) It is John who hates comics. It is comics John hates.
- (31) Who hates comics is John. / John is (the one) who hates comics. What John hates are comics. / Comics are what John hates.
- (32) John gave Mary a book.

 John gave a book to Mary.
- (33) Comics are hated by John.



IS Realization: Example

- (34) I know John writes novels. But what does Bill write?
- a. BILL writes **POETRY**.
- b. **POETRY** is written by BILL.
- c. It is **POETRY** BILL writes.
- d. What Bill writes is **POETRY**.
- e. **POETRY**, BILL writes.
- f. BILL, he writes **POETRY**.
- g. He writes **POETRY**, BILL.

- # **BILL** writes POETRY.
- # POETRY is written by **BILL**.
- # It is POETRY **BILL** writes.
- # What **BILL** writes is POETRY.
- # POETRY, **BILL** writes.
- # POETRY, **BILL** writes it.
- # **BILL** writes it, POETRY.



IS Realization: Example

- (35) I know John writes novels. But who writes poetry?
- a. **BILL** writes POETRY.
- b. POETRY is written by **BILL**.
- c. It is **BILL** who writes POETRY.
- d. Who writes POETRY is **BILL**.
- e. It is POETRY what **BILL** writes.
- f. What **BILL** writes is POETRY.
- g. POETRY, **BILL** writes.
- h. POETRY, **BILL** writes it.
- i. **BILL** writes it, POETRY.

- # BILL writes **POETRY**.
- # **POETRY** is written by BILL.
- # It is BILL who writes **POETRY**.
- # Who writes **POETRY** is BILL.

- # POETRY, BILL writes.
- # BILL, he writes **POETRY**.
- # He writes **POETRY**, BILL.



Computational Modelling of IS in Applications

- analysis in question/text understanding, MT or TTS
 - word order: (Hoffman, 1995); (Styś and Zemke, 1995)
 - intonation: (Prevost, 1995)
 - anaphora resolution (Hajičová et al., 1990; Hajičová et al., 1992)
- production in NLG, MT, TTS or multimodal dialog
 - word order: (Hoffman, 1995; Hoffman, 1996); (Kruijff-Korbayová et al., 2002)
 - intonation: (Prevost, 1995); (Kruijff-Korbayová et al., 2003)
 - referring expression generation in text (Hajičová et al., 1990); in dialogue (Krahmer and Theune, 2002)
 - embodied agents' gesture (Pelachaud et al., 1998; Cassell et al., 2000),
 gaze and turn-taking (Cassell-etal:1999)



Intermezzo

"Focussing jokes"

- (36) Why do you rob banks?

 Because that's where the money is!
- (37) Why do firemen wear red suspenders? To keep their pants up.
- (38) Why do we buy clothes?

 Because we can't get them for free.
- (39) Why do we dress girls in pink and boys in blue? Because they can't dress themselves.



"Focussing jokes": Explanation

Surprise effect due to discrepancy between the answers and the IS of question: what is focused, whether focus narrow/broad

- (36')Why do you rob BANKS?
- (37')Why do firemen wear RED suspenders? Why do firemen wear red SUSPENDERS?
- Why do we buy CLOTHES? (38')Why do we BUY clothes?
- (39')Why do we dress GIRLS IN PINK and BOYS IN BLUE? Why do WE dress girls in pink and boys in blue?



IS Semantics



IS-Sensitive Semantic Interpretation

- von Stechow, Krifka: semantics of focus using structured meanings (von Stechow, 1990; Jackendoff, 1990; Krifka, 1992; Krifka, 1993)
- Hamblin: semantics of questions in terms of answer-alternative set (Hamblin, 1973)
- Rooth: semantics of focus in terms of focus-alternative set (Rooth, 1992)
- Büring: semantics of focus-marked topic in terms of question-alternative set (Büring, 1997; Büring, 1999)
- Steedman: semantics of two-dimensional IS-partitioning in terms of Rhemealternative set and Theme-alternative set (Steedman, 2000)



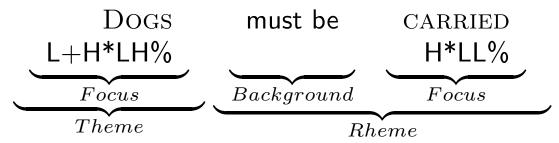
IS-Sensitive Semantic Interpretation

- Semantics of IS in terms of selecting one member from a *presupposed set of alternatives* (Steedman, 2000)
 - Theme presupposes a Rheme-alternative set, i.e., a set of alternative propositions that could possibly answer the corresponding question in the given context; Rheme then restricts the Rheme-alternative set to a singleton
 - Theme also presupposes a Theme-alternative set, i.e. a set of alternative questions; Focus within Theme then restricts the Theme-alternative set to a singleton
- These are pragmatic presuppositions that the relevant alternative set(s) be available in the context.
- The systematic recognition of the alternative sets, and their maintenance as a discourse progresses are open research issues.



IS Semantics: Examples

(40) I know how to transport babies in the metro. But what about DOGS?



```
\theta(40): \lambda Q. Q (\star dog')
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$$\rho(40)$$
: $\lambda x. \star carry'(hearer', x)$

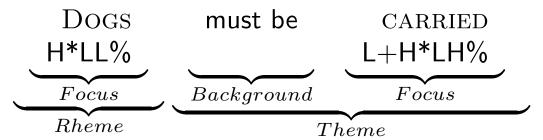
$$\rho\text{-AS(40)}: \{carry'(hearer', dog'), \\ walk_on_lead(hearer', dog'), load_on_buggy(hearer', dog')\}$$

$$\theta$$
-AS(40): $\{\exists Q.Q(dog'), \exists P.P(baby')\}$

cont'd

IS Semantics: Examples

(41)I know what must be worn in the metro. But what must be CARRIED?



 $\theta(41)$: $\lambda x. \star carry'(hearer', x)$

 $\rho(41)$: λQ . Q ($\star dog'$)

 ρ -AS(41): $\{carry'(hearer', dog'), carry'(hearer', baby')\}$

 θ -AS(41): $\{\exists x.carry'(hearer', x), \exists x.wear(hearer', x)\}$



Meaning Differences



(42) Smoke in the hallway.

(Hajičová, 1993)

Rheme

a. Where should one smoke?

Smoke in the HALLLWAY.

i.e., If you (want to) smoke, do it in the hallway.

Presupposed alternative set: $\{\exists x.(smoke(e) \land location(e, x))\}$

Theme

b. What should one do in the hallway?

SMOKE in the hallway.

Rheme Theme

i.e., If you are in the hallway, smoke.

Presupposed alternative set: $\{\exists P.(P(e) \land location(e, hallway))\}$



(43) Staff behind counter.

(Hajičová, 1993)

- a. Where should staff be? Staff $\underbrace{\text{Staff}}_{Theme}$ BEHIND COUNTER.
 - i.e. Where staff should be is (only) behind the counter. Presupposed alternative set: $\{\exists x.location(staff, x)\}$
- b. Who should be behind the counter? STAFF behind counter.
 - i.e., Who should be behind the counter is (only) staff. Presupposed alternative set: $\{\exists y.location(y, behind_counter)\}$



(44)a. What language is (mostly) spoken on the Shetlands?

> On the SHETLANDS one speaks ENGLISH.

> > Theme.

Rheme

Presupposed alternative sets:

 ρ -AS: $\{\exists x.(speak(e) \land location(e, shetlands) \land language(e, x))\}$

 θ -AS: $\{\exists z.\exists x.(speak(e) \land location(e, z) \land language(e, x))\}$

Where is English (mostly) spoken?

One speaks English on the Shetlands.

Theme

 $Rh\dot{e}me$

Presupposed alternative sets:

 ρ -AS: $\{\exists y.(speak(e) \land language(e,english) \land location(e,y))\}$

 θ -AS: $\{\exists z. \exists y. (speak(e) \land language(e, z) \land location(e, y))\}$

(45) Officers always escorted ballerinas.

(Partee et al., 1998)

a. Whom did officers always escort?

Officers escorted always BALLERINAS.

Theme
$$\{\exists x. (escort(e) \land actor(e, officer) \land patient(e, x))\}$$

b. What did officers always do?

Officers always escorted BALLERINAS.

Theme Rheme
$$\{\exists P.(P(e) \land actor(e, officer))\}$$

c. Who always escorted ballerinas?

Officers always escorted ballerinas.

```
 \begin{array}{ll} \textbf{Rh\'eme} & \textbf{Th\'eme} \\ \{\exists y. (escort(e) \land actor(e,y) \land patient(e,ballerina))\} \end{array}
```

Czech newspaper 1990:

(Hajičová)

Dobrá zpráva je, že Češi udělali revoluci. (46)Špatná zpráva je, že revoluci udělali Češi. The good news is that the Czechs made a revolution; the bad news is that a revolution was made by the Czechs.

(... the bad news is that the CZECHS made a revolution.)

```
\{\exists x.(make(e) \land actor(e, czechs) \land patient(e, x))\}
\{\exists y.(make(e) \land actor(e, y) \land patient(e, revolution))\}
```



(47) Problém není v tom, že Janouch koupil gamma nůž, ale že gamma nůž koupil Janouch.

The problem is not that Janouch bought a gamma-knife, but that the gamma-knife was bought by Janouch. (... but that Janouch bought the gamma knife.)

```
\{\exists x.(buy(e) \land actor(e, janouch) \land patient(e, x))\}\{\exists y.(buy(e) \land actor(e, y) \land patient(e, gknife))\}
```



IS and Discourse Dynamics



IS and **Discourse Dynamics**

- IS and the File-Change Metaphor (Vallduví, 1992)
- IS-Sensitive Context Update (Krifka, 1993; Kruijff-Korbayová, 1998; Steedman, 2000)

Theme update phase : $c_1[\theta(\psi)]c_2$

verify Theme presuppositions $\mathsf{AS}_{\theta}(\psi)$ and $\mathsf{AS}_{\rho}(\psi)$; restrict $\mathsf{AS}_{\theta}(\psi)$

Rheme update phase : $c_2[\rho(\psi)]c_3$

restrict $AS_{\rho}(\psi)$

the "intermediate" context c_2 can be available as a context with respect to which subsequent utterances can be interpreted.

IS-Sensitive Context Updating: Example: IS and "otherwise"

(Kruijff-Korbayová and Webber, 2001)

- "Otherwise" as a discourse anaphor
- "Otherwise" and IS variation
- "Otherwise" and the IS of single-clause antecedents
- "Otherwise" and the IS of complex-clause antecedents
- Summary and open issues

- (Webber et al., 1999): In "otherwise β ", "otherwise" is an anaphor that maps its antecedent α to a context complementary w.r.t. α , in which β is then interpreted.
- (48) If you have brought a dog, you must pay 50p.
 - a. Otherwise you will not be allowed to enter.
 - b. Otherwise you can come in for free.
- (49) a. If you have brought a dog and you do not pay 50p, you will not be allowed to enter.
 - b. If you have not brought a dog, you can come in for free.
- Different interpretations depending on how the anaphor is resolved.

"Otherwise" and IS Variation

- Even when antecedent is a simple clause, there are different possibilities!
- (50) You must CARRY a dog. Otherwise you might get HURT.

 H* LL%

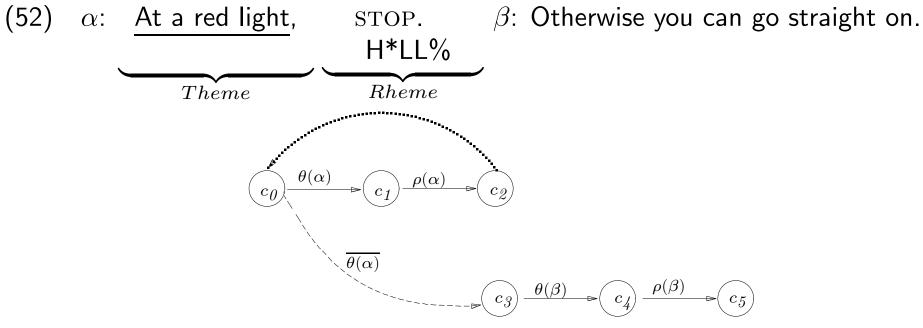
 If you do something other with a dog than carry it you might get hurt.
- (51) You must carry a DOG. Otherwise you might get HURT.

 H*LL%

 If you carry something other then a dog than you might get hurt.
- The IS of previous sentences affects what antecedents are available for "otherwise β " and hence, what complementary contexts.

Full Theme_{is}-complement condition

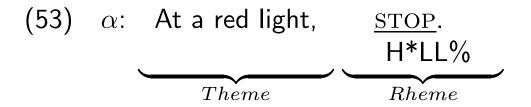
The condition that "otherwise" appeals to may derive from the Theme $_{is}$ of antecedent



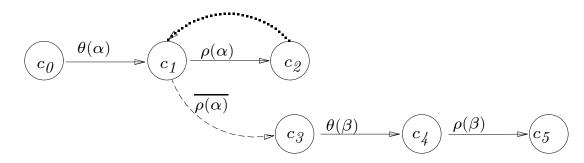
If the light is not red, go straight on.

Full Rheme_{is}-complement condition

The condition that "otherwise" appeals to may derive from the Rheme $_{is}$ of antecedent



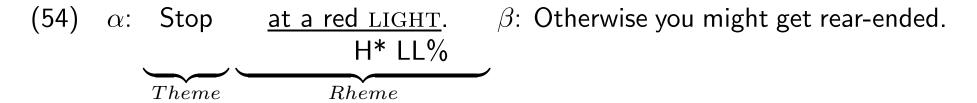
 β : Otherwise you will get a ticket.

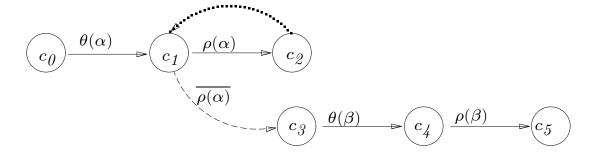


If the light is red and you do not stop, you will get a ticket.

49 OF AVIEWS

Updating c_1 with "otherwise β "

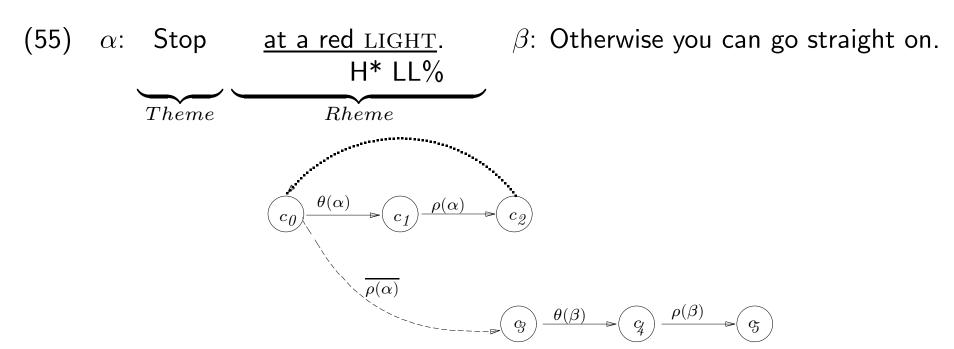




If you stop and the light is not red, you might get rear-ended.

50 STERSIAND

Updating c_{θ} with "otherwise β "



If the light is not red (i.e., in other conditions than being at a red light), you can go straight on.

"Otherwise β " with a simple-clause antecedent

- IS-sensitive analysis adds new possibilities to Webber et al.'s analysis :
- IS of the antecedent makes two additional conditions available for "otherwise" to pick up anaphorically:
 - full Theme_{is}-complement condition
 - full Rheme_{is}-complement condition
- The resolved "otherwise β " can be asserted with respect to one of two contexts:
 - context c_{θ} prior to antecedent
 - context c_1 consistent with (or: restricted by) antecedent's Theme_{is}



"Otherwise β " with a complex antecedent

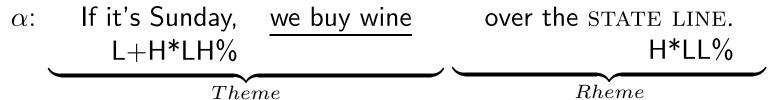
- Again, Webber et al.'s analysis holds, with IS-sensitive analysis adding new possibilities
- IS-sensitive analysis same as above, plus:
 - Antecedent's IS makes additional conditions available for "otherwise" to pick anaphorically when antecedent's main clause is split by the IS-boundary:
 - * partial Theme_{is}-complement condition
 - * partial Rheme_{is}-complement condition
 - Additional contexts for asserting β



Partial Theme_{is}-complement condition "if ϕ then ψ "

When ϕ is in Theme_{is}, the condition that "otherwise" appeals to may derive from only that part of the Theme_{is} in the matrix

(56) (Q. Where do you buy wine if it's Sunday?)



 β : Otherwise we just buy beer.

i. If it's Sunday, and we don't buy wine, we buy beer.

w.r.t. c_{ϕ}

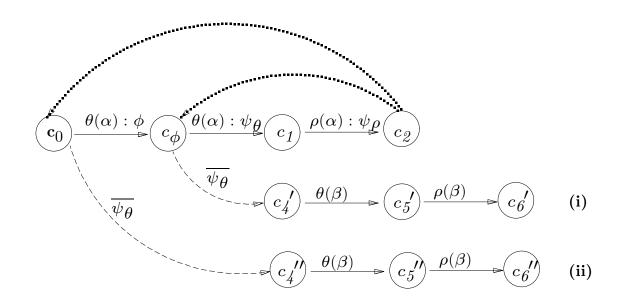
ii. If we don't buy wine, we buy beer.

w.r.t. $c_{ heta}$



Partial Theme $_{is}$ -complement condition "if ϕ then ψ "

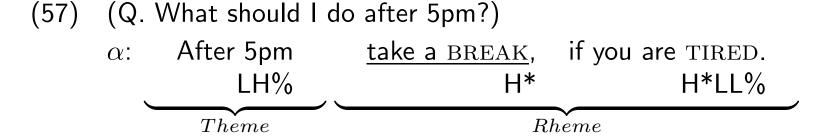
(56')





Partial Rheme $_{is}$ -complement condition "if ϕ then ψ "

When ϕ is in Rheme_{is}, the condition that "otherwise" appeals to may derive from that part of the Rheme_{is} in the matrix clause



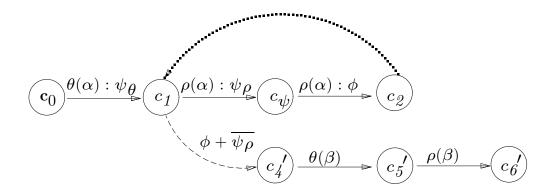
 β : Otherwise, you'll start making mistakes.

If it is after 5pm, and if you are tired, and you do not take a break, you'll start making mistakes.



Partial Rheme $_{is}$ -complement condition "if ϕ then ψ "

(57')



Summary

- Webber et al.'s analysis holds, with IS-sensitive analysis adding new possibilities:
- Antecedent's IS makes additional conditions available for "otherwise" to pick anaphorically:
 - full Theme_{is}-complement or partial Theme_{is}-complement condition
 - full Rheme_{is}-complement or partial Rheme_{is}-complement condition
- \bullet β can be asserted with respect to (at least) the following contexts:
 - context c_{θ} (prior to antecedent)
 - context c_1 (restricted by antecedent's Theme_{is})
 - context c_{ϕ} (restricted by antecedent's "if"-clause)



Some Open Issues

- What (alternative) conditions could a speaker have in mind and what features of language give evidence for them?
- What do we learn about the relationships between IS and discourse structure if we analyse "otherwise" itself as a contrastive Theme $_{is}$, marking a contrast w.r.t. a preceding theme or rheme?
- Do postposed subordinate clauses in complex sentences have their own IS?
- How can claims about IS be tested?



Course Plan



Course Plan

- Day 1 Information Structure as an Inherent Aspect of Sentence Meaning.
- Day 2 The Praguian Topic-Focus Articulation. Givenness. Familiarity Status. Salience. IS-sensitive Salience Modeling in Analysis and Generation.
- **Day 3** Halliday's Thematic- vs. Information-Structure. Daneš' Thematic Sequences. Vallduví's Information Packaging. File-Change Semantics of IS. IS in Word Order Generation.
- **Day 4** Steedman's Two Dimensions of IS. Alternative-set Semantics of IS. IS and Intonation. IS and Turn-Taking, Gesture and Gaze in Multimodal Dialog.
- Day 5 Wrapping Up and Looking Out. Aligning IS-Approaches. Empirical



Studies. Testing Theories. Corpus Annotation Issues.



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