

Manual of Deixis in Romance Languages

MRL 6

Manuals of Romance Linguistics

**Manuels de linguistique romane
Manuali di linguistica romanza
Manuales de lingüística románica**

Edited by
Günter Holtus and Fernando Sánchez Miret

Volume 6

Manual of Deixis in Romance Languages

Edited by
Konstanze Jungbluth and Federica Da Milano

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Manuals of Romance Linguistics

The new international handbook series *Manuals of Romance Linguistics* (*MRL*) will offer an extensive, systematic and state-of-the-art overview of linguistic research in the entire field of present-day Romance Studies.

MRL aims to update and expand the contents of the two major reference works available to date: *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik* (*LRL*) (1988–2005, vol. 1–8) and *Romanische Sprachgeschichte* (*RSG*) (2003–2008, vol. 1–3). It will also seek to integrate new research trends as well as topics that have not yet been explored systematically.

Given that a complete revision of *LRL* and *RSG* would not be feasible, at least not in a sensible timeframe, the *MRL* editors have opted for a modular approach that is much more flexible:

The series will include approximately 60 volumes (each comprised of approx. 400–600 pages and 15–30 chapters). Each volume will focus on the most central aspects of its topic in a clear and structured manner. As a series, the volumes will cover the entire field of present-day Romance Linguistics, but they can also be used individually. Given that the work on individual *MRL* volumes will be nowhere near as time-consuming as that on a major reference work in the style of *LRL*, it will be much easier to take into account even the most recent trends and developments in linguistic research.

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The focus of each volume will be either (1) on one specific language or (2) on one specific research field. Concerning volumes of the first type, each of the Romance Languages – including Romance-based creoles – will be discussed in a separate volume. A particularly strong focus will be placed on the smaller languages (*linguae minores*) that other reference works have not treated extensively. *MRL* will comprise volumes on Friulian, Corsican, Galician, Vulgar Latin, among others, as well as a *Manual of Judaeo-Romance Linguistics and Philology*. Volumes of the second type will be devoted to the systematic presentation of all traditional and new fields of Romance Linguistics, with the research methods of Romance Linguistics being discussed in a separate volume. Dynamic new research fields and trends will yet again be of particular interest, because although they have become increasingly important in both research and teaching, older reference works have not dealt with them at all or touched upon them only tangentially. *MRL* will feature volumes dedicated to research fields such as Grammatical Interfaces, Youth Language Research, Urban Varieties, Computational Linguistics, Neurolinguistics, Sign Languages or Forensic Linguistics.

Each volume will offer a structured and informative, easy-to-read overview of the history of research as well as of recent research trends.

We are delighted that internationally-renowned colleagues from a variety of Romance-speaking countries and beyond have agreed to collaborate on this series and take on the editorship of individual *MRL* volumes. Thanks to the expertise of the volume editors responsible for the concept and structure of their volumes, as well as for the selection of suitable authors, *MRL* will not only summarize the current state of knowledge in Romance Linguistics, but will also present much new information and recent research results.

As a whole, the *MRL* series will present a panorama of the discipline that is both extensive and up-to-date, providing interesting and relevant information and useful orientation for every reader, with detailed coverage of specific topics as well as general overviews of present-day Romance Linguistics. We believe that the series will offer a fresh, innovative approach, suited to adequately map the constant advancement of our discipline.

Günter Holtus (Lohra/Göttingen)

Fernando Sánchez Miret (Salamanca)

June 2015

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Konstanze Jungbluth (Frankfurt an der Oder)

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List of Abbreviations

Abr.	Abruzzese
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adn.	adnominal
adv.	adverb
AgrP	agreement projection
AP	adjectival phrase
ART	article
Bas.	Basilicatese
Bol.	Bolognese
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
ca.	circa
Cal.	Calabrian
Cast.	Castillian
Cat.	Catalan
cf.	see/compare
ch.	chapter
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
Cmp.	Campanian
CN	compound nominals
ČNK	Czech national corpus
COMP	compound
CP	complementizer phrase
CT	coding time
dat.	dative
DEF	definite
Deic	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DES	Dizionario etimologico sardo
DET	determiner
DIR	direct
dist	distal
DP	determiner-phrase
DS	Default Semantics
E	event
EAbr.	Eastern Abruzzese
edd.	editors
e.g.	for example
Eml.	Emilian
Eng.	English
EP	European Portuguese
et al.	and others
etc.	and so forth
Ex.	example
f./fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
fn.	footnote

FP	functional projection
Fr.	French
Frl.	Friulian
FV	Français Vaudois
Gal.	Galician
gen.	genitive
Gen.	Genoese
Ger.	German
GOAL	target
H	hearer
ibid.	in the same place
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Model
i.e.	that is
INDEF	indefinite
INDIR	indirect
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Istr.	Istroromanian
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
Laz.	Laziale
LF	logical form
lh.	left hand
Lig.	Ligurian
lit.	literal
Lmb.	Lombard
LOC	locative
Log.	Logudorese
L2	second language
m./m(a)sc.	masculine
MA	Mesoamerican
MED	Medial
Megl.	Meglenoromanian
Mil.	Milanese
Mol.	Molisano
Mold.	Moldave
N	noun
n.	number
Nap.	Neapolitan
NCal	Northern Calabrian
NKJP	Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego
nom.	nominative
NONPAST	non past (a verbal form in Japanese)
NP	noun-phrase
NumP	number-phrase
Occ.	Occitan
OLmd.	Old Lombard
ONap	Old Neapolitan
OPdm.	Old Piedmontese
p.c.	personal communication

XIV — List of Abbreviations

Pdm.	Piedmontese
PERS	personal
Pgl.	Pugliese
Pl./plur.	plural
Pmg.	Parmigiano
PLOH	palm lateral open hand
pp.	pages
PREP	preposition
PRO/pron	pronoun
prox	proximal
Pt.	Portuguese
p1/p2/p3	first/second/third person plural
QP	quantifier-phrase
ref.	referential
Rel.	relative
rh.	right hand
RL(s)	Romance Language(s)
Rml.	Romagnol
Rom.	Romanian
Rus.	Russian
S	speaker
s.	sequens
Sal.	Salentino
SAP	Speech Act Participant(s)
SBas.	Southern Basilicatese
SCal.	Southern Calabrian
sect.	section
SF	Standard French
Sg./Sing.	singular
Sic.	Sicilian
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
Sp.	Spanish
Spec	specifier
SPK	speaker
sq.	sequens
ss.	sequentes
SUBJ	subject
Subst.	noun
s.v.	under the word
SWPdm.	South Western Piedmontese
s1/s2/s3	first/second/third person singular
TAG	tag-question
TAM	temporal-aspectual-modal
TOP	topic
Transilv.	Transilvan
Tsc.	Tuscan
u	utterance
Umb.	Umbrian
v	verb

Var.	variation
Ven.	Venetian
viz.	namely
vol.	volume
VP	verbal-phrase
vs.	versus
V2	verb second
WAbr.	Western-Abruzzese
XP	x-phrase
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular

Helena Topa Valentim

11 European Portuguese

Abstract: Focusing on European Portuguese, throughout this chapter deixis will be considered as a phenomenon within language conceived as an activity of representation, of reference construction and subjective adjustment. Deixis implies a particular type of linguistic referential construction that includes perceptual and cognitive processes. Deictic values are constructed as referential values based in the enunciator/speaker and her/his coenunciator/interlocutor, both embedded in their subjective and spatial-temporal context. This chapter shows the deictic markers in European Portuguese, their forms, constructions and use.

Keywords: Romance Languages, European Portuguese, pragmatics, deixis, referential values, personal deixis, spatial deixis, temporal deixis, enunciator, coenunciator, subjective adjustment

1 Deixis: representation and construction of reference values

This chapter is built upon the understanding of language as an activity of representation, of reference construction and subjective adjustment, thus including perceptual and cognitive processes. This conception of language is determined in what concerns the way we describe the deictic phenomenon. It is considered within the theoretical and methodological model, proposed and developed by the French linguist Antoine Culioli (1973; 1977; 1999a; 1999b), which is usually designated as *Enunciative Operations and Predicative Theory* (EOPT). Culioli introduces a trans-categorical model of description and explanation of how signification is constructed through and by enunciation.

This approach results in a system that concerns the diversity of specific configurations, which represents an epistemological rupture with the principle of truth values dependence (see below). This rupture affects the interpretation of meaning construction, and in particular the construction of linguistic representation and reference. The latter is highly relevant for deixis.

In order to understand the differences to earlier approaches, we briefly sketch their either semantic or pragmatic perspectives, the latter being different from ours. In the study of the functioning of natural languages, the context-dependence principle is considered as the decisive factor underlying any strict form of the principle of compositionality. According to this understanding, the study of natural languages is regarded as a study of interpretation. In doing so, the user cannot project exclusively from the words of the sentence and their mode of combination, but has to regard systematically the context in which they occur.

When working within the context-dependence principle, the problem of truth-values dependence may arise (for the theoretical truth values dependence account of meaning cf. Partee 1984), since we cannot evaluate a sentence as true without knowing the speaker of the expression we examine. Ambiguity and underdetermination arise, which is for example the case when the expression includes personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and determinants, as well as tense markers. As Kempson (1997, 566) states, there are several choices available. An analysis in critique of the general phenomenon of context-dependence to the particular case would raise the question of whether these observable linguistic forms should be explained in terms of ambiguity. Thus, it would pose different interpretations for the expression itself, with no role assigned to the discourse context other than that of disambiguation. A formal semantic explanation suggests that it should be characterized as stemming from an underdetermined input, with a process of interpretation reconstructed solely in the semantic algebra. A pragmatic perspective proposes that it should be explained in structural terms – as the substitution of one logical expression for another, while some representation of content for the string is built upon.

As said already at the beginning, this chapter follows the *Enunciative Operations and Predicative Theory* considering deixis within the conception of language as an activity of representation, of reference construction and subjective adjustment. The enunciator begins by constructing notions of different categories (lexical, grammatical and predicative), which are located within a reference system composed of primitive and abstract subjective and spatiotemporal coordinates. This, in turn, is the absolute locator of all values of determination built on utterances. *To enunciate*, i.e. to produce well-formed linguistic utterances, involves the construction of abstract objects with theoretical status which are arranged in relation to the reference system.

This understanding of the functioning of language in general and of natural languages in particular, follows a conception whereby the utterance is considered as a process of abstraction. Thus, linguistic referentiality can be explained as a construction of referential values of different grammatical categories. Forms and constructions are the linguistic markers of such constructions, as they point to entities and states of affairs that are not by themselves extra-linguistic entities and states of affairs. Through linguistic activity, we are always building a certain type of object that is endowed with formal properties. This object is anchored to a referential space and subjected to a permanent inter-subjective pattern which is negotiated again and again between enunciator and coenunciator.

The advantage of this approach lies in the fact that it describes language as more complex than a compositional analysis proposes. In order to create utterances, one starts from the principle that we all possess the same construction-deconstruction device that allows us to identify linguistic units as traces of operations. This approach also shows that we all have a stock of common operations at our disposal, and that is why we can re-construct what others have produced.

According to this view, deixis can be described as the construction of linguistic values, which result from a location operation of a linguistic occurrence in relation to a referential system. This absolute referential site consists of the subjective and spatiotemporal coordinates. In this sense, the linguistic forms and constructions we identify as deictic are merely linguistic markers of that localization operation. In other words, they are linguistic indices whose occurrence displays an interpretative reasoning at the levels of both linguistic production and reproduction/reception.

Throughout this inter-subjective complex system, linguistic forms and their constructions such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and determinants as well as adverbs of time and space and tense markers, play a key role in the representation and the referential double activity of deictic values as part of the construction-reconstruction process. They are linguistic markers of cognitive and linguistic operations of the enunciator and the co-enunciator and are externalized in the form of their utterances.

2 Personal deixis and the determination of the subject

Generally speaking, the fundamental concept of the subject is based on the concept of *enunciation*, not considered as an act (see *un acte individuel d'utilisation*, Benveniste 1966, 80; 1974) or practice, but rather as a process that is part of a theoretical necessity (compare *système de repérage* Culioli 1973, 87). Therefore, we have a theory of determination, which defines an *enunciate* as an assemblage of markers of abstract operations, being the concept of the subject itself inscribed in the linguistic system as a theoretical and metalinguistic parameter “une situation d’énonciation, qui est définie par rapport à un sujet énonciateur (S_0) [...] et à un temps d’énonciation (T_0)” (Culioli 1977, 44). From here on we shall use the term *utterance* apparently more common in English instead of *enunciate*. Due to the location of a propositional content in relation to this primitive theoretical subjective parameter, represented by *le sujet énonciateur*, a class of subjects with different theoretical status is established. They are linked to each other, resulting, as mentioned above, in different referential values. Both subject and spatiotemporal parameters together define the absolute referential system that is the locator of any utterance. The dissociation of the two parameters is merely due to the methodological necessity of description. Both these theoretical parameters, identified with the locutor (or speaker from here on) and with the contextual space-time characterize the enunciation act including all its deixis phenomena¹. In the next step we

¹ Already recognized at the very beginning of grammar descriptions (see for example *la grammaire de Denys le Thrace*; Lallot 1989).

focus on personal deixis. The table below shows the complete paradigm of the personal pronouns in European Portuguese which assign a deictic reference to the subject:

Table 1: Personal pronouns with deictic values in European Portuguese

		SUBJECT	DIRECT OBJECT	INDIRECT OBJECT	OBLIQUE OBJECT	PASSIVE AGENT OBJECT
SINGULAR	1st person	<i>eu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mim, comigo</i>	<i>mim</i>
	2nd person	<i>tu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ti, contigo</i>	<i>ti</i>
PLURAL	1st person	<i>nós</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>nós, connosco</i>	<i>nós</i>
	2nd person	<i>vós</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>vós, convosco</i>	<i>vós</i>

The Portuguese personal pronouns, as in the remaining Romance Languages, may morphologically vary in number (singular or plural), in gender (masculine and feminine), and according to grammatical person (first, second and third person). They may also present distinctive forms depending upon the syntactic function performed in the sentence.

First and second person are the only forms among all the pronominal forms mentioned above that have deictic values, since both function as subjective linguistic indices. In enunciative terms, the first person results from the process of identification that may occur between the enunciator subject/speaker and the enunciation subject (which coincides with the syntactic subject). In turn, the second person arises from the differentiation between the enunciator subject/speaker and the enunciation subject. However, in this case the enunciation subject (or syntactic subject) identifies itself with the co-enunciator subject/interlocutor. The third person does not assume any deictic value.

Due to the fact, that the person category can be exclusively marked by verbal inflection, without using a pronoun, Portuguese (mainly the European Portuguese) is considered a *pro-drop* language. The lack of the overt subject in the sentence or subject drop is also discussed as the famous null-subject phenomenon. In case of the use of pronouns in these contexts, the verbal inflection of the person grammatical category doubles the information introduced by the personal pronoun. As will be further explained below, whenever the subject related to the first and the second person is not overtly expressed, the verbal inflection is sufficient as the only linguistic sign of this grammatical category.

1.1 *Adoro gelados de chocolate.*

I love chocolate icecreams.

1.2 *Verás um filme de que nunca mais te vais esquecer.*

You will watch a movie that you never shall forget.

Data 1: The subject expressed by verbal inflection alone

In utterance 1.1, the first person corresponds to an enunciative identification operation, which occurs between the enunciator subject/speaker and the enunciation subject. It is linguistically marked by the first person inflection of the verb *adorar*, the singular form *ador-o*. In utterance 1.2, the enunciative differentiation operation between the enunciator subject/speaker and the enunciation subject results in the grammatical second person, and it is marked by the inflection of the second person of the verb *ver*, the singular form *ver-ás*.

Both first person personal pronouns and the resulting verbal inflection of the first person not only clarify the subjective instance of the utterance (or enunciation subject) regardless of its performed syntactic function, but also distinguish the subjective instance of the enunciation act (or enunciator subject/speaker). They are linguistic features contained within the enunciator subject, in a way that it can establish itself in support of predication, and thus is responsible for any value constructed. Consequently, the identification value is found throughout this appropriation or subjective commitment, whose assumption results from the location between the enunciator subject/locator and the enunciation subject (“the first person is when the one who speaks speaks about himself” by Priscian, a Latin grammarian of the 6th century; see the difference between “predicative act” and “referential act”, Joly 1994; O’Kelly 1996; 1997).

3 Spatiotemporal deixis and the determination of linguistic occurrences

In spite of its lexical meaning, nominal expressions reflect the location that is determined by contextual information. More specifically, they assume a referential value by means of a location in relation to the coordinates that define the enunciation reference – an absolute reference *site*, implemented by a nonsymmetrical relation between two different subjects that are involved in the interaction: enunciator/speaker and coenunciator/interlocutor and their space-time referential coordinates. We can see that the same reference holds for the construction of the deictic value system. The enunciator/speaker and coenunciator/interlocutor space-time coincidence is consequently a fundamental prerequisite for building a deictic reference scheme.

This scheme is filled by demonstrative determiners and their morphological variants, as well as by demonstrative pronouns and by space and time adverbs.

3.1 Demonstrative determiners and pronouns

The demonstrative determiners in Portuguese are *este* ‘this’, *esse* ‘that’ and *aquele* ‘that’ (Cunha/Cintra 1984; Mateus et al. 1989). They are major forms in the deictic

system that mark the location of the linguistic occurrence. It is fixed according to the spatiotemporal absolute reference defined by the enunciator/speaker, who in turn builds another subject, the coenunciator/interlocutor. In every noun phrase with a demonstrative determiner, the linguistic occurrence lexicalized through a noun is, thus, located in relation to the enunciation act, which functions as the referential source defined by subjective and space-time coordinates (Correia 2002).

According to the examples 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, demonstrative determiners – *este* ‘this’, *esse* ‘that’ and *aquele* ‘that’ – identify the noun *livro* ‘book’ as spatially close in relation to the enunciator/speaker (2.1) or to the coenunciator/interlocutor (2.2); or as spatially distant in relation to both (2.3).

- 2.1 *Este livro é do João.*
This book is John’s book.
- 2.2 *Esse livro é do João.*
That book is John’s book.
- 2.3 *Aquele livro é do João.*
That book is John’s book.

Data 2: Three demonstratives referring to three spaces

These utterances show the spatial location of the book referred to by the linguistic occurrence of the noun *livro*, built in a specific order of proximity according to the spatiotemporal absolute enunciative reference defined by the enunciator. Thus in European Portuguese the coenunciator/interlocutor as an enunciative reference toward which some deictic values are constructed should be considered as important, too.

Furthermore, the location of a linguistic occurrence, which is built according to the referential system, can assume a non-spatial value expressing a subjective value, as will be further explained.

- 3.1 *Esta ideia foi-me inspirada por um livro que li.*
This idea has been inspired by a book I read.
- 3.2 *Essa ideia é incoerente.*
That idea is completely incoherent.
- 3.3 *Aquela ideia é mais razoável.*
That idea is reasonable.

Data 3: Demonstratives representing subjective values

On the one hand, when we determine, by the use of a demonstrative form, a noun such as *ideia*, the deictic value of the nominal expressions *esta ideia* ‘this idea’, *essa ideia* ‘that idea’ and *aquela ideia* ‘that idea’ is no longer strictly associated with space meaning. *Esta ideia* (3.1) may refer to an idea attributed to the enunciator since it may be added the possessive pronoun *minha* [mine], also a deictic form: *esta minha ideia* ‘this idea of mine’. On the other hand, the nominal expression *essa ideia* ‘that idea’ (3.2) may be interpreted as an idea attributable to the coenunciator/interlocutor (it

may occur with the possessive pronoun *tua* ‘yours’: *essa tua ideia* ‘that idea of yours’. Furthermore, *aquela ideia* ‘that idea’ (3.3) may be interpreted as an idea attributable to others, but the enunciator/coenunciator. In this case, it can be paraphrased by the possessive expression *aquela ideia dele/dela* ‘the idea of his/hers’.

The notional properties of the nouns, in this case the lexical notions of *livro* ‘book’ and *ideia* ‘idea’, are crucial in defining the type of location that results between the linguistic occurrence and the subjective and spatio-temporal absolute reference. As we saw in the utterances from 2.1 to 3.3, a noun such as *livro* determines a spatial location; a noun such as *ideia* determines a subjective location.

This fact confirms the relevance of a constructivist conception of natural languages functioning. It is through the interaction between the linguistic forms and constructions that the several determination values arise.

As proposed in the above examples, the deictic value can either be spatial (utterances 2.1 to 2.3) or subjective (utterances 3.1 to 3.3). But it can also assume a temporal feature, since – according to Einstein’s Theory of Relativity – time and space are no longer dissociated concepts. Space has to be considered as determined by time and vice-versa.

4.1 *Aquele verão em que passaste as férias no Algarve.*

That summer when we spent our holidays at the Algarve.

Data 4: Demonstratives may assume a temporal deictic value

What concerns morphology (see Data 6 below, especially 6.2), Portuguese demonstrative determiners may vary in gender (masculine and feminine) and in number (singular and plural), always regarding the linguistic agreement according to the noun that they determine.

Table 2: Variation according to number and gender of the demonstrative determiners

DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS			
SINGULAR		PLURAL	
MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
<i>este</i>	<i>esta</i>	<i>estes</i>	<i>estas</i>
<i>esse</i>	<i>essa</i>	<i>esses</i>	<i>essas</i>
<i>aquele</i>	<i>aquela</i>	<i>aqueles</i>	<i>aquelas</i>

Whenever the determiners *este* ‘this’, *esse* ‘that’ and *aquele* ‘that’ are preceded by the prepositions *de*, *em* and *a* (approximately ‘from/of’, ‘in/on’ and ‘to’), a contracted form results.

Table 3: Contracted forms of demonstrative determiners with prepositions

PREPOSITIONS	DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS		
	<i>este</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>aquele</i>
<i>de</i>	<i>deste, destes</i>	<i>desse, desses</i>	<i>daquele, daqueles</i>
	<i>desta, destas</i>	<i>desse, dessas</i>	<i>daquela, daquelas</i>
<i>em</i>	<i>neste, nestes</i>	<i>nesse, desses</i>	<i>naquele, naqueles</i>
	<i>nesta, nestas</i>	<i>nessa, dessas</i>	<i>naquela, naquelas</i>
<i>a</i>			<i>àquele, àqueles</i>
			<i>àquela, àquelas</i>

Additionally, all three of these demonstrative forms, *este*, *esse* and *aquele* may occur pronominally and have the same deictic value as when they occur on the left side of a noun – that is, as determiners.

- 5.1 *Estou hesitante entre comprar aquele livro ou este.*
I'm hesitating between buying that book or **this one**.
- 5.2 *Estou hesitante entre comprar aquele livro ou esse.*
I'm hesitating between buying that book or **that one**.
- 5.3 *Estou hesitante entre comprar esse livro ou aquele.*
I'm hesitating between buying that book or **that one**.

Data 5: Pronominal use of demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns *este* (5.1), *esse* (5.2) and *aquele* (5.3) determine the noun *livro* 'book' as being spatially close to the enunciator (5.1), or to the coenunciator (5.2), or even as spatially distant from both the enunciator/ and her or his coenunciator (5.3).

According to its occurrence context, demonstrative determiners may also signal an anaphorical reference construction, since they mark the identification of a previously constructed linguistic occurrence (6.1); or the identification operation of a pre-constructed occurrence recognized by the interlocutors as belonging to their shared knowledge, thus non-verbalized within the ongoing utterance (6.2).

- 6.1 *O bacalhau-do-Atlântico distribui-se por vários habitats do Oceano. Durante o dia, este peixe nada em cardumes para melhor se proteger dos predadores.*
The Atlantic cod is distributed in various habitats of the ocean. During the day, **this** fish swims in shoals to better protect themselves from predators.
- 6.2 *Encontrei na praia aquela nossa colega.*
I met in the beach **that** colleague of ours.

Data 6: Anaphoric use of demonstratives

In spite of the determiners *este*, *esse* and *aquele* functioning either as demonstrative determiners or as demonstrative pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns *isto* 'this/these', *isso* 'that/those' and *aquilo* 'that/those' may also mark deictic values. These linguistic units are invariable forms according to number inflection, also pointing out the contraction with the prepositions *de*, *em* and *a* (approximately 'from/of', 'in/on' and 'to').

Table 4: Contracted forms – Demonstrative Pronouns with Prepositions

PREPOSITIONS	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS		
	<i>isto</i>	<i>isso</i>	<i>aquilo</i>
<i>de</i>	<i>disto</i>	<i>disso</i>	<i>daquilo</i>
<i>em</i>	<i>nisto</i>	<i>nisso</i>	<i>naquilo</i>
<i>a</i>			<i>âquilo</i>

- 7.1 *Isto* são células vegetais da planta aquática *Elodea*.
These are plant cells which belong to the aquatic plant *Elodea*.
- 7.2 *Isso* são células vegetais da planta aquática *Elodea*.
Those are plant cells which belong to the aquatic plant *Elodea*.
- 7.3 *Aquilo* são células vegetais da planta aquática *Elodea*.
Those are plant cells which belong to the aquatic plant *Elodea*.

Data 7: Invariable forms of the demonstratives

The referential values, which are marked by demonstrative pronouns such as *isto* (7.1) and *isso* (7.2), are defined according to the scheme of spatially close location in relation to the enunciator/speaker (7.1) or to the coenunciator/interlocutor (7.2). The referential value marked by the demonstrative pronoun *aquilo* is defined according to the scheme of spatially distant location in relation to both the enunciator/speaker and to the coenunciator/interlocutor (7.3).

3.2 A brief diachronic survey on demonstrative forms

The system of European Portuguese demonstrative forms derives, similarly to the definite articles system, from the Classical Latin three-part demonstrative system (722 From Latin and Vulgar Latin to Romance Languages). According to the perspective of traditional grammar, the Portuguese definite article forms (*o, a, os, as* ‘the’) settled in elliptical nominal phrases are considered as *demonstrative pronouns*. That’s the case of *o* in the next example: *Tinha que ler um livro e decidi ler o que me oferecete*. ‘I had to read a book and decided to read the one you offered me’. In these cases, we are no longer in the presence of a deictic form, since its antecedent is linguistically verbalized (*um livro* ‘a book’) (cf. Raposo et al. 2013, 861). Classical Latin had three distinctive sets of deictic demonstratives with similar values to the modern Portuguese language. Each set had a masculine form, a feminine form and a neutral form (Raposo et al. 2013, 860s.).

- (i) *hic, haec, hoc*, determined the deictic proximal location to the enunciator/speaker;
(ii) *iste, ista, istud*, determined the deictic proximal location to the coenunciator/interlocutor;
(iii) *ille, illa, illud*, determined the deictic distal location both to the enunciator/speaker and to the coenunciator/interlocutor.

Only the nominative forms have been mentioned here. Latin did not only have these demonstrative determiners, but also a demonstrative, which had an exclusive anaphorical use: *is, ea, id*.

As the Portuguese demonstratives began to develop, there were a set of changes which Vulgar Latin (or spoken Latin) had undergone during the imperial era and which were crucial to the emergence of the demonstrative determiners system and to the article system in all Romance Languages. This development in turn had a direct effect on the development of definite article system in modern Portuguese. The use of the demonstrative *ille* was intensified in Vulgar Latin, either when occurring by itself or when combined with a noun. Therefore, it has gradually lost its deictic meaning, and no longer has a fixed referential location value distal to the enunciator/speaker and to the coenunciator/interlocutor.

With the loss of deictic meaning, *ille* separated itself from the deictic system. The same meaning, distal to the enunciator/speaker and to the coenunciator/interlocutor locational deictic, is now marked by the combination of *ille* with *accu*, which, in turn, is the contraction of the conjunction *atque* with the sequence *ecce eum* (which means ‘here it is’).

As the Latin demonstrative *hic* had fallen into disuse, its place in the deictic system was replaced by the second person demonstrative *iste*, which turns out to refer to a proximal deictic value in relation to the first person. Thus, the second person, which was expressed in Classical Latin by this demonstrative, is now a vacated space filled by *ipse* in Vulgar Latin. In Classical Latin, *ipse* was an emphatic form of identity (equivalently near to the Portuguese forms *mesmo* ‘exactly’ or *próprio* ‘himself/herself’ expressions, such as *é ele mesmo/próprio* ‘that’s exactly him / that’s himself/herself’).

Following these developments, a new system of Vulgar Latin demonstratives emerges, which is directly linked with the development of the Portuguese demonstrative system, as shown in table 5:

Table 5: Pronominal Forms of European Portuguese Personal Pronouns (cf. Raposo et al. 2013, 861)

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTRAL
ISTE > este	ISTA > esta	ISTUD > esto > isto
IPSE > esse	IPSA > essa	IPSUM > esso > isso
ACCU + ILLE > aquele	ACCU + ILLA > aquela	ACCU + ILLUD > aquilo > aquilo

3.3 Time and space adverbials

Other linguistic forms of Portuguese allow the location of a linguistic occurrence or a linguistic event in space and time, contextually determined with relation to the enunciation act. This set of forms includes, for instance the adverbs *agora* ‘now’, *hoje*

‘today’, *amanhã* ‘tomorrow’, *ontem* ‘yesterday’ and *anteontem* ‘the day before yesterday’ and the adverbial expression *neste momento* ‘at this moment’, whose value is exclusively temporal; and adverbs *aqui* ‘here’, *aí* ‘there’, *ali* ‘there’ and *cá* ‘here’, *lá* ‘there’ and *acolá* ‘there’, concerning a locative value.

The time adverb *hoje* ‘today’ refers to the day in which the utterance takes place, *amanhã* ‘tomorrow’ concerns the day after which the utterance takes place, and *ontem* ‘yesterday’ regards the day before which the utterance takes place. The temporal deictic expression *neste momento* ‘at this time’ indicates a temporal coincidence between the linguistic event of the utterance and the enunciation act.

Among the deictic spatial (or locative) forms, adverbs such as *aqui* ‘here’ and *cá* ‘here’ mark the location of a linguistic occurrence in proximity of the enunciator/speaker; *aí* ‘there’ indicates the location of a linguistic occurrence in the proximity to the coenunciator/interlocutor; *ali* ‘there’, *lá* ‘there’ and *acolá* ‘there’ mark the location of a linguistic occurrence as being distant from both the enunciator/speaker and the coenunciator/interlocutor.

This contextual space-time that the enunciator subject takes on as the locator of the linguistic event can assume several dimensions depending on the way the enunciator/speaker perceives it. In the example *Aqui come-se mais bacalhau do que aí* ‘**Here** people eat more cod than **there**’, the adverbial *aqui* ‘here’ can allude to a country (such as Portugal) or to a continent (such as Europe), and *aí* ‘there’ to another country or to another continent; however, *aqui* ‘here’ and *aí* ‘there’ can also be related to more delimited spaces such as different cities or even different houses.

This vagueness of referential space is a quality of certain deictic locatives. Connected to these forms, the so-called *vague referential interpretation* (cf. Raposo et al. 2013, 396) can merely be specified in matters of delimitation of the situational context constructed by the enunciator/speaker. Very often, this delimitation is verbally clarified, as presented in the following utterances, by means of the situational locators *na minha cidade* ‘in my town’ (8.1) and *no universo conhecido* ‘in the known universe’ (8.2). In other occurrences it may be clarified with a gesture. For example utterances in which the spatial deictic *ali* occurs, can be accompanied by an ostensive gesture of the enunciator. By following the pointing gesture, the coenunciator may be able to fill the lack of specification left by the vagueness of the referential value.

- 8.1 *Aqui, na minha cidade, as pessoas visitam-se regularmente.*
Here in my town, people visit regularly.
- 8.2 *Sabemos pouco mas, pelo menos aqui, no universo conhecido, nada pode viajar mais depressa do que a luz.* (adapted example from Raposo et al. 2013, 396)
 We know little but at least **here** in the known universe, nothing can travel faster than light.

Data 8: Forms of clarifying vagueness of deictic values.

It is also common to refer to the indetermination of temporal value associated to the deictic *agora* (cf. Raposo et al. 2013, 396). In the case of the utterances below, the

temporal reference is verbally specified by reference to the restriction of the situational context constructed by the enunciators through the phrases *that I just finished studying* (9.1) and *at a time when ideologies are declining* (9.2).

- 9.1 *Agora, que acabei de estudar, posso ir ao cinema.*
Now that I just finished studying, I can go to the movies.
- 9.2 *Agora, num tempo em que as ideologias estão em declínio, surgem novas concepções de sociedade.*
Nowadays, at a time when ideologies are declining, new conceptions of society arise.

Data 9: Use of the temporal deictic form *agora* ‘now’

In utterance 9.1, the fact that the linguistically constructed event coincides with the enunciation act allows an interpretation under which there is the construction of an instant, i.e. the transition or the passage to the complementary. In this way, the construction of a complementary value is confirmed, for example through the possibility of the paraphrase *eu não podia [ir ao cinema] e agora já posso* ‘I couldn’t [go to the movies], but now I can’. The instantaneous character of the linguistic event is related to the first person, grammatically marked in verbal inflexion (*acabei*). The temporal localization is therefore subjectively bounded by identification with the exact moment of the enunciation act.

In utterance 9.2, the temporal duration includes the moment of the enunciation act, yet without a temporal coincidence between both linguistic temporal value and moment of the enunciation act. In this case, no instantaneous linguistic event is built, but rather a linguistic event with generic value.

Once again, it seems impossible to ascribe any of the constructed linguistic values exclusively to a linguistic form, in this case the deictic *agora*. All co-occurring linguistic forms and constructions in the utterances converge by way of interactions weaving among themselves in favor of constructing values of meaning.

If, on the one hand, European Portuguese has preserved the three-term distance-oriented system, on the other hand Brazilian Portuguese is assumed to have developed into a two-term distance-oriented system (using only the linguistic forms *esse* and *aquele*), as the third term has apparently been dropped (cf. Meira 2003; Jungbluth 2005; ↗12 Brazilian Portuguese; ↗15 Structuralism).

3.4 Verbal inflexion and tense grammatical category

Time in Portuguese is not only marked by temporal adverbs, but also by verbal inflexion. Simply put, the Portuguese word *tempo* is ambiguous because it can have a meteorological, chronological or grammatical meaning. These three meanings are lexically signified in English by the distinct words *weather*, *time* and *tense*. Lyons (1977) refers to the relevance of the chronological time criterion to describe the construction of semantic values, claiming that it is a deictic category.

With respect to the moment where the enunciator is situated, what is at stake is time in its chronological meaning. However, observing the construction of temporality, the grammatical tense, which is marked through verbal inflection, and the chronological time, which corresponds to the value of temporal reference of utterances, have to be clearly distinguished. Taken as a whole, chronological time represented linguistically in natural languages alludes to the way linguistic events are projected in an imaginary axis. This imaginary axis or time scale is linear, and includes a reference point in relation to which the linguistic events are located. The reference point is defined by the situation of the enunciation, more precisely the moment of the enunciation act. Thus, a linguistic event is conceived as a temporal sub-interval or an interval of instants, and can be constructed as prior to, simultaneous to, or posterior to the moment of the enunciation act. Therefore, the temporal interpretation of each of these situations either as events of the past (or preterit), present or future, depends on an absolute referential, which is the moment when the enunciator constructs these linguistic events.

Also similar to other occidental languages, the three values of temporal reference in Portuguese – anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority – are marked by verbal tense and may co-occur with temporal adverbs, which contribute to specifying the time references. Exactly as chronological time values and grammatical tense forms are not coincident, the Portuguese language integrates verbal tense forms, to which several chronological, or referential, time values are associated.

Furthermore, besides the time values determination, the grammatical tenses and verbal modes of the verbs mark the construction of aspectual values according to the way the linguistic event is put into perspective. The linguistic event, situated chronologically, can be seen as being or not being completed. The Portuguese language has a system of verbal inflection which is related closer to the tense category. Aspectual values are mainly the result of the interaction of the verbal forms (of its semantic and grammatical proprieties) with the other elements of the utterance (Fonseca 2006).

The construction of linguistic events in the past, namely as prior to the moment of the enunciation act, is marked by the so-called preterit grammatical tenses. There are the *pretérito perfeito simples* (10.1) and the *pretérito perfeito composto* (10.2), and the *pretérito mais-que-perfeito simples* (10.3) and *mais-que-perfeito composto* (10.4) as well as the *pretérito imperfeito* (10.5).

- 10.1 *O Luís viu dois filmes.*
Luis **watched** two movies.
- 10.2 *O Luís tem visto filmes.*
Luis **has watched and goes on watching** movies.
- 10.3 *O Luís viu o filme.*
Luis **had watched** the movie.
- 10.4 *O Luís tinha visto o filme.*
Luis **had watched** the movie.

- 10.5 *O Luís via dois filmes por semana.*
Luis **used to watch** two movies every week.

Data 10: Preterit grammatical tenses in EP.

In the case of the *pretérito perfeito composto* (10.2), despite the temporal value of anteriority, the linguistic event extends to the present time. In utterance 10.2 the linguistic event is multiple iterative and quantitatively underterminated (paraphrased by *Luís viu e continua a ver filmes* ‘he watched and he goes on watching movies’). The predicate signs the multiple iterative value underlined by the indefinite plural of the direct object (*filmes* ‘movies’ (see Campos 1997)).

About the *pretérito mais-que-perfeito simples*, Campos (1997) mentions that it marks an anaphorical time: ‘a time before another time of the utterance’. That is a grammatical tense, nowadays not productive, which is maintained especially in certain fixed forms with a modal and non-temporal value (e.g. *Fora eu rica e dava a volta ao mundo*. ‘If I were rich I would go around the world’; *Pudera (eu/ele/ela)!* ‘If I/he/she could!’; *Quem me dera!* ‘I wish I could!’; *Tomara que chova!* ‘I hope it rains!’). Its value is preferably built using the *pretérito mais-que-perfeito simples* (cf. Brocardo 2006).

The temporal anteriority value can also be marked by the *presente* grammatical tense. That is the specific case of the so called *presente histórico*, used to refer to linguistic events in the remote past that have an historical, cultural and collectively recognized status (11.1). We can ask for the deictic value of this construction with the historical present, since it is a linguistic event whose temporal location can be explained not in relation to the moment of the enunciation act, but as the result of a disjunction of enunciative levels. Therefore, there is a possible proximity between this temporal value and the one signed by the ancient aoristic.

- 11.1 *Em 1109, nasce em Guimarães, Afonso Henriques, primeiro rei de Portugal.*
Afonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, **was born** in Guimarães in 1109.

Data 11: Temporal anteriority marked by the present tense

The chronological present, i.e. the construction of linguistic events by means of temporal simultaneity with relation to the moment of the enunciation act, is principally marked through periphrastic constructions – in other words, through linguistic constructions which associate a verb (*estar*) to the preposition *a* and to the infinitive of the main verb (12.1).

- 12.1 *Não posso atender o telefone porque estou a ler.*
I cannot answer the phone because I’**m reading**.

Data 12: Periphrastic constructions expressing simultaneity.

The use of *presente* grammatical tense with simultaneous temporal value is exclusive to certain constructions with verbs whose value is subjectively located in relation to the enunciator/ speaker, i.e. perceptive verbs, such as *sentir* (‘to feel’) and *ver* (‘to see’)

(13.1) and psychological verbs such as *achar*, *pensar*, *crer*, *acreditar* ('to find', 'to think', 'to believe') (13.2).

13.1 *Sinto que vai chover.*

I'm feeling that it is going to rain.

13.2 *Acredito que o mundo vai mudar.*

I do believe that the world is going to change.

Data 13: Presente tense, temporal value and perceptive verbs

Also, when the events are described or reported at the same time they are occurring, the *presente* grammatical tense is the resource that allows the construction of simultaneity. That's the so-called *report present*, very frequently used in football match reports or in any other kind of journalistic reports (14.1).

14.1 *A multidão reclama por justiça.*

The crowd **claims** for justice.

Data 14: Constructing simultaneity with presente tense

In Portuguese, the temporal value of chronological future is linguistically marked either through the *futuro* grammatical tense forms or through the *presente* grammatical tense forms – in the latter case, as long as these forms co-occur with other linguistic forms that specify that future temporal value. These other forms may be time adverbs such as *amanhã* ('tomorrow'), and adverbial expressions such as *daqui a duas horas* ('in two hours'), *dentro de um ano* ('one year from now') (15.1). The future grammatical tense forms are the *futuro simples* (or *futuro sintético*) (15.2) and the *futuro composto* (or *futuro analítico*), the last one being composed by the verb *ir* ('to go') in the *presente* grammatical tense attached to the infinitive of the main verb (15.3).

15.1 *Daqui a um mês celebro o meu aniversário.*

In a month, **I will celebrate** my birthday.

15.2 *Construiremos um mundo mais justo.*

We will build a fairer world.

15.3 *Vamos construir um mundo mais justo.*

We will build a fairer world.

Data 15: The use of different forms to express future

Even if both *futuro sintético* (15.2) and *futuro analítico* (15.3) mark a posteriority temporal reference value, these grammatical tenses are not interchangeable: in contrast to the *futuro sintético*, the *futuro analítico* marks a modal value since, through it, the enunciator subject "constructs a modal value from a validation point of almost-certain on the linguistic event" (cf. Correia 2012, 253).

4 Final remarks

Among the different types of linguistic forms that mark the construction of deictic values in European Portuguese, we find two distinct characterizations regarding the poles of reference. On one hand, we have the personal pronouns, the demonstrative determiners, pronouns, and even the space adverbs, which mark those values constructed by reference to one of the two poles, enunciator/speaker, coenunciator/interlocutor, or even by reference to neither the enunciator nor coenunciator. On the other hand, we have the time adverbs and the morphological verbal tense inflection forms, which mark those values constructed by reference to the moment of the enunciation act.

In this way, personal pronouns, demonstrative determiners, pronouns, and space adverbs, are linguistically defined by their subjective and spatial deictic values. In the case of verbal tense inflection, they are linguistically defined by their temporal deictic values. As a consequence, we can easily recognize the correlation between personal pronouns, demonstrative determiners and pronouns, as well as locative adverbials. This correlation can be organized in a table:

Table 6: Correlation between personal pronouns, demonstrative determiners and pronouns, and locative adverbials

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	DEMONSTRATIVE AND PRONOUNS DETERMINERS	LOCATIVE ADVERBS
<i>eu</i>	<i>este</i>	<i>aqui</i>
<i>tu</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>aí</i>
<i>ele / ela</i>	<i>aquele</i>	<i>ali</i>

In any case of subjective, spatial and temporal deixis construction, the absolute locator of the constructed values is found in the situation as a whole, including its subjective and spatiotemporal coordinates. In this sense, a deictic description and metalinguistic explanation take advantage of being inscribed in a framework that allows one to understand the generality of the linguistic phenomena as related to the enunciation act. Any utterance is the product of a series of location operations, whose absolute locators are the enunciative subject and space-time parameters, functioning in this chain of operations simultaneously as locator terms and as localized terms.

As we have explained in relation to deixis, the complex reference construction operations arise fundamentally from the intersubjective nature of linguistic activity, attested by the fact that the enunciator subject always constructs a referential system in relation to – and including – the other subject, the coenunciator/interlocutor. The constructed referential system must therefore be simultaneously stable and adjustable. Both, stability on one hand, and deformability on other hand, allow the coenun-

ciator/interlocutor to reconstruct the referential system when confronted with contextually produced utterances.

Through and by the enunciation, any subject – instantiated as an enunciator subject – defines an enunciative space and time, i.e. constructs a referential system. Since the enunciator subject is the source of the referential system, he is not an exterior observer but an integrant part of it. Consequently, as the referential system is constructed through the enunciation act by the enunciator subject, this subjective entity is simultaneously a consequence and a condition of the enunciation itself.

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