



Text Deixis in Narrative Sequences

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at demonstrative descriptions, regarding them as text-deictic procedures which contribute to weave discourse reference. Text deixis is thought of as a metaphorical referential device which maps the ground of utterance onto the text itself. Demonstrative expressions with textual antecedent-triggers, considered as the most important text-deictic units, are identified in a narrative corpus consisting of J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* and its translation into Catalan. Some linguistic and discourse variables related to DemNPs are analysed to characterise adequately text deixis. It is shown that this referential device is usually combined with abstract nouns, thus categorising and encapsulating (non-nominal) complex discourse entities as nouns, while performing a referential cohesive function by means of the *text deixis* + *general noun* type of lexical cohesion.

KEYWORDS: reference; text deixis; deixis; anaphora; demonstrative noun phrase; general noun; lexical cohesion.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Demonstrative descriptions with textual antecedent-triggers have been approached from different perspectives for their classification as either text-deictic or anaphoric devices.

Lyons (1977: 667-668) suggests a distinction between pure and impure textual deixis; in the former, a demonstrative description is related to a textual unit, whereas, in the latter, the demonstrative points to an aspect of the interpretation of the textual segment rather than to the segment itself. Webber (1991: 109) accepts this suggestion but proposes to rename Lyon's impure textual deixis as discourse deixis. On the other hand, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1506) consider that examples like (1), i.e. Lyon's pure textual deixis, in which the demonstrative is clearly matched with a linguistic antecedent, are in fact a case of anaphora¹:

- (1) There was *a glass pane_i* in the front door, and through *this_i* he could see into a hallway where a plump woman with red hair was arranging flowers

Therefore, these authors apply the label "text deixis" only to Lyon's impure textual deixis (or Webber's discourse deixis), as in (2).

- (2) A: You look about fifteen.
B: Is *that* meant to be a compliment?

It seems that the most important difference between (1) and (2), at least regarding the linguistic nature of the units referred by means of the demonstrative, is the existence of a noun phrase antecedent in the former (example 1), whereas the latter has a non-nominal antecedent-trigger, namely the illocutionary act itself (example 2). In other words, the referential device observed in (2) does not have an antecedent in the traditional sense.

This paper attempts to offer a general idea of what text deixis in narrative sequences consists in from a discourse and cognitive perspective. Considering text deixis to be a metaphorical process which combines both deixis and anaphora, it is argued that demonstrative descriptions with textual antecedent-triggers may be analysed as text-deictic referential devices which contribute to maintain discourse reference together with anaphora.

A narrative corpus consisting of the first ten chapters of J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, both in the original English text and in its translation into Catalan, has been analysed in order to identify the demonstrative noun phrases (DemNPs) with textual antecedent-triggers, as in (3).²

- (3) Usually when she began to tell this story [*he left the room or put his hands over his ears*]_i; and possibly if he had done either of *those things*_i this time they might all still be on the island (10, 112)

Example (3) shows that the DemNP *those things* is referentially dependent on the previous clauses *he left the room or put his hands over his ears*, which act as its textual antecedent-trigger. In other words, the DemNP reference is acquired by being textually matched up with those clauses.

These DemNPs have been characterised as text-deictic expressions cross-linguistically. On the other hand, DemNPs which occur in conversational sequences were not taken into account in order to avoid the interference of situational deictic uses (4).

- (4) They could hear [*Nana barking*]_i, and John whimpered, "It is because he is chaining her up in the yard," but Wendy was wiser. "That \emptyset_i is not Nana's unhappy bark," she said, little guessing what was about to happen; "that \emptyset_i is her bark when she smells danger." (2, 21)

The demonstratives observed in Wendy's words in (4) are text-deictic units according to the reader's point of view, since s/he must match them up with the textual antecedent-trigger *Nana barking*. However, they are situational from Wendy's perspective, as they display physical space distance in relation to her location when uttering this words.

II.TEXT DEIXIS AS A DISCOURSE METAPHOR

From a cognitive perspective both deictic and anaphoric reference can be considered as dynamic joint tasks which involve the addressor's necessity to assess the epistemic status of the addressee so as to choose a suitable indexical procedure, and the requirement for the addressee to join the addressor's presuppositions on his/her knowledge (cf. Brisard, 2002). This means that the choice of each referential device at each stage of the communicative process depends on several cognitive, pragmatic and structural factors, such as the degree of activation of the referred entities in both the addressor's and addressee's memories, the situational or the emotional distance with which the addressor perceives the referents and the competition in accessibility of the referents concerned at a given point of the discourse, due to their similar cognitive salience, among others.³ In this sense, the mainstream 'geographical' division of the context has been adopted. According to this conception, referents may be activated by means of the situational context, the linguistic one (co-text) or the encyclopaedic knowledge. The degree of accessibility of a referent, which determines the choice of a given referential device, depends on its 'geographical' origin (cf. Ariel, 1990).

Modern linguistic studies on reference, starting from Bühler (1934), characterise deixis as an indexical procedure which implies direct reference to the ground of utterance. In other words, the deictic *origo* (or reference origin), using Bühler's term, is constituted by the act of utterance in a given situational speech context (5), namely the time of utterance in this example:

- (5) [Mrs Darling speaking of Peter Pan to Wendy]
"Besides," [...] "he would be grown up by *this time*" (1, 8)

On the other hand, anaphora is a referential process by means of which the reference origin is located in the text itself (6).

- (6) *All children*_i, except one, grow up. *They*_i soon know that they will grow up (1, 1)

The differences in the referential nature of deixis and anaphora are displayed in figure 1 and figure 2.

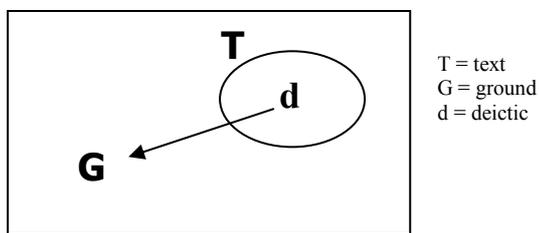


Figure 1. Deixis

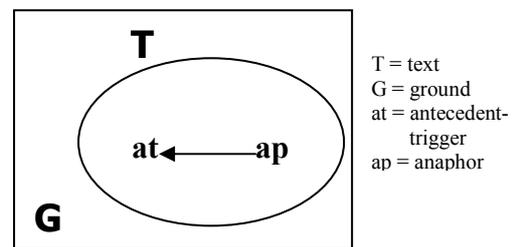


Figure 2. Anaphora

The reference origin of a deictic expression is the situational context, whereas an anaphor obtains its reference from co-text. These two procedures of deixis and anaphora are combined in the referential device known as text deixis. This process implies the metaphor “TEXT IS A SPACE” by means of which the spatiotemporal ground of utterance is mapped onto the text itself.

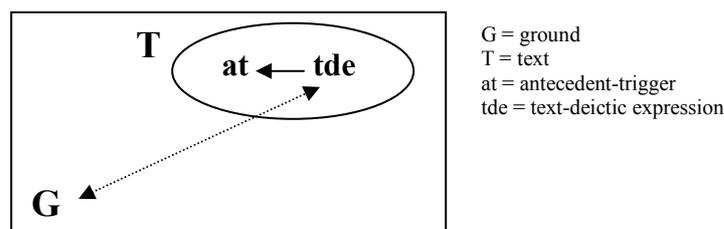


Figure 3. Text deixis

Therefore, text deixis can be defined as a reference device which shares the referential properties of both deixis and anaphora. Like anaphora, a text-deictic expression has a textual antecedent-trigger; however, at the same time, it preserves the ability of space deixis to show the addressor’s position in relation to the referent, although this relationship is not physical, but metaphorical.

In summary, text-deictic referential devices transform the pragmatic function of demonstratives into textual, allowing these linguistic units to refer to entities in the metaphorical spatial text domain as they would in the situational domain.

Demonstrative expressions are the most important linguistic units able to work as text-deictic expressions. In their primary situational uses, they show space and time relations between the addressor and the entities referred. As text-deictic expressions, they highlight both the textual distance in regard to its antecedent-trigger and the emotional distance with which the addressor perceives the referent. As markers of space relations, they can be used to establish space oppositions within the text, as in (7), where the proximal demonstrative refers to the second time that Mrs. Darling screamed, making a contrast with the first one, textually more distant.

- (7) Mrs. Darling screamed, and, as if in answer to a bell, the door opened [...] *Again Mrs. Darling screamed, this time* in distress for him (2, 12)

As markers of emotional distance, they point to the addressor's subjectivity and have a special importance in argumentative and narrative texts in relation to the notion of point of view (cf. Petch-Tyson, 2000: 48-49), as in (8).

- (8) a. "Don't go Peter" [...] "I know such lots of stories". Those were her precise words (3, 33)
 b. "No hi vagis, Peter" [...] "En sé més, de rondalles!" Aquestes foren exactament les seves paraules (3, 45)

The difference between the original English text and the Catalan translation displayed in (8) should be taken into account. In (8a) the use of the distal demonstrative shows the addressor's intention to present Wendy's words as distant in time. However, in terms of the narrator's subjectivity, the use of the proximal demonstrative in the Catalan translation (8b) is more neutral, since it expresses a closer reference to the antecedent-trigger in accordance with its immediate textual occurrence.

III. ENGLISH AND CATALAN DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEMS

Standard English and Catalan demonstrative systems share their referring to two points on a graduated scale of proximity with respect to the reference origin, either situational or textual.

DEMONSTRATIVES		ENGLISH		CATALAN	
		singular	plural	singular	plural
Determiners	1 st degree	<i>this</i>	<i>these</i>	<i>aquest</i>	<i>aquests</i>
	2 nd degree	<i>that</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>aquell</i>	<i>aquells</i>
Neutral pro-forms	1 st degree	<i>this</i>		<i>això</i>	
	2 nd degree	<i>that</i>		<i>allò</i>	
Locative pro-forms	1 st degree	<i>here</i>		<i>aquí</i>	
	2 nd degree	<i>there</i>		<i>allí/allà</i>	

Table 1. English and Catalan demonstrative systems

However, the coincidences finish here, since their ways of performing deictic reference are different (cf. Wheeler, Yates & Dols, 1999: 106-109)

The English first degree (known as proximal) shows proximity to the addressor, whereas the second degree (known as distal) expresses distance, which can imply proximity to the addressee or distance to both interlocutors. In text-deictic processes, proximity and

distance are actualised in several usage tendencies, which sometimes may conflict (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976: § 2.4):

a) Both degrees refer anaphorically to something that has been said before. The addressor makes use of proximal demonstratives to refer to his/her previous words (9a), whereas distal demonstratives are used to refer to his/her addressee's (9b).⁴

- (9) a. There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness. This is what I can't understand
 b. There seems to have been a great deal of sheer carelessness
 Yes, *that's* what I can't understand

b) There is another tendency according to which proximity and distance are interpreted in terms of time. In this case, proximal demonstratives are related to present or future-time referents (10a); distal demonstratives are matched up with past-time referents (10b)

- (10)a. *We're going to the opera tonight. This'll* be our first outing for months
 b. We went to the opera last night. That was our first outing for months

c) A third tendency lies in associating proximal demonstratives to cataphoric reference (11a) and distal demonstratives to anaphoric reference (11b).

- (11)a. To this Tink replied in *these words*, "*You silly ass,*" and disappeared into the bathroom (3, 30)
 b. All wanted blood except *the boys* [...] The first to pass is Tootles, not the least brave but the most unfortunate of all *that gallant band* (5, 52)

Regarding standard Catalan demonstrative system, first degree shows proximity to the addressor and the addressee, whereas second degree is related to referents distant to both interlocutors.⁵ Thus, contrasting with English, Catalan second degree is not able to show proximity to the addressee, like in English. Therefore, first degree demonstratives might be expected more frequently in Catalan than in English narrative sequences. The narrator's strategy of involving his/her addressee in the narrative illocutionary act by means of the subjectivity inherent to demonstratives as text-deictic units is normally performed in English by second-degree demonstratives (12a), which may express proximity to the addressee; conversely, this discourse-pragmatic function is actualised in Catalan by means of first-degree units 12(b).

- (12)a. There is a room in the basement of Miss Fulsom's school where the nurses wait. *They sat on forms, while Nana lay on the floor*, but *that* was the only difference (1, 4-5)
 b. Als baixos de l'escola de la senyoreta Fulson hi ha una habitació on s'esperen les mainaderes. *Totes seien als bancs, mentre que Nana s'estava ajaguda a terra*, però *aquesta* era l'única diferència (1, 13)

A deeper (quantitative) contrast between English and Catalan regarding the discourse-pragmatic uses of first- and second-degree demonstratives is not meant here. This is beyond the scope of this study, which attempts to determine cross-linguistically the common features of DemNPs in narrative sequences as text-deictic markers.

As for the linguistic category of demonstratives, the distinction between determiners and pronouns has been traditionally based on the appearance of the demonstrative with or without a noun, respectively. Bare demonstratives, i.e., without nominal nuclei, have been considered pronouns. In this paper, the notion of demonstrative pronoun has been restricted to those cases in which the demonstrative cannot be matched up with an elliptical noun, as in (13).

- (13) To induce her to look up [*he pretended to be going away*]_i, and when *this*_i failed he sat on the end of the bed and tapped her gently with his foot (3, 27)

The demonstrative *this* in (13) must be considered a pronoun without discussion, as it can only be matched up with the previous clause *he pretended to be going away*. Conversely, a demonstrative has been considered a determiner when there is an elliptical nucleus which can be recovered, even in those cases where the recoverable elliptical noun is the subject complement of a copulative sentence (14a).

- (14)a. She wanted to *risk it* [...] but *that* \emptyset _i was not his *way*_i (1, 3)
 b. La muller volia *arriscar-se* però ell no era pas partidari d'*aquest procediment* (1, 11)

This definition confines demonstrative pronouns to neutral uses, a decision which may be problematic in the case of English, since this language does not have different forms for neutral demonstratives. On the contrary, Catalan poses no problems, as it has the demonstrative determiners *aquest/aquell* and the neutral demonstrative pronouns *això/allò*. Despite this difference, the same parameters to establish the category of demonstratives, as either determiners or pronouns, have been applied to both languages. Thus, contrasting English demonstratives with their Catalan translations has helped determine whether an English *this* or *that* is to be considered a determiner or a pronoun (example 14).

IV. DEMONSTRATIVE NOUN PHRASES IN NARRATIVES

In order to characterise text deixis in narrative sequences, 111 DemNPs with textual antecedent-triggers in the English text and 202 in the Catalan translation were identified. The following variables were analysed:

- a) Extensional semantic type of noun
- b) Referent order of entities
- c) Type of antecedent-trigger
- d) Associated referential device

- e) Structure of the DemNP
- f) Topic unit
- g) Activation degree
- h) Discourse function

The first four variables (a-d) are to be considered as preliminary for the research, since they have allowed us to delimit prototypical text deixis, i.e. DemNPs with abstract shell nouns referring to non-nominal textual entities (cf. Schmid, 2000). The last three variables (f-h) serve to characterise text deixis from a textual and a cognitive point of view. Variable e (the structure of the DemNP) is the syntactic and semantic counterpart of pragmatic and cognitive factors expressed by means of the variables which measure the degree of givenness of the DemNPs referents, i.e., the identification of the topic unit of the utterance where the DemNP appears and the degree of activation of the referent (cf. Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharsky, 1993). The analysis of the degree of structural complexity of the DemNPs shows their tendency either to establish new referents or to maintain or actualise reference to given discourse entities.

IV.1. Semantic type of noun

This variable determines whether the DemNP nucleus is concrete or abstract. To this purpose, have followed the “extensional notion of abstractness”, according to which “abstract nouns are those nouns whose denotata are not part of the concrete physical world and cannot be seen or touched” (Schmid, 2000: 63). On the other hand, concrete nouns are defined as referring to entities within a spatial domain.

SEMANTIC TYPE	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
Concrete	28	25,2	49	24,3
Abstract	82	73,9	151	74,7
Concrete/Abstract	1	0,9	2	1,0
TOTAL	111	100	202	100

Table 2. Extensional semantic type of nouns in DemNPs

The results in table 2 show the extensional semantic type of noun favoured in both languages, with frequencies close to the 75% for abstract nouns.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the extensional semantic criterion clearly defines abstract and concrete nouns, in practice, it still poses numerous problems when classifying a noun as concrete or abstract.

- (15)a. [...] “see how we bump against clouds and things” [...] They could now fly strongly [...] Peter was not with them for the moment, and they felt rather lonely up there by themselves (4, 41-42)

b. [...] “cada dos per tres topem amb els núvols i amb les coses altes” [...] Ara ja sabien volar de ferm [...] però si veien un núvol davant llur [...] S'escaigué un moment en què Peter s'havia allunyat dels infants, i, en aquelles alçàries, se sentien d'allò més solitaris (4, 55)

It seems evident that the noun *alçàries* (literally, ‘heights, altitudes’) in (15b) is defined within a spatial domain, according to its semantic content or, at least, to its textual identity, because it refers to some place. However, its semantic unspecificity as well as its deverbal origin makes it peripheral in terms of the extensive notion of concreteness. In contrast, the original English text (15a) expresses this meaning making use of a grammatical unit, i.e. the construction *up there*, which performs a text-deictic function without the cognitive effects conveyed in the translation, namely the categorisation as a noun of a complex discourse entity.

The results obtained from determining the extensional semantic type of the DemNPs nuclei offer a rather exact view of the tendency of demonstratives to combine in narrative sequences with abstract nouns. Nevertheless, the extensional notion of abstractness still needs to be constrained by more precise conceptions.

IV.2. The referent order of entities

The referent order of entities proposed by Lyons (1977) and Dik (1997) offers a more refined characterisation of the semantic content of the nouns included in the DemNPs analysed. The proposal of these authors can be summarised as follows:⁶

a) *First-order entities*: discrete objects, individuals, stable entities with a temporally or spatially bound existence (16).

(16) But just before they go on fire you see *the lagoon* [...] The children often spent long summer days on *this lagoon*, swimming or floating most of the time (8, 85)

c) *Second-order entities*: dynamic entities, [i.e.] states of affairs, events, processes, activities (17).

(17) *They heard Peter crow*. "Peter!" they cried, for it was always thus that he signalled his return [...] Again came *that ringing crow* (6, 66)

d) *Third-order entities*: concepts, propositions (18).

(18) There is a room in the basement of Miss Fulsom's school where the nurses wait. *They sat on forms, while Nana lay on the floor*, but *that* was the only difference (1, 4-5)

e) *Fourth-order entities*: illocutions, and presumably also perlocutions (19).

- (19) "If she is a mother, perhaps she is hanging about here to help Peter." Hook winced. "Ay," he said, *"that is the fear that haunts me"*. He was roused from *this dejection* by Smee's eager voice (8, 92)

Lyons (1977) intends his tripartite division of entities to be "a common sense classification [...] of what there is in the world" (Schmid, 2000: 64). However, this research adopts a discourse conception of the referent order of entities. Sometimes the type of entity referred results from the specific use of a noun at a particular stage in a discourse rather than "from a relation between a formal element and some allegedly independent pre-existing object outside the discourse" (Cornish, 1999: 51). Example (20) shows how a noun may refer to a type of entity different from the one that could be expected from its semantic content.

- (20)a. *"Second to the right, and straight on till morning"*. *That*, Peter had told Wendy, was *the way* to the Neverland (4, 39)
- b. *"El segon a mà dreta i després sempre enllà, fins el matí"*. Aquest, segons Peter havia explicat a Wendy, era *el camí* que duia al país de Mai Més (4, 52)

The highly polysemous English word *way* makes it possible to interpret the referent either statically as a first-order entity (meaning *path*) or dynamically as a second-order entity, meaning *the activity or the process to go to the Neverland*. This dynamic interpretation is more in accordance with the content expressed by the antecedent-trigger. In the Catalan translation, the dynamic interpretation is harder to activate by the semantic content of the noun *camí*, which can only express an activity metonymically. Nevertheless, the text-deictic matching of the copular demonstrative structure with the antecedent-trigger, which expresses an activity, may also lead to that dynamic interpretation. However, the use of a noun prototypically related to a first-order entity produces a reification effect. This consists in the metonymic recategorisation of a dynamic entity as a "thing" (cf. Langacker, 1987: § 5), thus defined within the spatial domain.

The results from the analysis of the referent order show that the frequencies for English and Catalan are quite similar in terms of the reference to either first-order or other order entities (table 3).

REFERENT ORDER	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
1 st	25	22,5	45	22,3
2 nd	40	36,1	61	30,2
3 rd	10	9,0	17	8,4
4 th	26	23,4	60	29,7
Others	10	9,0	19	9,4
TOTAL	111	100	202	100

Table 3. Type of entities referred by DemNPs⁷

Reference to first-order entities is below 25% in both languages. This is closely related to what we obtained from the analysis of the extensional semantic type for nouns. More specifically, by taking into account both the extensional notion of abstractness and the use of the referent order suggested by Lyons (1977) and Dik (1997), DemNPs in narrative sequences show a clear preference for abstract entities. It seems that this result is related to the deictic nature of demonstrative units, which makes it easier to point to abstract referents. Their deictic nature enhances their ability to encompass complex discourse meanings which, in spite of being sometimes encoded by means of nouns, go beyond the limits of things, as in (21).

- (21) And then at last they all got into bed for *Wendy's story, the story they loved best, the story Peter hated*. Usually when she began to tell *this story* he left the room or put his hands over his ears

Considering the tendency of demonstratives to appear with abstract nouns in narrative sequences helps explain why they are frequently matched with non-nominal entities, and why, when matched with nominal antecedent-triggers, they do not only maintain reference, but add textual and cognitive meanings.

The higher frequency in Catalan of DemNPs referring to narrative time —considered a fourth-order entity, since their antecedent-trigger is the narrative act and the discourse knowledge— may partially explain the higher total number of DemNPs in this language. This kind of text-deictic process, shown in (22b), is more frequent in Catalan than in English.

- (22)a. "We were still discussing it, you remember," says Mr. Darling, "when Nana came in with Michael's medicine [...]" Strong man though he was, there is no doubt that he had behaved rather foolishly over the medicine (2, 17)
 b. "Això era el que discutíem, recordes?", seguí dient el senyor Darling, "quan Nana entrà amb la medicina de Miquel [...]" Essent com era un home de caràcter, és innegable que en *aquella ocasió* [...] s'havia comportat d'una manera bastant [...] (2, 26)

In contrast to Catalan (22b), in English we can observe a higher level of grammaticalisation of reference to narrative time, more frequently expressed by means of verbal tense (22a). In fact, 78,3% (47 out of 60) of the fourth-order entities in Catalan are processes of reference to narrative time, whereas the frequency of this type of referential process is a bit lower in English (73,1%; 19 out of 26 fourth-order entities). Nevertheless, this result is not enough to explain the difference in the total number of DemNPs between both languages in our corpus. This difference is mainly due to a strong tendency to translate non-DemNPs by means of DemNPs in Catalan (113 out of 202; 55,9%), whereas only 27 out of 111 DemNPs in English (24,3%) are not translated by DemNPs. It can be hypothesized that the higher frequency of demonstratives in Catalan narrative sequences is language-constrained; however, it may be also taken into account that translating a non-text deictic unit

by means of a text-deictic one implies changes in the cognitive perspective with which a referent is presented. In any case, future research is needed on this topic.

Regarding second-order entities, our results also show a substantial difference in their frequency in each language. This result may be related to differences in the degree of stylistic abstractness expressed in both languages, a higher number of second-order entities probably implying a higher degree of stylistic abstractness (cf. Schmid, 2000: 70-73). However, the analysis of these stylistic differences is beyond the scope of this paper.

IV.3. The type of antecedent-trigger

Determining the antecedent-trigger of a DemNP is a difficult task, especially when they are related to non-nominal complex discourse entities.

ANTECEDENT TYPE	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
SN	54	48,7	84	41,6
Clause	7	6,3	16	7,9
Sentence	5	4,5	5	2,5
Text	12	10,8	17	8,4
Illocutionary act	10	9,0	21	10,4
Discourse Knowledge	20	18,0	50	24,7
Memory	1	0,9	2	1,0
Others	2	1,8	7	3,5
TOTAL	111	100	202	100

Table 4. Antecedent type of DemNPs

The frequencies of nominal (48,7% in English; 41,6% in Catalan) and non-nominal (51,3% in English; 58,4% in Catalan) antecedent-triggers are close to a fifty-fifty proportion in both languages, although this is not as clear in Catalan as in English narrative sequences (table 4).

The opposition between nominal and non-nominal antecedent-triggers is an important reason for the controversy on whether DemNPs referential devices should be considered as either text deixis or anaphora, briefly explained at the start of this paper. In fact, only DemNPs with nominal antecedent-triggers are controversial. Referential processes with a non-nominal antecedent-trigger should be without any doubt classified as text-deictic, even from Cornish's (1999) point of view. This author states that the difference between deixis and anaphora does not depend solely on the situational or textual origin of reference, but rather on the ability of deixis (including text deixis) to bring into the attention-focus entities which were not in-focus, and on the property of anaphora to refer to already topicalised discourse units. Thus, it is obvious that a DemNP with a non-nominal antecedent-trigger cannot refer to an in-focus entity, since entities are brought into attentional focus when they are cognitively

profiled as nouns and are subsequently referred to in discourse by the use of anaphoric devices (23).

- (23) The first to pass is Tootles, not the least brave but the most unfortunate of all that gallant band. He had been in fewer adventures than any of them [...] This ill-luck_i had given a gentle melancholy to his countenance, but instead of souring his nature \emptyset _i had sweetened it (5, 52)

Certainly, the most important function of DemNPs referring to non-nominal discourse units is to categorise them as nouns and therefore point them as topicalised in-focus objects of discourse. This function is clearly illustrated by the DemNP in example (23) and the subsequent anaphoric reference to it by means of an ellipsis.

As for the DemNPs with nominals, it can be argued that, although they usually maintain reference to in-focus topicalised units, this is not the only discourse function they perform; in fact, this is a secondary function which could be performed by another type of referential marker, namely ellipsis, a personal pronoun or a definite NP. In these cases, DemNPs mainly reclassify the entities referred (24), encompass the whole co-text of the nominal antecedent-trigger (25) or add to their referent new information which had not been expressed before (26) (cf. Maes & Noordman, 1995).

- (24)a. She dreamt that the Neverland had come too near and *that a strange boy_i* had broken through from it. *He_i* did not alarm her, for she thought she had seen *him_i* before in the faces of many women who have no children (1, 10)
 b. Somnià que se li atansava el país de Mai Més i que n'eixia *un minyonet_i tot estrany*. No s'alarmà, perquè estava segura d'haver vist moltes vegades *aquella cara_{i(<j)}* en el rostre d'algunes dones que no tenien fills (1, 19)

- (25)[...] she slowly returned her face to where it had been before, and said nicely that she would wear his kiss on *the chain_i around her neck*. It was lucky that she did put it on *that chain_i* (3, 28)

- (26)*Mr. Darling_i* would say, scorning *himself_i* [...] *He_i*, too, had been dressing for the party [...] It is an astounding thing to have to tell, but *this man_i*, though he knew about stocks and shares, had no real mastery of his tie (2, 15)

The reclassification is clearly observed in (24). The English text (24a) shows that the *strange boy* is the in-focus unit at this discourse stage, which is thus subsequently referred to by means of personal pronouns. In clear contrast, the DemNP *aquella cara* (literally, 'that face') in the Catalan translation reclassifies the in-focus unit, while maintaining the reference. Nevertheless, it may be considered that the reclassification operated in (24b) reflects a change from the co-referential relation in the English text to a metonymic associative process in the Catalan translation. Example (25) shows the ability of demonstratives to include under their scope not only the information of the NP antecedent-trigger, but also the whole previous co-text. On the other hand, in (26) the DemNP *this man* is used to add the new information conveyed in the *though*-clause.

The fact that DemNPs with nominal antecedent-triggers perform discourse functions other than referential continuity may also be attributed to their deictic nature, at least in the case of the reclassifying and encompassing functions. Therefore, these functions should be seen as an effect of text deixis.

IV.4. The referential devices associated to text deixis in DemNPs

DemNPs with textual antecedent-triggers imply a double or complex referential device, since the lexical anaphora that the nucleus of the DemNP establishes with the antecedent-trigger is associated to text deixis.⁸ Thus, text deixis and lexical anaphora operate as a whole to conform several distinct complex procedures of lexical cohesion (cf. Cuenca, 2000; Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 274-292;). However, for the purpose of our analysis, the function of the text-deictic demonstrative is to match the nucleus with the antecedent-trigger, which defines the type of referential relation, i.e the different linguistic means of co-reference (ellipsis, repetition, synonymy, hyperonymy, general noun) or associative anaphora.

ASSOCIATED DEVICE	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
Ellipsis	4	3,6	2	1,0
Repetition	19	17,1	29	14,3
Synonymy	12	10,8	24	11,9
Hypernymy	7	6,3	14	6,9
General noun	55	49,6	108	53,5
Associative anaphora	13	11,7	24	11,9
Deixis <i>am Phantasma</i>	1	0,9	1	0,5
TOTAL	111	100	202	100

Table 5. Referential devices associated to text deixis in DemNPs

Two general facts can be derived from the results shown in table 4. Firstly, the preference of DemNPs in narrative sequences for co-reference with a previous textual antecedent-trigger (87,4% in English; 87,6% in Catalan) is overwhelming. Nevertheless, the frequencies of associative anaphora, close to 12% in both languages, support the idea of Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin (1999) that demonstratives may also work in indirect (associative) anaphora (27).

(27) Once again *the stars_i* blew the window open, and *that smallest star_{j(<i)}* of all called out (3, 38)

On the other hand, among the co-reference devices, the association of a demonstrative with a general noun is clearly the preferred tendency, with frequencies around 50% in both

languages in relation to the total amount of demonstratives. This tendency is clearly explained by taking into account the abstractness and unspecificity which define this type of nouns, features which help to categorise and encapsulate complex discourse units as nouns (28).

(28)[...] he was the only boy on the island who could neither write nor spell; not the smallest word. He was above all that sort of thing (7, 81)

The rest of this paper will be devoted to defining and characterising the *text deixis* + *general noun* referential device as a prototypical text-deictic procedure.

V. THE ASSOCIATION OF TEXT DEIXIS AND GENERAL NOUNS IN DemNPs

Text deixis + *general noun* referential devices are characterized by the presence of two features:

- a) The general noun is an abstract one, considering the degrees of abstractness expressed by entities other than first-order.
- b) The antecedent-trigger is not an NP, but a complex discourse unit.

Example (29) may be considered a prototypical case of this type of referential device.

(29)What did disturb her at times was that John remembered his parents vaguely only, as people he had once known, while Michael was quite willing to believe that she was really his mother. These things scared her a little (7, 80)

The DemNP *these things* is supposed to encompass the preceding clauses, encapsulating them within the “shell” of a noun which serves as an informational container.

Thus, text deixis and general or shell nouns appear to be textually and cognitively intertwined to conceptualise or encapsulate complex non-nominal pieces of discourse information, categorising at the same time these complex units as nouns. Furthermore, the whole device performs a referential cohesive linkage (cf. Schmid, 2000: 13-20).

The conceptualising and categorising function is demonstrated by the preference of this referential device for complex antecedent-triggers.

ANTECEDENT TYPE	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
Clause	7	12,7	15	13,9
Sentence	5	9,1	5	4,6
Text	12	21,8	16	14,8
Illocutionary act	10	18,2	21	19,5
Discourse Knowledge	19	34,6	47	43,5
Others	2	3,6	4	3,7

TOTAL	55	100	108	100
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Table 6. Types of antecedent-trigger of DemNPs with general noun

The idea that the more complex the antecedent-trigger, the more likely is to be used, seems to be correct in Catalan but not in English. This hypothesis needs a more accurate analysis of the data in order to be confirmed, or even the use of wider narrative corpora, since it is clear that both languages prefer clauses to sentences. However, discourse knowledge is the preferred type in both cases, a result related without exceptions to the use of text deixis and general nouns to refer to narrative time (30).

(30) "She is quite a common fairy," Peter explained apologetically, "she is called Tinker Bell because she mends the pots and kettles" They were together in the armchair by *this time* (3, 30-31)

As for the activation degree of the referents in the cognitive discourse model, reference to units in the implicit focus, i.e., active, according to the reformulation of Poesio and Modjeska (2002: 437) of the notion of activated of Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharsky (1993), is the overwhelmingly preferred result.

ACTIVATION DEGREE	ENGLISH		CATALAN	
	n	%	n	%
Inactive	2	3,6	2	1,9
in focus/active	0	0,0	1	0,9
Active	34	61,8	57	52,8
Time	19	34,6	47	43,5
Familiar	0	0,0	1	0,9
TOTAL	55	100	108	100

Table 7. Degree of activation of the referents of DemNPs with general nouns

Narrative time plays an important role in this result. It is an essential part of the implicit discourse knowledge and therefore an active referent in the implicit focus. In spite of this, most active referents of DemNPs with general nouns consist of pieces of information introduced in the previous utterance, be they clauses, sentences, groups of sentences (text) or illocutionary acts, as in (31)

(31)a. "How clever I am!" he crowed rapturously, "oh, the cleverness of me!" It is humiliating to have to confess that *this conceit of Peter* was one of his most fascinating qualities (3, 26-27)

- b. “*Que en sóc, d'eixerit!*” exclamava delirant. “*Oh, quina traça, la meva!*” És dolorós d'haver de confessar que *aquesta presumpció de Peter Pan* era una de les seves qualitats més fascinadores (3, 38)

Regarding the referent order of entities, it is not unexpected that most referents in both languages are fourth-order (47,3% in English; 55,6% in Catalan), since reference to narrative time is considered as pointing to an important aspect of the narrative illocutionary act.

Finally, the most frequent structural pattern of DemNPs with shell nouns is that with just a demonstrative and a general noun, with no more semantic content. This fact certainly lends support to the statement that *text deixis + general noun* is a device whose main goal is to maintain reference to already established discourse entities by combining grammatical (text deixis) and lexical cohesion (general noun), instead of a procedure used to introduce new referents. This referential device enacts prototypically the ability of demonstratives as text-deictic expressions to attract complex discourse entities and to transform the implicit focus into explicit.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Text deixis is thought of as a metaphorical referential device which maps the ground of utterance onto the text, thus combining the referential properties of deixis and anaphora.

Demonstrative noun phrases in narrative sequences prove to be a text-deictic procedure by showing their ability to express textual distance, emotional distance, or both, and therefore are related to the addressor's subjectivity. Their affinity for abstract nouns and non-nominal antecedent triggers is in accordance with their deictic pointing nature, which allow demonstratives to be matched up with complex discourse entities. This is also the case when they are referentially related to nominals; here, demonstratives perform other functions apart from maintaining reference, e.g., reclassifying the antecedent noun and/or encompassing the whole previous co-text. Therefore, demonstrative noun phrases are essential to actualise referents already given in the cognitive discourse model.

On the other hand, the preference of DemNPs for abstract nouns and complex antecedent-triggers contributes to define the pattern *text deixis + general noun* as a specific type of lexical cohesion device which categorises and encapsulates as nouns complex pieces of discourse information which are part of the implicit focus. This includes implicit discourse knowledge, mainly narrative time in the case of narrative sequences.

As for the contrast between English and Catalan, the higher number of DemNPs in the Catalan translation reveals a strong tendency of this text to use text-deictic expressions to translate non-text-deictic English ones. This may imply changes in the cognitive perspective; however, this result is in need of further research. Nevertheless, both languages show similar tendencies to match demonstratives with abstract nouns which refer to complex non-nominal discourse entities; this is a trend that must surely be related to the text-deictic nature of DemNPs with textual antecedent-triggers.

NOTES:

¹ Examples from Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1506).

² The numbers after each example refer to the chapter and the page in which the example is located in the English and Catalan editions of *Peter Pan* used.

³ Cognitive salience of referents is a complex discourse and cognitive function dependent on several semantic, syntactic and structural factors, according to which the entities are ranked within the attention-focus at a given discourse stage (cf. Ariel, 1990; Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski, 1993; Cornish, 1999, among others).

⁴ The examples (9) and (10) are from Halliday and Hasan (1976).

⁵ It may be argued that this is a consequence of the diachronic origin of present more widespread standard Central Catalan. It is the result of reducing the medieval Catalan system, which showed three degrees, i.e., proximity to the addressor (first degree), intermediate distance to the addressor, communicatively actualised as proximity to the addressee (second degree), and distance to both interlocutors (third degree). That demonstrative system consisting of three degrees is still preserved in some Western Catalan dialects, such as Valencian, and in Spanish.

⁶ Lyons (1977: 442-445) establishes the distinction between first, second and third order entities. Fourth order entities are indebted to Dik (1997: 55, 215-216, 292-295).

⁷ The type “Others” in this table and in the following ones is meant to include those examples in which there are possibilities of ascribing a case to more than one type.

⁸ The nucleus can also be elliptical and therefore the whole referential device is grammatical, not lexical.

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