DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN SPATIAL DEIXIS, DISCOURSE DEIXIS, AND ANAPHORA

KRISZTINA LACZKÓ

Department of Hungarian Linguistics
Eötvös Loránd University
Múzeum krt. 4/A
H–1088 Budapest
Hungary
vidu@mail.datanet.hu

Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between the use of demonstrative pronouns in deixis and anaphora in the framework of the functional-cognitive theory of language. Part of the international literature suggests that deixis and anaphora cannot be separated from one another (see, in a formal pragmatic framework, Lyons 1977/1989; Levinson 1994), whereas other authors think that those two pragmatic/text linguistic processes are not connected in this manner (see, e.g., the cognitive-functional approach of Marmaridou 2000). The way Hungarian demonstratives work does not support the latter claim. Along with universal characteristics, it can be observed in Hungarian that, in the non-attributive (independent) use of these pronouns, event deixis (a subtype of spatial deixis) exhibits properties that it shares with discourse deixis, whereas discourse deixis leads on to the anaphoric use of demonstratives. In Hungarian, the switchover between the two types of use is clearly associated with perspective; in particular, with the shift from the referential centre to a neutral vantage point.

Keywords: spatial deixis, event deixis, discourse deixis, anaphora, perspective

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present certain preliminary results of an ongoing larger research project. That project is concerned with the functioning of Hungarian demonstrative pronouns, especially with its pragmatic and text linguistic aspects, mainly based on the considerations of functional-cognitive linguistics. Hence, the theoretical approach I follow is the functional framework of Halliday (1985) and Givón (1989; 1990), fairly influential in current linguistic thinking, too, as well as the cog-

nitive approach of Langacker (1987; 1991) and Lakoff (1987); whereas
with respect to the pragmatic perspective, I wish to join authors who
take pragmatics to be a way of looking at things and envisage language
use as an activity or "functioning" (cf. primarily Verschueren 1995; 1999;
Givón 1990; Mey 1998; 2001; Tomasello 1999). In what follows, I first
survey some basic properties of Hungarian demonstrative pronouns and
briefly introduce the linguistic functions of deixis and coreference. Next,
I discuss typical deictic and coreferential processes as they pertain to
Hungarian nominal demonstrative pronouns, focusing on the notion of
discourse deixis that represents the "transition" between the two types
of processes in Hungarian.

2. Hungarian demonstrative pronouns

The number of Hungarian demonstrative pronouns is relatively large.
This is partly due to the fact that, along with nominal demonstratives,
adjectival and adverbial forms of a similar procedural meaning have his-
torically also arisen by the lexicalisation of ancient pronominal stems with
adjectival/adverbial suffixes. Thus, such forms express various grammat-
ical relations on their own, without the use of any further grammatical
device. In other words, such pronouns exhibit, in addition to their typ-
ical conceptual meanings, the largely schematic meaning components
of Hungarian case markers as well (thus complementing the system of
case-marked pronouns) (cf. Table 1).

The fundamental function of these pronominal items is to express
spatial relationships, prototypically in the following system: within what
is usually called 'localisation', they may express either positional or di-
rectional deictic spatial reference, consistently involving either proximal
or distal relations (cf. Vater 1991, 46). In the word class of demonstrative
pronouns, the latter distinction is represented in a fully iconic manner,
as can be seen in Table 1: front-vowel forms invariably refer to proximal
relations (*ez* 'this', *itt* 'here', *ilyen* 'like this', *így* 'in this way'), whereas
back-vowel forms indicate the corresponding distal relations (*az* 'that', *ott*
'there', *olyan* 'like that', *úgy* 'in that way').[1] That duality is totally excep-
tionless, consistent, and systematic across the whole class of Hungarian
demonstrative pronouns.

---

[1] Meanings of adverbial demonstratives having to do with quality, manner, purpose,
cause, or time are similarly based on spatial deixis: they involve its metaphoric
extension.

Table 1

The system of Hungarian demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal (front-harmonic)	Distal (back-harmonic)
Nominal	*ez* 'this'	*az* 'that'
Adjectival	*ekkora* 'this size' *ilyen* 'of this kind/sort, this kind of' *ennyi* 'so much/many'	*akkora* 'that size' *olyan* 'of that kind/sort, that kind of' *annyi* 'so much/many'
Adverbial	*itt* 'here' *ide* 'to this place' *innen* 'from this place' *ekkor* 'at this time' *ezután* 'from this time on' *eddig* 'up to the present' *így* 'in this way' etc.	*ott* 'there' *oda* 'to that place' *onnan* 'from that place' *akkor* 'at that time' *azután* 'after that' *addig* 'up to that time' *úgy* 'in that way' etc.

3. Processes involving demonstrative pronouns

In the area of demonstrative pronouns, spatial reference typically has two operational forms: deixis and anaphora, the latter defined as part of the phenomenon of coreference. Both linguistic operations involved can be basically interpreted within "the world of discourse" that can be defined as follows: it is a complex communicative domain circumscribing the linguistic constituents of the text, its production by the speaker, and its comprehension by the listener. This model contains the spatial and temporal framework of the speech situation, the relationships and activities of the participants, the things, actions, and circumstances included and referred to in the text. The text itself, as well as its individual components, become interpretable within this domain. Its characteristic factors, then, are spatial and temporal reference, social and other information concerning the participants, the main features of the speech situation, linguistic and non-linguistic actions, the text as a self-referring system, with its references and referential relationships, and deixis (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001, 121–3). The world of discourse can by and large be identified with the Langackerian concept of 'current discourse space' (CDS), in which all speech events take place (Langacker 2001, 144–5). An important component of CDS is the ground, defined by Langacker as follows: "I use the

term *ground* for the speech event, its participants, and its circumstances"
(2002, 7; similarly: 1991, 548). Brisard takes whatever is activated of the
participants' respective spheres of knowledge to be part of the ground, too
(2002b, xi). During the speech event, it is on the basis of the ground that
participants process any entity that can be mentally processed, accessed,
and comprehended. The ground itself is continually and dynamically
elaborated on by the participants as they are producing and perceiv-
ing utterances.[2] In that process, entities get grounded, meaning that any
text or discourse involves entities, things and temporal relations that are
delimited and identified in some manner; such delimitation takes place
by and for the speaker and the listener via their own mental operations
and with the help of marked grammatical devices. The linguistic mark-
ers of the grounding of nouns are demonstratives (as well as articles and
quantifiers); another process that has an eminent role in the grounding
of nouns is deixis.

Deixis is structurally identifiable as a direct relationship between
an entity and a pronoun whose construal is basically driven by context
(as part of CDS) where the term 'context' refers to the communicative
circumstances among which an utterance is produced. The creation of
context, in this sense, requires a constructive contribution from both par-
ticipants of the speech situation and its constituents include the current
situation, activity, topic of conversation, participants' roles, as well as cer-
tain non-conventionalised implicatures. Thus, context is not something
previously given but rather it emerges dynamically while the utterance is
being produced (cf. Tátrai 2004). Deixis is a linguistic procedure whereby
the speaker links an entity to the current speech situation so that the lis-
tener becomes able to access it cognitively, that is, to establish some
mental relationship with it. One of the most important issues arising
with respect to deixis, then, is how the listener cognitively processes
an entity whose introduction to the speech situation comes from the
speaker; another issue is how the speaker makes that entity bear on
the speech situation (for the details, cf. Langacker 1987, 126; 1991, 91;
Janssen 2002, 152). Deixis is a linguistic operation that refers to a pri-
marily perceptual representation by pointing at it. In other words, deixis
is a perceptually-based representation of an entity accessed and compre-
hended within a speech situation. A formerly external entity—or rather,

---

[2] That is, the ground can be defined as comprehended, produced, and processed
context.

a perceptual (mainly visual), that is, non-linguistic representation of an entity of the external world—is turned into part of the discourse, is introduced to the world of the discourse, by deixis; thereby it becomes possible to refer to that entity by some linguistic item. In sum, what is primarily required for the production and comprehension of a deictic expression is mental processing of the concrete physical space in which the actual discourse takes place.

In accordance with the traditional Levinsonian view (Levinson 1983/ 1992; 1994), deixis is often subclassified into personal (including social), temporal, and spatial deixis. This tripartite classification has also been adhered to by recent functional-cognitive approaches (cf. Marmaridou 2000, 74–96); Lakoff's distinction between perceptual vs. delivery deixis (in his discussion of *there*-constructions, Lakoff 1987, 462) does not undermine the traditional three-way classification, either.[3]

The other typical linguistic operation that can be seen as bearing upon spatial reference is coreference, whose construal is primarily driven by linguistic context, also known as textual environment or text space, in terms of text-linguistically definable grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic rules. In that sense, coreference is less intimately related to spatial arrangement determined by context. Simply speaking, the most important issue with respect to anaphoric pronouns is the way coreference relations are construed, i.e., how it is possible that a noun with a complex semantic structure, constituents of whose semantic matrix are contextually activated, can share its referent with a pronoun having a more partial, more schematic semantic structure. (On semantic and pragmatic differences between nouns and pronouns, as well as on the issues of conceptual distance and subjectivity vs. objectivity cf. Hoek 1997, 30–46.) The point of departure of Hoek's view of anaphora is a structure of referential points based, in English, on prominence, conceptual connectivity, and word order (*ibid.*, 47–78; on the notion of referential point or dominion, cf. Langacker 1991; 1993). In Hungarian, pronominal anaphora is typically implemented by two kinds of pronouns: by third person per-

---

[3] Spatial deixis includes all deictic linguistic operations that are primarily based on the processing of concrete physical space or on its metaphoric extension. Thus, in Hungarian, it involves not only deixis referring to place or position but also that referring (e.g., by adverbial demonstratives) to manner, cause, purpose, etc. In this view, spatial deixis includes place deixis, manner deixis, etc. Furthermore, it is obvious that temporal deixis is also closely related to space as its most abstract metaphoric extension.

sonal pronouns that have no gender distinctions in this language, having a single singular form *ő* and a single plural form *ők*, with the pronominal semantic structure schematically including the personal meaning, and by back-vowel demonstrative pronouns. In addition, Hungarian also exhibits zero anaphora where a noun with some conceptual meaning is referred back to by inflectional suffixes. The relation of pronominal anaphora is structurally symmetrical in that it involves two members of which the antecedent is prototypically a noun, but operationally it is obviously asymmetrical in the sense that the pronoun can only be interpreted if the antecedent noun is known. The construction and construal of anaphora are dependent on perspective, the distribution of textual focus and textual topic, as well as the grammatical function and semantic role of the antecedent, in a structure of referential points (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2001; with respect to cognitive accounts of coreference, involving its grammatical, semantic, pragmatic and cognitive psychological aspects, cf. also Givón 1989; Garrod 1995).

In the context of spatial deixis and anaphora, a primary explanation can be based on perspective; in particular, on the difference between referential centre and neutral vantage point. These can be defined as follows: neutral vantage point is one of the various realisations of 'ego'; in this sense, it has nothing to do with the actual spatial and temporal structure of the text; whereas referential centre is the vantage point of the actual speaker and its marker is first or second person and present tense. For instance, in a sentence like *Péter dolgozni indul* 'Peter is off to work', the neutral vantage point is *Péter* and the referential centre is the actual speaker who remains implicit here; in *Én dolgozni indulok* 'I'm off to work', the neutral vantage point and the referential centre coincide (cf. Sanders–Spooren 1997, 87; Tátrai 2005).

In what follows, I will discuss some typical features of these two operations, deixis and coreference, with examples involving nominal demonstrative pronouns. The Hungarian pronouns *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that' have two typical uses. They can be used on their own; in such cases, the pronoun behaves identically with nouns both syntactically and morphologically: *ez/az* 'this/that', *ezt/azt* 'this-acc/that-acc', *ezzel/azzal* 'with this/with that', etc. The other use is as a prenominal determiner agreeing in case and number with the noun it precedes. The noun is grounded in the world of discourse by a definite article, and the role of the pronoun is further specification: *ez a könyv* 'this book' (lit. this the book), *azt a könyvet* 'that book-acc', *azzal a könyvvel* 'with that book'. Coreference

is typically implemented by the "independent use" of the pronoun: the conceptualisation of the content word determines the reference of the pronoun, too. Deixis, on the other hand, goes with both versions but the two types of use are clearly different. In the case of independent deictic use, it is only the schematic conceptualisation of the pronominal meaning that comes through and that can be defined as follows: in a two- or three-dimensional space, localisation is one of the base domains where *ez* 'this' prototypically denotes proximity to the speaker (the referential centre) while *az* 'that' denotes distance, and both refer to some inanimate object of indeterminable shape, function, colour (as opposed to the third person singular personal pronoun that has no neuter form in Hungarian). Thus, deixis by an independent demonstrative pronoun prototypically involves an inanimate object; when it refers to a person, it usually expresses the speaker's negative attitude (hence, it can be seen as an implementation of social deixis, cf. Laczkó (2008, 322–23); in the case of deixis by determiner plus noun, as in *ez a fiú* 'this boy', such negative attitude is not shown by a combination of the noun's conceptual meaning and the mere directional function of the pronoun). However, when used as a determiner, the meaning component that the pronoun prototypically refers to an inanimate object is not upheld, hence its referential domain covers a broader range and its meaning cannot be prototypicalised (it can involve a person, an object, an event, time, manner, position, etc.)

4. Spatial deixis

The most characteristic function of deixis involving a demonstrative pronoun is spatial reference primarily based on visual representation within a three-dimensional space that surrounds the speaker and the hearer, and is perceived and comprehended by both of them. In the case of spatial deixis, the most important aspect of empirical representation is visuality; if the latter is lacking, reference to some aspect of reality by a demonstrative pronoun is hampered (for instance, in making a phone call, or in virtual space, etc.). It is also to a limited extent that auditory, olfactory, etc. representations can be referred to by pronouns; at any rate, the dichotomy between 'near' and 'far' cannot work without a base of comparison here. The construal of spatial deixis is basically determined by the referential centre: the point from which the speaker views the ingredients of the world of discourse. That perspective is based on the speaker's egocentric or referential centre (*me, here*, and *now*), the 'point

of origin' in Bühler's (1934) sense, that has two significant ingredients: first, the vantage point itself from which something is represented, and second, the mental representation resulting from looking at things from that specific point. The choice between 'near' and 'far' is basically determined by where the entity referred to is located in relation to the speaker. On the other hand, for comprehension to be successful, the listener has to mentally take over the speaker's position. The categories of proximity versus distance depend on the speaker's knowledge of the physical surroundings of the speech event, on the way she mentally represents a complex scene; that is, primarily on the actual spatial situation, on the direction of attention, on the distinction between figure and ground (cf. Wallace 1982, 214). Consider the following simple example.

(1)   *Ezt* a dobozt vidd le a pincébe, *azt* viszont hagyd a helyén.
      'Take *this* box down to the cellar, but leave *that* one where it is.'

Obviously, the position of the two boxes determines the use of pronouns: one of them is closer to the speaker, and the other one is farther away, in terms of their spatial arrangement. The addressee has to place himself into the speaker's position in order to be able to comply with her request. If they both happen to be in the same place and in the same position, the spatial arrangement of their surroundings will be roughly identical for both of them, so they both perceive the same situation. This simplified case is shown in Figure 1.
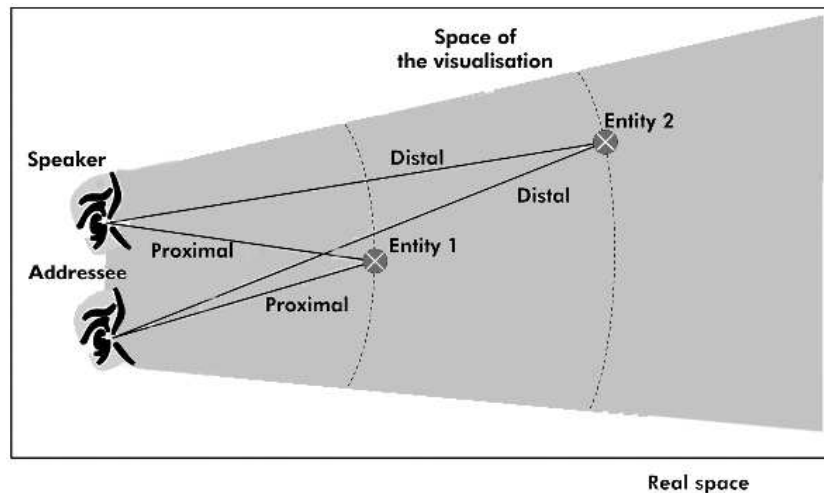

Fig. 1

In this case, the position of speaker and addressee, and the position of the two entities with respect to them and to one another, make it unambiguously clear that entity 1 is proximal and entity 2 is distal.

If, however, the speaker and the listener perceive space from two distinct vantage points or, to put it simply, if the situation is just the opposite of the first case, in that the speaker and the listener are facing each other, the listener has to mentally share the speaker's point of origin in order to be able to identify the entity that the speaker is referring to. This is illustrated by entities 1 and 2 in Figure 2.
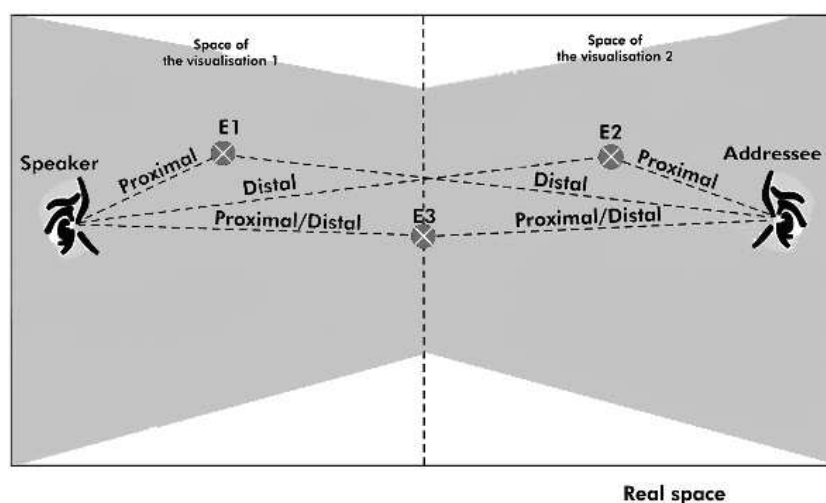
Fig. 2

The different positions, and hence the difference of perspective, are clear for these two entities, since E1 is proximal for the speaker and distal for the listener, while E2 is just the other way round. If both entities are present at the same time, E2 is the point of reference for the speaker in determining the position of E1, and the other way round for the listener. The third entity, schematically included in the figure, is roughly equally distant from both speaker and listener, and the choice of pronoun is again dependent on what it is compared to. For the speaker, E3 is more distant than E1 but less distant than E2, and for the listener, the opposite holds, once more.

In the use of deixis by demonstrative pronouns, the perception and comprehension of real space can thus be seen as prototypical. However, the choice between proximal and distal pronouns may also be influenced

by the social environment of the speech event. In the following example, the two participants are facing one another; the rat is the figure and speaker B is the ground: the rat is a proximal entity for B but a distal entity for A:

(2)   A: Mi *az* a kezedben? 'What's *that* in your hand?'
       B: *Ez* egy patkány. '*This* is a rat.'

However, speaker A could use, in the same spatial arrangement, a proximal pronoun by deictic projection that can be prompted partly by direction of attention, focusing on the animal, but also by a certain positive attitude towards the animal, whereby the centre of reference may be transposed and the question may involve a front-vowel pronoun:

(3)   A: Mi *ez* a kezedben? 'What's *this* in your hand?'
       B: *Ez* egy patkány. '*This* is a rat.'

Furthermore, deixis can also be made to operate in a two-dimensional space with the speaker transposing the referential centre into space depicted in a photograph, a picture, a map, or a television screen. Such deixis is technically known as 'heterodeixis'. However, from the point of view of perception and processing, it appears that the effect of iconically represented (virtual) space turns out to be quite different depending on whether a static picture or a motion picture is involved. In the case of a motion picture, although it is the camera that determines perspective and directs attention, that is, we have to do with a case of deictic projection, the transposition of referential centre into virtual space may result in linguistic construal similar to that of real physical space. For instance:

(4)   *Ezek* az antilopok itt békésen legelésznek, *az* az oroszlán ott épp támadásra készül.
       '*These* antelopes are grazing peacefully here, and *that* lion over there is about to attack.'

In this case, *ezek* 'these' may refer to a group of antelopes appearing in the foreground of the television screen and in the focus of attention, while *az* 'that' refers to the lion appearing in the background. The deictic vantage point is projected from three-dimensional space to a two-dimensional screen that is, however, perceived in real physical space, and deixis can operate roughly in the same manner as it does in real space, despite the difference in the number of dimensions. Obviously, all this applies with

the caveat that the perception of space, the amount of information that can be accessed and processed, depends on the point of view of the camera. If, on the other hand, the virtual space is static, deixis is not simply operated by the spatial arrangement seen in the picture, with the transposition of the referential centre, but real physical space also plays a role in it. Even if some spatial difference can be observed between the entities represented in the picture, the use of front-vowel pronouns is expected due to the unambiguousness of direction of attention and gestural deixis (e.g., because of the size of the picture). For instance, if people are standing in several rows in a photograph, and one of the persons referred to stands in a lower row and the other one stands more towards the top of the picture, both are in general referred to by a front-vowel pronoun:

(5) *Ez a hölgy* az angoltanárnőm. De vajon ki *ez a nő?*
   '*This lady* is my teacher of English. But I wonder who *this woman* can be.'

On the other hand, the choice of pronoun can be influenced by aspects of real space such that if, for instance, the photo is in the speaker's hand, proximal deixis is practically unavoidable whereas if it is far from the speaker, the real spatial situation may prompt the use of back-vowel pronouns.[4]

A peculiar use of deixis by a demonstrative pronoun is the case we might refer to as 'event deixis'. This concept is conspicuously missing from the relevant literature; however, the way Hungarian demonstrative pronouns work will make it clear. The following example shows event deixis with a pronoun used on its own:

(6) *Ez* borzalmas.
   '*This* is awful.'

If (6) is uttered while the speaker and hearer are both standing in front of a house being on fire, watching the fire-fighting operations, deixis is based

---

[4] Incidentally, pronoun use with respect to static virtual space may also be influenced by the size of the picture and its position in real physical space. In the case of a large painting hanging on the wall, for instance, a figure shown in the foreground is felt to be close to us (and one in the background to be far from us) not only in the space depicted in the painting but also 'in reality', an illusion that determines pronoun use in constructing deictic expressions: ***Ezt*** *az alakot mesterien kidolgozta a festő,* ***azt*** *azonban elnagyoltan* '*This* figure has been painted in a masterly manner but *that* one is only roughly sketched'. This phenomenon can obviously be explained by the notion of 'embodiment'.

on a visual representation of the speech situation in concrete physical space. In general, if speaker and addressee are both in the physical space where the event is taking place and share the same complex experience that is primarily visually represented, deictic reference to the event may be made by a bare demonstrative pronoun that, due to the simultaneity of the event and the utterance, will always be a front-vowel pronoun. Event deixis can, however, also take a more explicit form:

(7)   *Ez a meccs* elkeserítő.
       '*This match* is exasperating.'

The semantically complex noun here represents the event as if it was a "thing"; it is built into the semantic structure of the expression as if it were a physical object. In this sense, event deixis can be seen as a subcase of "object deixis". However, in this case, temporality (the dynamic and temporal character of the event) is foregrounded, given that a football match is a series of complex dynamic subevents.[5] Reference to an event by a noun is thus the result of high-level abstraction: the complex semantic structure of the noun involves the interrelationships of a number of physical objects and dynamic activities.

A temporally proximate but past event can likewise be deictically referred to. In this case, the interpretation of the pronoun is made possible by knowledge previously stored in the mind, the mental world, that is, thematic context, thematic background knowledge, rather than actual knowledge of the current speech situation.[6] A characteristic example of this situation is in which speaker and addressee refer to an entity in connection with a recently processed event. For instance, the following utterances can be produced in front of the building of a museum, involving explicit deixis as in (8), or even implicit deixis (the independent use of the demonstrative pronoun) as in (9):[7]

---

[5] It is worth pointing out in this respect that temporal deixis, not discussed in this paper, is characterised by the fact that temporal relationships are expressed metaphorically, using the conceptual tools of spatial deixis (e.g., *ebben az évben* '[in] this year', *ezen a héten* 'this week' (lit. '*on* this week').

[6] This is traditionally called 'symbolic deixis' by Levinson (1983/1992, 65–6), although he does not discuss it at length. In his view, symbolic deixis involves familiarity with the speech situation as a prominent parameter.

[7] There is a specific difference between explicit and implicit deixis in the use of tenses, too. Independent deixis (in which the pronoun is used on its own, not in

(8) *Ez a kiállítás* gyönyörű.
    '*This* exhibition is beautiful.'

(9) *Ez* gyönyörű volt.
    '*This* was beautiful.'

In such cases, deixis is based on shared background knowledge. Space is transposed by deictic projection and the activated recent event is represented by summary scanning. Although in the explicit version the noun *kiállítás* 'exhibition' occurs as a "thing", the participants' thematic background knowledge makes it possible for the dynamic character of their visit to the exhibition to be foregrounded as an event. Temporal proximity, again, calls for the use of the front-vowel pronoun. Such symbolic use of event deixis, based on thematic background knowledge or on a recent speech event, takes us to what is known as discourse deixis.

5. Discourse deixis

One of the most problematic aspects of the general issue of deixis is discourse deixis or text deixis, in which the event referred to is textually given and the operation of deixis is determined by linguistic context. The main function of discourse deixis, according to Levinson (1983/1992, 85–9; 1994, 856), is to refer to various portions of the unfolding discourse. The most often cited examples are of the type *ez a fejezet* 'the present chapter', *a fenti összefoglalás* 'the summary presented above', *az iménti idézet* 'the quotation just given', *a következő példa* 'the following example', etc. (In fact, such examples are based on a combined knowledge of the contents of the current text and the speech event that is going on.) If this is done by the use of a demonstrative pronoun, it is invariably the front-vowel version that is used, since the speaker points at a nearby portion of discourse and/or a temporal aspect of it. For instance:

---

the role of determiner) typically requires a verb in the past tense, whereas the explicit form allows the use of present tense as well.

(10) Hallottad már *ezt a viccet*? (Két teve megy a sivatagban. . .)[8]
      'Have you heard *this joke*? (Two camels are walking in the desert. . .)'

The question is then directly followed by the joke itself. The function of
the pronoun *ezt* 'this-acc' here is obviously to identify the place of the
joke in the text, that is, spatial specification within the linguistic context.
Discourse deixis has a cataphoric direction here – that is, it specifically
refers to text that follows. Due to the explicit occurrence of the noun *vicc*
'joke', the pronoun does not conceptually refer to the text it points at,
since it is the noun that serves to specify its meaning and to ground it in
the world of discourse (in particular, in the space of discourse). However,
it is clear that *ezt* 'this-acc' does not refer to the noun *vicc* 'joke' itself
as an entity but rather to its explication: it points at the fact that what
follows in a nearby portion of the text is the explication of the content
that the noun conceptually identifies. Explicit discourse deixis can also
take the anaphoric direction:

(11) *Ezt a tényállást* bizonyítottnak tekinthetjük.
      '*This state of affairs* is as good as confirmed.'

When discourse deixis is implemented by an independent pronoun, the
pronoun obviously has conceptual reference, too, in addition to being a
pointer in the discourse. For instance:

(12) A: János tegnap időben hazaérkezett. 'John arrived home on time yesterday.'
      B: *Ez* nem igaz. '*This* is not true.'

This construction is connected with event deixis based on thematic back-
ground knowledge, given that *ez* 'this' refers back to the whole of the
preceding utterance rather than to a single entity, and it does so typically
in an anaphoric manner. However, reference is not directed by situational
context: grounding takes place in the linguistic context, with *ez* meaning
something like 'this claim, this statement, this fact'. And since reference
takes place in the linguistic context, discourse deixis can have two direc-
tions, similarly to coreference, as we saw above. If it points at a previous
portion of the text, it is anaphoric, whereas if it points forward, it is

---

[8] If the same utterance involves the back-vowel pronoun, the pronoun has a gram-
maticalised role: it is a main-clause antecedent that requires a subordinate clause
to follow: *Hallottad már **azt a viccet**, hogy két teve megy a sivatagban?* 'Have
you heard the joke that two camels are walking in the desert?'

cataphoric. In the cataphoric case, such an instance of discourse deixis clearly resembles event deixis based on thematic background knowledge: the pronoun in ***Ezt*** *nem hiszem el* 'I don't believe this' can be interpreted as an instance of event deixis if the addressee interprets it in terms of thematic context or shared background knowledge but as an instance of discourse deixis if thematic explication follows or if there is no particular need for further explication due to an existing piece of background knowledge, that is, if it refers to a part of the speech event that represents an observed event:

(13) *Ezt* nem hiszem el. (Péter tegnap felhívta Marit.)
　　 'I don't believe this. (Peter called Mary yesterday.)'

Cataphoric discourse deixis, especially if it involves a pronoun used on its own, obviously requires more mental effort from the addressee, since when she hears or reads the given utterance, the world of the discourse has not yet been fully constructed for her, the thematic context is partial, and the linguistic context will only be present after the portion of text containing the pronoun; in brief, the ground is not quite cleared yet. For instance, if the speaker, reading a newspaper, utters (14), all the addressee can take for granted is that the speaker does not agree with what he is reading:

(14) *Ezzel* nem értek egyet.
　　 'I don't agree with *this*.'

The speech situation makes it clear that some newspaper genre is involved; if the listener can see which paper the speaker is reading, further conceptual schemes (in the sense of van Dijk 1977) may be activated; but comprehension is still but partial.

　　Spatial deixis and discourse deixis cannot always be told apart. If the speaker, again with newspaper in hand, utters (15), the pronoun refers to the paper in real physical space, but also, in terms of discourse deixis, to the text as a whole, respectively its content.

(15) *Ezt* olvasd el!
　　 'Read *this*!'

The conceptual meaning of *olvas* 'read' furthermore suggests that reference is being made to some text, thus it determines the thematic context (together with the newspaper being held out—situational context).

6. Discourse deixis and pronominal anaphora

Although the exact working of discourse deixis in Hungarian is a rather unexplored territory, one thing is certain: discourse deixis and coreference are not independent of one another. Discourse deixis has a version in which textual reference is made to an entity. Consider the following example:

(16) Péter tegnap vett *egy új könyvet*. Hazafelé *ezt a könyvet* olvasta a buszon.
'Peter bought *a new book* yesterday. On his way home, he was reading *that book* [lit. 'this book'] on the bus.'

The direct object of the second sentence (*a könyvet* 'the book-acc') is an anaphoric, repeated item, and the pronoun refers back to an antecedent in direct object position and having a textual focus role in the previous sentence. However, the second sentence may also perform specification in the linguistic context without the pronoun, with the determined noun itself: *Hazafelé* **a könyvet** *olvasta a buszon* 'On his way home, he was reading *the book* on the bus.' Thus, the function of the demonstrative is textual deixis, a kind of discourse organizing role in this case, implemented by the transposition of the speaker's referential centre. However, the second sentence can also be constructed in a way that the bare pronoun refers back to the antecedent, in a discourse deictic function this time:

(17) Péter tegnap vett *egy új könyvet*. Hazafelé *ezt* olvasta a buszon.
'Peter bought *a new book* yesterday. On his way home, he was reading *this* on the bus.'

Furthermore, the prototypical back-vowel pronoun may also serve anaphora on its own:

(18) Péter tegnap vett *egy új könyvet*. Hazafelé *azt* olvasta a buszon.
'Peter bought *a new book* yesterday. On his way home, he was reading *that* on the bus.'

It is clearly the case, exactly due to this dual possibility, that the anaphor is also a deictic (discourse deictic) item here, that is, albeit the distal (back-vowel) demonstrative pronoun is used anaphorically, it retains its deictic character, too.

A detailed discussion of the way pronominal anaphora works in this language would be beyond the scope of the present paper. I will sim-

ply summarise its most important features as exemplified by (18) (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2001, 198–200 for further details). In addition to the possibility of zero anaphors (+ inflection), pronominal coreference is typically realised in Hungarian by a third-person personal pronoun[9] or a back-vowel demonstrative pronoun. Their use is determined by several factors acting in concert. The most important of these are grammatical function, semantic role, perspective, and textual topic/textual focus. In (18) above, there are two coreference relationships, both anaphoric. In the first, the antecedent is *Péter*, being grammatically a subject noun, semantically an agent, and in terms of topic-comment articulation, a topic. Its referent is a person, and it is referred back to, in the second sentence, by zero anaphora (via verbal inflection). In turn, the zero anaphor is also a subject, an agent, and a topic, its representation is partial, and it agrees with a third person singular noun. Subject continuity and topic continuity both serve to disambiguate the zero anaphor. The other antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase in a direct object position (*egy könyvet*), semantically a theme and, in terms of topic-comment articulation, it is part of the comment. Furthermore, it is in the textual focus position (that is, it is the most prominent constituent of this part of the text), since it provides new information. Its referent is an inanimate object. The corresponding anaphor is a back-vowel demonstrative pronoun, also a direct object, a theme, and part of the comment; but in this case it is a textual topic, given that it contains known information. The fact that the anaphor is a back-vowel pronoun here is explained by perspective: it is far from the speaker (the referential centre) although not from Peter (the neutral vantage point). The difference between discourse deixis (involving a front-vowel pronoun) and anaphora (involving a back-vowel pronoun here) thus becomes quite clear. In (17), the front-vowel pronoun is a deictic projection of the speaker (the referential centre) in the text, while everything else (grammatical relations, thematic roles, topic-comment articulation, the distribution of textual topic and focus) is the same; on the other hand, in (18), the speaker remains totally outside of the text. Such use of discourse deixis can be seen as a particular way of making the referential centre marked.

Differences in perspective have a similar explanatory function wherever a back-vowel demonstrative pronoun refers back to a person. (However, the "marking" of the referential centre by a front-vowel pronoun is

---

[9] Third-person personal pronouns can also be used deictically in Hungarian, typically referring to human beings (person deixis).

not possible in this case.) The back-vowel pronoun occurs in an anaphoric role in cases where two potential antecedents require disambiguation. Compare (19a) and (19b):

(19) (a) *A lány* meglátta *a fiút.* Ø Odament *hozzá.*
        '*The girl* saw *the boy. She* went up to *him.*'

    (b) *A lány* meglátta *a fiút. Az* odament *hozzá.*
        '*The girl* saw *the boy. He* went up to *her.*'

Without going into details, consider the occurrence of the subject pronoun *az* 'he' (literally: 'that') in (19b). Its antecedent is *a fiút* 'the boy-acc', the direct object patient of the first sentence that corresponds to a subject agent in the second sentence, a state of affairs requiring a grammatically marked type of anaphoric reference (cf. the zero anaphora and its relation to its antecedent in (19a)). The personal pronoun (*ő*) would not be enough to specify the switch of perspective that is fundamentally needed in (19b), hence this kind of anaphora is realised by the back-vowel demonstrative pronoun even in the case of a person. Due to the necessity of specifying "distance", discourse deixis that would require a front-vowel pronoun cannot be realised in this case.

7. Outlook

Some linguists claim that deixis and anaphora are definitely distinct (e.g., Marmaridou 2000, 72), whereas others take the opposite view: "Analysts tend to make a practical distinction between anaphora (taken to be non-deictic) and textual deixis, while noting that the phenomena grade into one another, and in any case that anaphora is ultimately perhaps deictic in nature" (Levinson 1994, 856).[10] The functioning of Hungarian demonstratives reveals that, even though these two linguistic operations typically appear to be dissimilar, they are in fact closely interrelated and constitute a continuum in linguistic construal. In particular, let me briefly mention a grammaticalised pattern in Hungarian whose details are rather unexplored with respect to the pragmatic and text-linguistic operation of

---

[10] It is important to note here that Marmaridou criticises the analyses of Lyons and Levinson from a functional cognitive point of view and elaborates on the possibility of an open-ended, prototype-based alternative to their approach in which deixis is seen as a closed category.

demonstratives: the occurrence of a back-vowel demonstrative pronoun in the main clause of a complex sentence as an antecedent of a subordinate clause. As independent pronouns, such items usually occur in "explicative sentences" (***Azt** mondta, hogy eljön* 'He said he would come'), whereas in the role of determiner, they tend to introduce heads of relative clauses (***Azt a megállapítást** fogadom el, amelyről Péter beszélt* 'I accept the claim that Peter talked about'). In these cases, presumably, the demonstrative pronoun is a grammaticalised exponent of the coreference relation itself. A more detailed discussion of this point will, however, have to be left for further research, to be carried on in the general framework presented in this paper.

References

Bühler, Karl 1934. Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache. Fischer, Jena.

Brisard, Frank (ed.) 2002a. Grounding. The epistemic footing of deixis and reference. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York.

Brisard, Frank 2002b. The epistemic basis of deixis and reference. In: Brisard (2002a, xi–xxxv).

Dijk, Teun A. van 1977. Context and cognition: Knowledge frames and speech act comprehension. In: Journal of Pragmatics 1 : 211–32.

Garrod, Simon 1995. Distinguishing between explicit and implicit focus during text comprehension. In: Gert Rickheit – Christopher Habel (eds): Focus and coherence in discourse processing, 1–17. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

Givón, Talmy 1989. Mind, code and context: essays in pragmatics. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale NJ.

Givón, Talmy 1990. Syntax: A functional-typological introduction. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood 1985. An introduction to functional grammar. Edward Arnold, London.

Hoek, Karen van 1997. Anaphora and conceptual structure. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Janssen, Theo A. J. M. 2002. Deictic principles of pronominals, demonstratives, and tenses. In: Brisard (2002a, 151–96).

Laczkó, Krisztina 2008. A mutató névmási deixisről [Deixis with demonstrative pronouns]. In: Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok 22 : 309–48.

Lakoff, George 1987. Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. Foundations of cognitive grammar, Vol. 1: Theoretical prerequisites. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1991. Foundations of cognitive grammar, Vol. 2: Descriptive application. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1993. Reference point construction. In: Cognitive Linguistics 4 : 1–38.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2001. Discourse in cognitive grammar. In: Cognitive Linguistics 12 : 143–88.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2002. Deixis and subjectivity. In: Brisard (2002a, 1–28).

Levinson, Stephen C. 1983/1992. Pragmatics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1994. Discourse deixis. In: Ronald E. Asher (ed.): The encyclopedia of language and linguistics, 846. Pergamon, Oxford.

Marmaridou, Sophia S. A. 2000. Pragmatic meaning and cognition. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Mey, Jacob 1998. Pragmatics. In: Jacob Mey (ed.): Concise encyclopedia of pragmatics, 716–38. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Mey, Jacob 2001. Pragmatics: An introduction. Second edition. Blackwell, Oxford & Malden MA.

Sanders, José – Wilbert Spooren 1997. Perspective, subjectivity, and modality from a cognitive linguistic point of view. In: Wolf-Andreas Liebert – Gisela Redeker – Linda Waugh (eds): Discourse and perspective in cognitive linguistics, 85–112. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Tátrai, Szilárd 2004. A kontextus fogalmáról [On the notion of context]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 128 : 479–94.

Tátrai, Szilárd 2005. A nézőpont szerepe a narratív megértésben [The role of perspective in narrative understanding]. In: Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok 21 : 207–29.

Tolcsvai Nagy, Gábor 2001. Conceptual metaphors and blends of "understanding" and "knowledege" in Hungarian. In: Acta Linguistica Hungarica 48 : 79–100.

Tomasello, Michael 1999. The cultural origins of human cognition. Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.

Vater, Heinz 1991. Einführung in die Raum-Linguistik. Gabel Verlag, Hürth-Efferen.

Verschueren, Jef 1995. The pragmatic perspective. In: Jef Verschueren – Jan-Ola Östman – Jan Blommaert (eds): Handbook of pragmatics: Manual, 1–19. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Verschueren, Jef 1999. Understanding pragmatics. Arnold, London.

Wallace, Stephen 1982. Figure and ground: The interrelationship of linguistic categories. In: Paul J. Hopper (ed.): Tense–aspect. Between semantics and pragmatics, 201–23. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.