An Analysis of English, Spanish and Basque Demonstratives in Narrative: A Matter of Viewpoint

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ABSTRACT

This paper undertakes the study of the occurrence of non-corresponding demonstrative forms in Spanish, Basque and English in exactly the same linguistic context. It is proposed that the differences in the choice of the demonstratives result from the differences in the kind of information that must be coded in each of the languages. Thus, I will argue that in Spanish and Basque the obligatory coding of the aspectual categories of the imperfect and the preterit has the function of imposing specific viewing arrangements onto the situations they designate. By contrast, in English, where the aspectual distinction is not overtly coded, the demonstratives are proposed to fulfil this function.

KEYWORDS: Proximal demonstratives; non-proximal demonstratives; English; Basque; Spanish; pretcrit: imperfect; narrator's viewpoint; discourse deictic function, non-corresponding demonstrative forms.

I. THE DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEMS IN ENGLISH, BASQUE AND SPANISH

The English demonstrative system has two demonstrative forms. the proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative. Under their primary or *situational* use, these forms point to (visible) cntities located at various degrees of distance away from the speaker in the utterancc situation.

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In particular, the proximal demonstrative is used for what is thought of by the speaker as near in spacc (Chen 1990: 140); it refers to an entity near the deictic center (Diessel 1999: 2). When referring to time, it expresses a connection with the speaker's present (Chen 1990: 140). By contrast, the distal demonstrative is used to point to what is thought of as further away in space (Chen 1990: 140); it denotes a referent that is located at some distance from the deictic center (Diessel 1999: 2). When referring to time it refers to an entity separated from the present time (Chen 1990: 140).

Among many other languages, Spanish and Basque have a three-term demonstrative system which includes a middle term in addition to the proximal and distal forms. The middle terms "refers to a location in medial or non-proximal distance relative to the deictic center" (Diessel 1999: 39). Table (1) contains the demonstrative forms in the English, Spanish and Basque systcms which may be obtained from the information provided in grammar books:

	Proximal	*Non-prosimal*	
English	This	That	
		Medial	*Distal*
Spanish	Esto	Eso	Aquello
Basque	Hau	Hori	Hura

Table 1: Dernonstratives in English. Spanish and Basque

For the sake of simplicity, table (1) includes only the singular (masculine) forms of the demonstratives. However, the forms are marked for number (singular and plural) in the three languages, gender (masculine, feminine and neuter) in Spanish, and for case in Basque.

Based on the information provided in table (1), it is possible to cxtract a number of correspondenees among the proximal demonstrative forms and the non-proximal demonstrative forms in the three languages, as illustrated by the sentences in (1) and (2), respectively:

(1)   Sarah said that **this** window is stuck. (Langacker 1991: 256)
        Sarak lehio **hau** trabatuta dagoela esan du.
        Sara dijo que **esta** ventana está atascada.

(2)   I like **that** house very much.
        Etxe **hori/hura** asko gustatzen zait.
        Me gusta mucho **esa/aquella** casa.

In (1), the proximal demonstrative forms are used in the three languages to refer to the proximity between the speaker and the entity modified by the demonstrative adjective. In (2), the non-proximal demonstrative forms are used to indicate that speaker and the entity modified by the demonstrative are not proximal to each other. It is important to note that in both examples the demonstratives "hinge on the position of the speaker rather than the subject of the sentences" with respect to some entity (Givón 1984: 121). Hence, the demonstrative in (1) can only be

interpreted as referring to the window which is close to the actual speaker (not to Sarah), "and the present tense of is indicates that the situation of the window being stuck continues through the current speech event (not just the time of Sarah's statement)" (Langacker 1991: 255).

II. THE PROBLEM

In addition to the situational use illustrated by (1) and (2). demonstratives may serve *discourse deictic* function.' Under this use, demonstratives refer to events or propositions in the discourse, as in (3), or they single out a point in time within the narrative sequence of the event (4) (Himmelmann 1996: 225):

(3)   A: "Hey, management has reconsidered its position. They've promoted Fred to second
        vice president."
        B: "That's false." (reference to a proposition) (Webber 1991: 111-2)

(4)   "Right at that moment the three boys come walking …" (example provided by
        Himmelmann 1996: 225)

        When demonstratives have discourse deictic function one may easily find instances of non-corresponding forms in the three languages in the same linguistic context. Example (S), which includes the renderings into Basque and English of an extract from the novel El *general en su laberinto* by Gabriel Garcia Márquez (henceforth, G.G.M.), illustrates this situation.

(5)   a. "Coronó la pendiente, más con la fuerza de la voluntad que con la del cuerpo (…). Allí
        se despidió con una frase amable de cada uno de los miembros de la comitiva oficial. Y
        lo hizo con una sonrisa fingida para que no se le notara que en **aquel** 15 de mayo de rosas
        ineluctables estaba emprendiendo el viaje de regreso a la nada." (G.G.M. 1989: 93)

        b. "Gainditu zuen aldapa, areago borondatearen indarrez gorputzarenez baino, (…). Han
        esaldi maitabera batez despcditu zen ahuku ofizialeko kide bakoitzarengandik. Eta
        irribarre itxuratu batekin egin zuen ezinbesteko arrosen **maiatzaren 15 hartan**
        ezerezerako bidaiari ekiten ari zela inor kontura ez zedin." (G.G.M. 1990: 86)

        c. "He reached the top of the incline, more by strength of will than of body (…). There
        he said goodbye with a pleasant remark for each member of the official delegation. And
        he did so with a feigned smile so they would not notice that on **this May 15** with its
        ineluctable roses he was starting out on his return trip to the void." (G.G.M. 1990: 85)

        In (5a), (5b) and (5c) the temporal expressions with the demonstratives in boldface refer

to a point in the sequence of the narrative events, namely, May 15. Objectively speaking, the same temporal distance with respect to the speaker's location is evoked in the three cases and yet, the *distal* denionstrative is used in the Spanish and Basque tcxts and theproximai demonstrativc in thc English text. The occurrence of non-corrcsponding forms in thc threc languages in the same context as illustrated by sentences in (5) is a frequently attested phenomenon and its study constitutcs thc goal of this paper as we shall see in section III.

III. THE GOAL

The purpose of this paper is to providc an analysis of thc choice of corresponding and non-corresponding discourse deictic demonstratives in cquivalent sentenccs in English, Basque and Spanish. In particular, the following groups of data, which cover all the logical combinatory possibilities. will bc accounted for (THIS and THAT stand for the abstract category of proximal demonstrative and non-proximal demonstrative. respectively):

Casc (I):   THIS (English)   ≠   THAT (Spanish/Basque)
Casc (2):   THAT (English)   =   THAT (Spanish/Basque)
Casc (3):   THIS (English)   =   THIS (Spanish/Basque)
*Case (4):   THAT (English)   ≠   THIS (SpanishiBasque)

Case (1) includes instanccs in which theproxirnai dcmonstrative is used in English and tlie non-proxirnui demonstratives (e.g. medial and distal) are used in Spanish and Basque. Undcr case (2) I consider instanccs in which the non-proxirnui demonstratives occur in the three languages. Finally, under case (3) I group data in which theproximai demonstrative is also used in the three languages. The fourth logical combinatory possibility, namely, the use of thc *distal* denionstrativc in English and theproxirnai dcmonstrative in Spanish and Basque provided under case (4) is not attested in my data.

In particular, I intend to addrcss the following facts:

(i)   Thc occurrence of non-corresponding demonstrativc fornis in the three Ianguagcs and the circumstances under which they arc used (e.g. case 1).

(ii)   The similarity in the behavior of Spanish and Basquc dcmonstrative forms. English forms seem to follow a differcnt behavior as rcflcctcd in the patterns included under cases 1 through **3.**

(iii)   Thc absence of a particular combination of non-corrcsponding denionstrative fornis in the thrce languages (e.g. case 4).

IV. THE ANALYSIS

In order to account for the considerations and the distribution of the demonstrative forms used in the three languages provided under cases 1, 2, 3 and 4 in section III, I propose an analysis whose main idea is as follows:

- In Spanish and Basque the aspectual coding on the verbs (i.e. the preterit or the imperfect) is used to identify the location of the speaker's viewpoint from where the situation designated by the predicate is to be construed (Doiz 1995, 2002). In English, where there is no grammaticalixed distinction similar to the preterit/imperfect contrast, demonstratives may serve this function.

Especifically, 1 will be arguing for the following two claims. (i) The English distal demonstrative form. like the preterit in Spanish and Basque, may be used to indicate that the situation it occurs in is construed by a distal viewpoint to the situaíion itself. (ii) The Bnglish proximal demonstrative form, like the imperfect in Spanish and Basque. may be used to indicate that the situaíion it occurs in is construed by a proximal viewpoint to the situation itself.

The claims put forward by the analysis proposed here rest on two grounds: (i) the understanding of the preterit and the imperfect as viewpoint providers and (ii) the possibility of establishing some semantic overlap between the aspectual categories and denionstratives. These two issues are discussed in IV.1 and 1V.2, respectively.

1V.1. The imperfect and the preterit: proxirnal viewpoint vs. distal viewpoint

The preterit and the imperfect differ with respect to the viewing arrangements they impose onto the situations they designate. This property makes reference to one of the basic assumptions of Cognitive Graniniar (Langacker 1987, 1991) according to which, there is no such a thing as a direct mapping between language and the entities in the world. Rather, the mapping is between language and the entities in the world as *conceptualized* by *speakers*. Drawing from this claim, it is proposed that speakers make unconscious or conscious decisions which affect the way a situation is portrayed. It follows that, under this account. grammar constitutes the symbolization of the structured conceptualization as defined by the speakers themselves (Langacker 1995).

Along these lines. and inspired by work on the study of aspectual categories in other languages (Banfield, 1982; Cutrer, 1994; Fleischman, 1991; Langacker, 1999; Vct. 1991) and in Spanisli (Lunn, 1985), Doiz-Bienzobas (1995: 54, 2003: 305) have argued that:

(i)   Situations with the **preterit** are apprehended by a viewpoint which is proximal to the speech time and *distal* to the situation it modifies (figure 1). That is to say, the situation is described by the speaker's viewpoint from the speech time:'
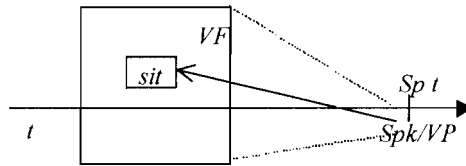
Figure 1: **Distal viewpoint**

According to this characterization and as represented in figure (I), when the preterit is used, the speaker describes the situation from a time which is distant from the situation itself. Hence, the speaker or conceptualizer is "an external narrating self" (Fleichsman 1991: 301) who imposes "an external focalization" onto the events (Banfield 1982: 157). These properties coincide with native speakers' intuitions on the interpretation of sentences with the preterit in which speaker and situation are perceived to be distal from one another.

(ii)   Situations with the **imperfect** are conceptualized by a past viewpoint. Specifically, the viewpoint is located ut the situation time or at a time prior to situation time as represented in figure 2. When the viewpoint is ut situation time, situation and viewpoint are stated to be *proximal*. It should be noted that the semantic content of the imperfect as represented in figure (2) includes two reference points intime, namely, the speech time in relation to which the viewpoint is past, and the past point at which the viewpoint is located. [3]
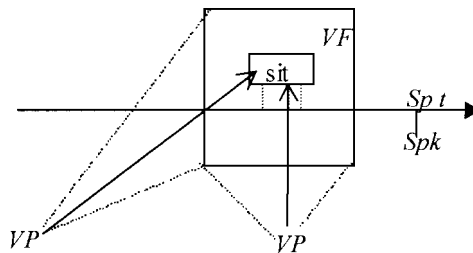

Figure 2: Proximal **viewpoint**

The apprehension of the situation by the speaker's viewpoint from the situation time accounts for the sense of immediacy between the speaker and the situation which characterizes sentences with the imperfect. Thus, the narrator becomes a direct witness of the development of the situation under this configuration, and, in free indirect speech. the voice of the narrator may

come across to the readers as a consciousness representing the thoughts and the feelings of the characters who take part in the past situation.[4]

The difference in the viewing arrangement characterizing the preterit and the imperfect is also directly linked to another property which differentiates the two aspectual forms, namely, the nature of the situation designated by the imperfect and the preterit. In relation to this issue. and drawing from the distinction between the structural plane and the actuality plane proposed by Langacker (1991: 266,1999: 251). Doiz (1995,2002: 313) have argued that the imperfect and the preterit designate different types of situations. Predicates whose verbs are modified by the preterit designate past *occurrences,* that is to say, situations which describe what things happened in the world at a past point in time. Predicates whose verbs are modified by the imperfect, on the other hand, designate *states of affairs* which portray the way things are or work in the world and they are not stated at a specific temporal point.[5] The sentences in (6) illustrate the contrast between the two types of situations:

(6) a. La carta decía hola.
    The letter said-IMPF hello
    The letter said hello.

  b. ?La carta dijo hola.
    The letter said-PRET hello.
    ?The letter uttered the word hello.

When the predicate of saying hello is expressed in the imperfect (6a), the predicate designates a state of affairs in which the letter is stated to have the property of saying hello. This property is apprehended by a past viewpoint, as I have argued before. However, when the same predicate is expressed in the preterit (6b), the predicate designates an *instance of the act of saying hello* at some specific point in time in which the letter is construed as the agent responsible for carrying the action out. That is, in (6b) the speaker states that the letter actually said hello at some point in the past. Obviously, this reading is pragmatically unacceptable as indicated by the use of the question mark in (6b).

In short. it follows from the previous discussion that the imperfect provides a past viewpoint whose function is to apprehend a state of affairs prior to or from the time in which the situation evolves. By contrast, the preterit provides a viewpoint at speech time from where the situation it designates is described as an actual past occurrence.

IV.2. Semantic parallelisms between demonstratives and the aspectual categories: demonstratives as viewpoint providers

The possibility of establishing an analogy between demonstratives and tenses has been previously noted by Chen (1990: 148) and Janssen (2002: 180). Chen and Janssen discuss the co-occurrence

of the proximal demonstrative and the historical present in sentences which refer to past situations in combination with *now*. According to them, the use of the historical present with *now* provides "an empathetic perspective on the past of the storyteller" (Janssen 2002: 180), the activity is perceived to be "nearer to the audience" (Chen 1990: 148) and, consequently, the proximal demonstrative which indicates "rhetorical nearness" (Chen 1990: 148) must be used.

In this paper I draw a parallelism between demonstratives and aspect, more specifically between (i) the non-proximal demonstratives and the preterit. and (ii) the proximal demonstratives and the imperfect. These parallelisms are based on the relevance of the position of the speaker's viewpoint as a defining property of the aspectual categories and the demonstratives, as we shall see.

(i)   The non-proximal demonstratives and the preterit

Both the preterit and the non-proximal demonstrative forms portray the presence of the speaker or the speaker's viewpoint at a *distant* position from the situation or the entity they refer to. The former states that the situation it modifies is apprehended by a *distal* viewpoint at the utterance time. The latter refers to an entity or a temporal location which is *distal* to the speaker's position or viewpoint.

(ii)   The proximal demonstrative and the imperfect

Both the imperfect and the proximal demonstrative forms portray the presence of the speaker or the speaker's viewpoint at a *proximal* position from the situation or the entity referred to. The former states that the situation it designates is apprehended by the speaker's viewpoint at or near the situation. Along the same lines, the latter construes an entity or a temporal location which is *proximal* to the speaker's position or viewpoint.

It is proposed here that the existence of a semantic overlap between the two categories results in the use of the demonstratives to carry out some of the functions associated with the aspectual variants as stated in (i) and (ii). Furthermore, we predict the existence of correspondences between the choice of the aspectual form in the Spanish and Basque sentences and the choice of the demonstrative forms in the renderings into English of the Spanish sentences. In particular, the account proposed here predicts the preferred choice of the proximal demonstrative in the English translation of sentences which contain the imperfect in Spanish and Basque, and the preference of the distal demonstrative in the English translation of sentences whose verbs occur in the preterit in Spanish and Basque. Finally, the analysis also predicts the inapropriateness of certain demonstratives in English as possible translations of sentences in Spanish and Basque with specific demonstrative-aspectual form combinations. The accuracy of these predictions will be confirmed in the discussion of the data provided in section V.

V. DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

The data that I will be discussing in this section has been taken from the novel El *general **en** su laberinto* written in Spanish by Gabriel García Marquez and from its published translations into English and Basque. In the novel, a third person narrator describes the general's last journey down the river Magdalena in Colombia at the dawn of the general's life. The narration of the events takes place at a time which is posterior to the events described in the novel but the exact temporal location of the narration is left unspecified.[6]

Below, I have summarized the distributional eorrespondences found between the choice of the aspectual form in the Spanish and Basque sentences and the choice of the demonstrative in the English counterparts that have been attested in the data. A total of 73 cases of demonstratives with discourse deictic function were found in the first half of the novel (i.e. approximately 130 pages). The percentages provided next to each demonstrative-aspectual combination form have been calculated from the total number of occurrences found for each of the cases introduced in section III.

Case 1.	THIS (Engl)	≠	THAT (Sp/Basq)	IMPF.	17 tokens	(89,47%)
				PRET.	2 tokens	(10,52%)
Case 2.	THAT (Engl)	=	THAT (Sp/Basq)	PRET.	24 tokens	(63,52%)
				IMPF.	14 tokens	(36,84%)
Case 3.	THIS (Engl)	=	THIS (Sp./Basq)	IMPF.	13 tokens	(68.42%)
				PRET.	6 tokens	(31,57%)
Case 4.	THAT (Engl)	≠	THIS (Sp/Basq)		0 tokens	(0 %)

The summary of the aspectual-demonstrative form combinations attested in the data under study as stated here confirms the validity of the predictions put forward by the analysis in section IV. First, the use of the proximal demonstrative in English (THIS) tends to correlate with the choice of the iniperfect in Spanish and Basque (case 1 (89,47%) and case 3 (68.42%)). Second, and directly related to the previous tendency, the English proximal demonstrative (THIS) does not generally occur in sentences in which the preterit is used in Spanish and Basque (case 1 (10,52%) and case 3 (31,57%)[7]). Third, the English distal demonstrative (THAT) is used in predicates which are normally expressed in the preterit and which contain a non-proximal demonstrative form in Basque and Spanish (case 2 (63,52%)). Finally, the English distal demonstrative was not used as a translation of sentences with the proximal demonstrative in Spanish and Basque.

I proceed to the discussion of the choice of the aspectual variants and the demonstrative forms for each of the cases specified here. Both the general tendencies and the exceptionality of some aspectual and demonstrative form combinations will be accounted for under my analysis.

V.1. *Case 1:* THIS (Eng) ≠ *THAT* (Sp/Basq)

V.1.1. Case 1a. THIS (Eng) ≠ THAT (Sp/Basq), IMPERFECT

In 89,47% of the cases in which the proximate demonstrative is used in English and the distal demonstrative in Basque and Spanish, the imperfect was used in the latter languages. Example (7), which includes the first two sentences in the opening paragraph of the novel, illustrates this case. (A note on the notation used in the examples: the demonstrative forms under study are given in boldface and their corresponding abstract forms (e.g. THAT or THIS) are also provided next to them. In addition, the verbs are stated in italics and the choice of the aspectual form on the verbs is specified in the Basque and Spanish texts in between parentheses (e.g. IMPF or PRET)).

(7) a. "José Palacios, su servidor más antiguo. lo encontró flotando en las aguas depurativas de la bañera, desnudo y con los ojos abiertos, y creyó que se había ahogado. Sabía que *ése* (THAT) *era* (IMPF) uno de los muchos modos de meditar." (G.G.M. 1989: 11)

b. "José Palacios, bere zerbitzari aspaldikoenak, flotatzen aurkitu zuen bainunontziko ur depuratiboetan, biluzik eta begiak zabalik, eta itoa zela uste izan zucn. Bazekien *hura* (THAT) *zuela* (IMPF) gogeta egiteko bere modu ugarietako bat." (G.G.M. 1990: 7)

c. "José Palacios, his oldest servant, found him floating naked with his eyes open in the purifying waters of his bath and thought he had drowned. He knew *this* (THIS) *was* one of the many ways the General meditated." (G.G.M. 1990: 3)

In the first sentence of the (7), the narrator describes the scene in which the servant discovers the general floating in "the purifying waters of his bath" and he does so by adopting a detached or external perspective. However, in the second sentence the narrator takes a different perspective whereby the reader gets the impression that the situation is described by the narrator as the situation takes place in the past.

1 would like to propose that the sense of proximity between the narrator and the situation which characteriaes the second sentence in the three texts results from the use of the imperfect in Spanish (7a) and Basque (7b) and from the choice of the proximal demonstrative in English (7c). Thus, in accordance with the analysis provided in section IV.1, the imperfect imposes a past viewpoint on the construal of the situation in the Spanish and Basque texts as a result of which, the narrator's viewpoint shifts to the past situation time. Given this viewing arrangement, situation and viewpoint are proximal and the sense of proximity between narrator and situation arises, i.e. the reader gets the impression that the event is taking place before the narrator's eyes. In (7c), the translator of the English text has chosen the proximal demonstrative form in his translation of the Spanish sentence. 1 contend that this rendering is deliberate and that its purpose

is to convey the relationship of narrator-situation proximity that characterizes the construal of the situation in the Spanish text. In particular, I would likc to argue that the requirement on the proximity between spcaker's viewpoint and the situation evoked by thc proximal demonstrativc in thc case of a past situation results in the shift of thc viewpoint to the past in (7c).

Example (8) constitutcs additional evidence for the analysis proposcd hcrc. In this casc, the imperfcct, more specifically, the imperfect progrcssivc is used. And, like in example (7), the Spanish and Basque texts contain the distal demonstrative in the temporal expression *aquel 15 de mayo* 'that May 15', whcreas the English version of the text has the proximal dcmonstrativc form.

(8)   a. "Coronó la pendiente, más con la fuerza de la voluntad que con la del cuerpo (…). Allí se despidió con una frase aniable de cada uno de los miembros de la comitiva oficial. Y lo hizo con una sonrisa fingida para que no se le notara que en **aquel** (THAT) 15 de mayo de rosas incluctables *estaba emprendiendo* (IMPF PROG.) el viaje de regreso a la nada." (G.G.M. 1989: 93)

b. "Gainditu zuen aldapa, areago borondatearen indarrez gorputzarenez baino, (…). Han esaldi maitabera batez despeditu zen ahuku ofizialeko kide bakoitzarengandik. Eta irribarre itxuratu batekin cgin zuen ezinbesteko arrosen maiatzaren 15 **hartan** (THAT) ezerezerako bidaiari *ekiten urizela* (IMPF PROG.) inor kontura ez zedin." (G.G.M. 1990: 86)

c. "He reaclied the top of the incline, more by strength of will than of body (…). There he said goodbyc with a pleasant remark for each member of the official delegation. And he did so with a feigned smile so they would not notice that on **this** (THIS) May 15 with its ineluctable roses he *was starting out* on his return trip to the void." (G.G.M. 1990: 85)

In (8a) and (8b), the imperfect imposes a past viewpoint onto the conceptualization of the situation: viewpoint and situation are proximal as a result of which, the reader gets the impression that the event is taking place before the narrator. In addition, the distal demonstrative in the temporal expression *aquel 15 de mayo* 'that May 15' explicitly locates the situation at a distant point in time with respect to the speaker's (physical) position at the speech time. Referencc to the spcaker's position at the utterance time by the distal demonstrative is compatible with the presence of the viewpoint in the past as evoked by the imperfect. In this respect, it should be remembered that the semantic import of the imperfect evokes two reference points: thc speech/utterancc time with respect to which the viewpoint is past and the past time in which the viewpoint is located.

In the English text, the proximal demonstrative is used instead of the non-proximal demonstrative. Since in (8c) thc temporal expression with the proximal demonstrative designates

a past point close to the speaker's viewpoint, it must be the case that the narrator's viewpoint shifts to that past time. Hence, the use of the proximal demonstrative in the temporal expression to refer to a past point in time is responsible for the shift of the narrator's viewpoint to the past situation time and creates the sense of situation-narrator immediacy evoked by the original Spanish sentence.

V.1.2. *Case 1b: THIS (Eng)≠THAT (Sp/Basq)PRETERIT*

The analysis proposed here does not predict the widespread use of the English proximal demonstrative as an accurate translation of sentences with the distal demonstrative and the preterit in Spanish and Basque. Furthermore, within our analysis the use of the English proximal demonstrative in sentences of this kind is stated to evoke a different construal of the situation from the one evoked by the original sentence. The small number of instances of sentences illustrating case (1b) (10.52%) and the different readings evoked by the sentences within this case, such as illustrated by (9a) and (9b), confirm the validity of these predictions and considerations.

(9)   a. "Su insomnio tenaz dio (PRET) muestras de desorden por **aquellos** (THAT) días. Se quedaba dormido a cualquier hora (…)." (G.G.M. 1989: 33)

         b. "Bere logabezia hisitiak desordenua *erakutsi* zuen (PS) egun **haietan** (THAT). Lokarturik geratzen zen edozein ordutan (…)." (G.G.M. 1990: 38)

         c. "During **this** (THIS) time his tenacious insomnia *showed* signs of disruption. He would fall asleep at any hour (…)." (G.G.M. 1990: 25)

In the Spanish and Basque texts the readers are told about the occurrence *of an* event at a point in the past. By contrast, in the English translation of the Spanish text a *state of affairs* is described whereby the readers are told the way things were at some point in the past (9c). The differences in the readings of the sentences in (9) are the reflection of the construals imposed by the preterit in the Spanish and Basque sentences, on the one side, and by the proximal demonstrative in English, on the other side.

In (9a) and (9b), the preterit imposes a detached perspective on the situation. It states that the situation is described by the speaker from the speech time as a bounded actual event. Thus, in these sentences the readers are told about the occurrence of a number of events which are attributable to the general's tenacious insomnia. By contrast, in (9c) the use of the proximal demonstrative evokes the presence of a past viewpoint from where the speaker describes the properties that characterized a particular past period of time. In fact, if we were to provide a back translation of the English text, the imperfect and not the preterit would need to be used in the Spanish sentence.

The differences in the construals evoked by the sentences in (9) along the lines described by the analysis proposed here account for the low frequency of instances of sentences illustrating case (1b). That is, since translators tend to remain as close as possible to the original, the proximal demonstrative is not usually used in English as part of the translation of sentences with the preterit in Spanish and Basque. Rather. these sentences are normally translated by sentences in which the distal demonstrative is used in English, regardless of whether the proximal or the distal demonstrative is used in the Spanish and Basque text.

V.2. Case 2: THAT (Eng) = THAT (Sp/Basq)
V.2.1 Case 2a: THAT (Eng) = THAT (Sp/Basq)PRETERIT
Our analysis predicts the widespread use of the distal demonstrative in English as a translation of sentences with the preterit in Spanish and English. The occurrence of a high number of sentences which belong in this category (63.15%) confirms the validity of the prediction. The sentences in (10) illustrate case (2a).

(10)   a. "Aquella ('THAT) noche *redactó* (PRET) su renuncia bajo el efecto desmoralizador (…) ... (G.G.M. 1989: 28)

b. "Gau hartan (THAT) bere uko egitea *erredaktatu zuen* (PRET) (…) ondorio desnioraltzailearen menpean." (G.G.M. 1990: 24)

c. "That (THAT) night he *composed* his resignation under the demoralizing effect (…)." (G.G.M. 1990: 21)

In (10a) and (10b) the predicate modified by the preterit designates an actual past occurrence. This situation is described by the narrator's viewpoint from his utterance time and consequently, situation and narrator are felt to be distant from each other. In addition, the distal demonstratives identify the past time in which the situation is located in (10a) and (10b). Likewise. in their English counterpart the distal demonstrative in the temporal expression identifies the point in the past in which the situation is located and states that the situation and speaker's viewpoint are separated from each other. That is, the distal demonstrative in (10c) evokes the presence of the narrator's viewpoint at a distance from the time in which the situation is located, just like in the Spanish and Basque sentences.

V.2.1. Case 2b: THAT (Eng) = THAT (Sp/Basq)IMPERFECT
Our analysis states that the use of the distal demonstrative in English as part of the translation of sentences with the distal demonstrative and the imperfect in Spanish and Basque results in differing construals of the situations in question. Consequently, the analysis predicts the occurrence of a small number of sentences illustrating this case. This prediction is confirmed by

our data since 36,84% of the sentences which belong in case (2) take the imperfect in Spanish and Basque; in addition, sentences in case (2b) evoke different construals, as illustrated by (11):

(11)   a. "El general terminó afeitándose a ciegas (...). Luego sc arrancó a tirones los pelos de la nariz (…), se pulió los dientes perfectos (…). **Aquella** (THAT) madrugada *oficiaba* (IMPF) la misa diaria de la limpicza con una sevicia más frenética que la habitual." (G.G.M. 1989: 13)

    b. "Azkenerako itsuka afeitatu zen (…). Gero tiraka erauzi zituen sudurreko ileak, leundu zituen hortz pcrfcktuak (…). Goizalde **hartan** (THAS) garbitasunaren eguneroko meza ohi baino ankerkeria asaldatuagoz *ematen ari* zen (IMPF PROGR)." (G.G.M. 1990: 9)

    c. "He finished shaving by touch (…). Then he plucked the hairs in his nose (…), polished his perfect teeth. **That** (THAT) dawn he *officiated* at the daily mass of his ablutions with more frenetic severity than usual." (G.G.M. 1990: 5)

In the Spanish and Basque texts, (11a) and (11b), the readers are told about the way the gcncral carried out his washing routine on a particular night as describcd from the past situation time, i.e. it is a state of affairs apprehendcd by a past viewpoint. In the English text (11c), thc readers are told that something, an action, took place that night, and this action is described from thc distance, i.e. the sentence designates an actual past occurrence construed by a prcsent viewpoint.

    The different readings associated with the Basque and Spanish sentenccs, on the one hand, and the English sentence. on the other hand, are the consequencc of the construals imposed by the presence of the imperfect in the Spanish and Basque texts and of the use of the distal demonstrative in the English text. In the Spanish and Basque texts, thc imperfect construes the situation as a state of affairs, according to which we are told about the way the general carried out his washing routine that night. This state of affairs is apprehended by the viewpoint at past situation time crcating a sense of viewpoint and situation proximity. In addition, thc distal demonstrative occurring in the temporal expression states that the narrator is (physically) located at the utterance time in relation to which the situation is past. By contrast, in the English text the distal demonstrative in the temporal expression 'that dawn' states that the actual occurrence designated by the predieate is located at a distant point from the speaker's viewpoint position. The adoption of the external perspective for the description of the situation results in thc actual oeeurrenee reading whereby the readers are told about what the general did on that night.

    Along the same lincs, the different readings of the sentences in (12) constitute another example in support of the analysis proposed here. Thus, the Spanish and Basque sentenees provided in (12a) and (12b) have a stative predicate (*estaba sellada* "was sealed") whieh describes a state *of affairs*. This state of affairs is apprehended by a past viewpoint. By contrast.

in the English sentence (12c) the predicate *confirmed* designates a change rather than a stative situation; i.e. it evokes an *actual past occurrence* which is described from the distance by the viewpoint.

(12) a. "Aquel (THAT) día *estaba sellada* (IMPF) la independencia del continente inmenso que él se proponía convertir. según sus propias palabras, en la liga de naciones más vasta […]" (G.G.M. 1989: 82)

b. "Egun hartan *zigilaturik zegoen* (IMPF) kontinente neurgabearen independentzia, berak, esan zuenez, gaur arte lurrean gainean agertu den naizoliga zabalena […]" (G.G.M. 1990: 76)

c. "That (THAT) day *confirmed* the independence of the huge continent which hc proposed to turn, according to his own words, into the niost immense, […] of all nations […]" (G.G.M. 1990: 75)

V.3. Case 3: THIS (Eng) = THIS (Sp/Basq)
V.3.1. Case 3a: THIS (Eng)= THIS (Sp/Basq)IMPERFECT
The use of the English proximal demonstrative in the translation of sentences with the imperfect in Spanish and Basque which illustrates case (3a) is accounted for by our analysis. Furthermore, its occurrence is correctly predicted to be fairly widely-spread (68,42 %).

(13) a. "Fue un mal día. Pasó la mañana dando vueltas en la casa con la misma ansiedad con que esperaba a Manuela, pero a nadie se le ocultó que esta (THIS) vez no *agonizaba* (IMPF) por ella sino por las noticias del congreso." (G.G.M. 1989: 35)

b. "Egun txarra izan zcn. Goiza etxean biraka eman zuen Manuelari itxaroten zion artegatasun berarekin. baina mundu guztiak igarri zion oraingoan[8] ez *zegoela* (IMPF) Manuelarengatiko agonian baizik eta kongresutiko albisteengatik." (G.G.M. 1990: 30)

c. "It was a disastrous day. He spent the morning walking around the house as distraught as when he was waiting for Manuela, but he coneealed from no one that this (THIS) time his longing *was* not for her but for news from the Congress." (G.G.M. 1990: 28)

The teniporal expression 'esta vez' *this lime* evokes the presenee of a eontrast between two points in time and locates the situation at the point in time whieh is closer to the speaker (Dixon 2003: 80). Since in the present case the situation takes place in the past, the speaker (i.e. the speaker's viewpoint) must also be loeated in the past. Henee, the use of the proxinial demonstrative in the Spanish and English sentenees in (13a) and (13c) whieh designates a past

situation results in the shift of the speaker's position from the utterance time to the past situation time. The proximity between the viewpoint and the situation it describes results in the adoption of an "empathetic perspective" (Janssen 2002: 180) which certainly cliaracterizes thc sentence in (13c) as well as its counterparts in (13a) and (13b).

V.3.2. Case 3h: THIS (Eng)= THIS (Sp/Basq)PRETERIT

Within thc analysis proposed hcrc, the proximal demonstrative in English and the pretcrit in Spanish and Basquc are stated to provide diffcrent viewing arrangements (proximal vs. distal viewpoint, respectively). Consequently, thc use of tlie proximal demonstrative in English as part of the translation of sentences with the preterit in Spanish and Basque is expectcd to be rare. However, 31,57% of the sentences which contain the proximal denionstrative in the threc languages take thc preterit in Spanish and Basque, a slightly higher percentagc than tlie onc wc would have expected from the claims made by the analysis proposed hcre. Case (3b) is illustrated by cxample (14):

(14)   a. "l3l coronel Wilson le *refirió* (PRET) **este** (TIIIS) episodio a un cronista de la época, que no se tomó la molestia de recordarlo." (G.G.M. 1989: 132)

         b. "Wilson koronelak garaiko kronikari bati *aditzera eman zion* (PRET) gcrtakari **hau** (THIS), zeinak ez baitzuen gogorarazteko nekarik hartu." (G.G.M. 1990: 123)

         c. "Colonel Wilson *related* **this** (THIS) incident to a chronicler of the time, who did noi takc the trouble to rccord it." (G.G.M. 1990: 125)

         I bclievc that in (14), as it is the case for most of the examples which bclong in this catcgory, tlie proximal demonstrative is simply used to refer to an entity which has been recently inentioned in the text[y]. The proximal demonstrative docs not appear to indicate the speaker's position in relation to the situation. In the three texts, however, the flow of the narrative events is dcscribed by a viewpoint which is distant to the situation itself. Thus. in the Basque and Spanish tcxts, the choice of the preterit imposes the detachcd perspective onto thc situation described; in English. where there is no ovcrt aspectual form, the verb takes an unambiguously perfective reading.

V.4. Case 4: THAT (Eng) ≠ THIS (Sp/Basq)

l'he analysis proposed hcrc predicts the exceptionality of the occurrence of tokens illustrating this combination. That is. the use of the distal dcmonstrative in English (i.e. distal vicwpoini) is not perceived as an appropriate translation of a sentence with the imperfect and the proximal demonstrative (i.e. past viewpoint) in Spanish and Basque. Finally, the co-occurrence of the proximal denionstrative in Spanish and Basque and the preterit is rather rare as we have seen in

relation to case (3b), consequently, the likelihood of the use of the distal demonstrative in English to translate this demonstrative-aspect form combination is marginal.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have provided a contrastive analysis of Spanish, English and Basque deinonstratives in past sentences in narrative. I have proposed that the structural properties characterizing each language determine the roles assigned to its grammatical categories. Accordingly. I have argued that in Spanish and Basque the preterit and the imperfect provide a specific viewing arrangement for the construal of situations. In English, where there are no pretcrit and imperfect forms, the demonstratives are proposed to be able to carry out this function.

The main findings of the paper are summarized in figure (3) in which the English proximal demonstrative is stated to provide a proximal viewpoint, like the imperfect in Spanish and Basque. and the English distal demonstrative is argued to provide a distal viewpoint, like the pretcrit in Spanish and Basque.
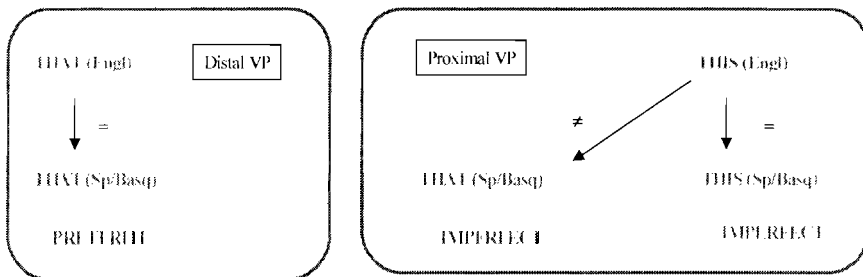

Figure 3: Correspoiideiiccs betwcen denionstrativcs and aspcct as viewpoint providcrs

At a more specific level, the analysis I have proposed here accounts for the following facts. First it accounts for the use of corresponding and non-corresponding demonstrative forms in English. Basque and Spanish. Second, it provides an explanation for the difference in the frequency of the aspect- demonstrative combinations attested in the data. Third, the analysis accurately predicts the inappropriateness of the use of a particular demonstrative form in English in some contexts. Fourth, it accounts for the existence of tendencies in the specific choice of the demonstrative forms for the translation of demonstratives in English. Thus. in the case of past situations. the distal demonstratives in Spanish and Basque are frequently translated by the non-corresponding proximal demonstrative in English; but the proximal demonstrative in Spanish and Basque is generally translated by the corresponding proximal demonstrative in English. Finally it accounts for the fact that Spanish and Basque demonstratives show the same behavior while English demonstratives seem to behave somewhat differently.

Obviously, this paper has barely stratched the surface of the problcm presented by the crosslinguistically use of demonstratives, and further research on the contrastive analysis of demonstratives in the three languages needs to be carried out. In particular, the correspondences of the demonstratives with other discourse functions and uses nced to be analyzed. In this sense, thc fact that Spanish and Basque demonstrative forms under the anaphoric function do not always correspond needs to be accounted for (15):

(15)   a. Luis dio una mala respuesta al hombre y **éste** se enfadó. (IVAP 1994: 16)
        Luis answered him in a nasty way and **this** (proximal = the man) got angry.

        b. Luisek gaizkierantzun zion gizonari eta **hura** haserretu egin zen.
        Luis answered him in a nasty way and **that** (distal = the man) got angry.

In addition, the study of demonstratives cross-linguistically should also be extended to contexts of oral discourse where Basque demonstratives frequently take other functions, such as the emphatic function (16):[10]

(16)   Alfer **hori!** (Zubiri, I. & E. Zubiri 2000: 606).
        Lazy **that** (medial)
        Lazy bones!

I believe that thc study of thesc and other considcrations utidoubtedly justifics the continuation of further researeh on the demonstrativcs from a cross-linguistic perspcctive.

NOTES:

Demonstratives also have *recognitional* and *anaphoric* functions. Under the recogiiitional function, the intended referent is to be identified via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to

preceding segments of the ongoing discourse. Under the anaphoric or tracking use demonstratives make reference to (usually major) participants, which helps the hearer keep track of what is happening to whom (Diessel, 1999; Himmelmann, 1996).

[2] VF stands for viewing frame and it refers to the area which is the general locus of attention within the maximal field of vision (MF). The specific object of perception, the target, is the *focus* (*F*) (Langacker 1995). In my examples, the situation is generally the focus.
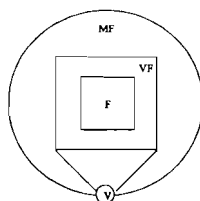

Figure 1 Visual perception

[3] For representational purposes I have located the situation in the past with respect to the ground. However, Doiz-Bienzobas (1995. 2002: 302) have argued that situations with the imperfect need not be past as illustrated in (1):

(1)　　Ayer me dijo que mañana se compraba el libro.
　　　　Yesterday he told me that tomorrow he bought-IMP the book.
　　　　Yesterday he told me that tomorrow he was buying the book.

See Leonetti (2003) and Garcia Fernández (1998: 22) for an alternative analysis of similar sentences

[4] Rased on Damourette and Pichon (1911-1936) and Doiz-Bienzobas (1995.2002). De Mulder and Vctters (2002: 122) propose a similar but not identical characterization of the French *imparfait*.

[5] This idea is compatible with the proposal put forward in Leonetti (2003) in which the author proposes a parallelism between the imperfect and individual-level predicates (Carlson 1980, Diesing 1992. Kratzer 1989). Yet some differences between the two analyses may be found.

[6] The indeterminacy of the point of origin of the narrator in texts of fiction constitutes a frequent phenomenon (Zucchi 2001). When this is the case, the reader has to allow for a multiplicity of points of origin that are compatible with the text (Zucchi 2001: 333). Thus. in (2) (example provided by Zucchi 2001: 320), the function of the past tense is to locate the event described by the sentences at an interval that precedes the time at which (2) is uttered. whatever that time may be.

(2)　　I returned from the City about three o'clock

[7] In comparison to the low percentage obtained in case (1), the use of the proximal demonstrative in combination with the preterit in case (3) appears to be more frequent (10,52 %). I will address this issue in section V.3.

8 The Basque expression *oraingoan* ('this time') literally means 'in now'

9 Examples of this kind need to be studied in more detail since it appears to be the case that demonstratives may perform multiple functions. In this respect. some writers have proposed that demonstratives have uses which differ from the basic semantic characterization provided here. Thus, Kruisinga (1925: 32) states that demonstratives denote the spatial and temporal relationship to the speaker, Lakoff (1974) argues that they express the speaker's emotion, Quirk, Greenbaum. Leech, and Svartvik (1979) propose that they refer anaphorically and cataphorically in discourse, and Linde (1979) states that demonstratives indicate the focus of attention.

10 1 would like to thank Rosyln Frank for calling my attention to this fact.

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