

DEICTIC REFERENCE IN FICTIONAL TEXTS

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0. As a guideline for the content of our contributions to this workshop we have been given three questions, which read as follows:

1. Which theory of semantics should be considered as basic in the explanation of fictional texts?
2. What is the importance of the reference to objects in the constitution of fictional texts?
3. What kind of relation exists between fictional texts and reality?

I first want to point out briefly how my contribution is related to these questions. As it stands, question (3) is obviously addressed to the philosophers amongst us and an answer cannot be or is not expected here. To the slightly modified version: What kind of relation exists between fictional texts and texts about reality?, however, a partial answer can be derived from what I have to say. Unfortunately, at the present stage of linguistic theory, there exists no semantic theory I know of which could be pointed at and thus be chosen as the one designed to successfully solve all the problems which emerge with the analysis of fictional texts. I shall therefore not attempt to do the impossible but restrict myself to displaying some of the essential problems a semantic theory has to meet if it strives for descriptive adequacy, not excluding the description of fictional texts. Thus question (1) will be touched upon and answered tentatively, though no exhaustive nor definite answer is intended. I de-

cided to concentrate on question /2/, since my topic, the use of deictic terms in texts, seems more than others suitable to demonstrate how expressions in a text are abstracted from their reference to objects of the real world and how, nevertheless, the experience which the user of linguistic expressions has developed from their reference to real objects is of essential relevance for the constitution and, conversely, for the analysis of fictional texts. I am going to show that deictic terms in fictional texts determine the role of their referents in the same way as in utterances issued in actual communicative situations.<sup>1</sup> An adequate interpretation of deictic terms in addition to the specification of the roles of their referents, however, requires an identification of the deictic center of orientation with respect to which they obtain the specified role. In an actual communicative situation this center of orientation is given by the speaker, his coding time and his coding place. The referents of deictic terms in this context are objects of the real world, to be found in the extralinguistic, situational context of the utterance or at least related to it and they constitute the concrete deictic field, which I call the frame of reference for deictic terms. In fictional texts, no such extralinguistic, situational context is given, but frames of reference, identical in structure to situational contexts, have to be identified here, too, if an adequate interpretation of deictic terms is to be achieved. I will show, therefore, that fictional texts are constituted by numerous frames of reference each of which can be identified as a concrete, though imaginary, deictic field, since it provides the referents of deictic terms as the concrete, real deictic field of a communicative situation provides the referents of deictic terms in utterances used in this context. Thus, an analysis of the constitution of a fictional text is dependent on an analysis of the use and function of deictic terms, which, as a prerequisite requires some information about the

special characteristics of this class of linguistic terms.

1.1. Deictic terms constitute a special class of linguistic expressions in that they do not characterize the objects they refer to, as general nouns do, but they express the relations that exist between their referents in a communicative situation. The set of deictic terms in a language and the relations between them constitute a system of variables, which K. Bühler (1934) called the deictic field ("Zeigfeld") of the language. Because of the special nature of the relations, Bühler compared a deictic field to a co-ordinate system, for every deictic expression is determined relative to a deictic center of orientation, the origo, which is linguistically represented by the basic deictic terms *I*, *here* and *now*. This three-fold determination conveys the fact that deictic relations are distinguished on three levels: person deixis, place deixis, and time deixis<sup>2</sup>. The origo establishes points of orientation for all three levels: the person coding an utterance, his coding time and this coding place. Person deictic relations characterize the roles which persons may obtain in a communicative situation: "speaker", "addressee" or "the other person talked about". In English, the pronouns of the first, second and third person refer to these roles respectively. Place deictic relations organize positions relative to the coding place of an utterance and can refer to positions either in the immediate vicinity, as expressed by *here*, or farther away, referred to by means of *there*. Time deictic relations organize temporal relations relative to the coding time of an utterance and can express "co-extending with", "before" or "after". Thus, a deictic field forms a complex system subdivided into three subsystems. Within each of these subsystems the positions of the constituent elements are defined in a unique way with respect to points of orientation. The definition of each position is at the same time a description of the deictic

term holding that position. That is, the existence of the abstract deictic field allows a context independent description of each deictic term, which is to be considered as a morphological realization of an abstractly defined position in the abstract deictic field<sup>3</sup>. This context independent description of a deictic term provides information about the role its referent obtains. Applying a feature analysis to deictic terms, this information could be expressed in the following manner:

<i>I</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>he, she, it</i>
+ I	- I	- I
- II	+ II	- II
-III	-III	+III
Present Tense	Past Tense	Future Tense
<i>now</i>	<i>yesterday</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>
	<i>last year</i>	<i>next year</i>
/+present/	/+past/	/-present -past/
<i>here</i>	<i>there</i>	
/-far/	/+far/	

Each set of features describing a deictic term can be considered as the description of its invariant meaning or its sense.

1.2. Deictic terms can be used in different ways. The difference in their use does not affect their invariant meaning defined in terms of features above, but is concerned with their interpretation or the identification of their referents. Bühler distinguishes three modes of pointing as types of use which he calls *demonstratio ad oculos et ad aures*,

anaphor and cataphor, and imaginary deixis ("Deixis an Phantasma"). Further literature on deixis discusses a fourth mode, discourse deixis (Harweg 1968; Fillmore 1971; 1971a).<sup>4</sup> The different uses of deictic expressions justify a classification of utterances in two classes: situation-bound utterances and situation-free utterances. I define a text, independent of its being fictional or non-fictional, as a sequence of situation-free utterances. Only in the case of situation-bound utterances is reference to objects of the real world performed by the use of deictic terms: The mode of pointing is the *demonstratio ad oculos et ad aures*. The identification of the referents of deictic terms is achieved non-verbally. The interpretation of the deictic field which establishes the frame of reference for deictic terms is the extra-linguistic, situational context of an utterance, its center being identified by the speaker, his coding time and his coding place. The first person pronoun refers to the actual speaker and the second person pronoun to the person addressed by the speaker. Tense and time deictic adverbs express temporal relations with respect to the coding time and place deictic expressions localize object or events relative to the coding place. Thus, in the case of *demonstratio ad oculos et ad aures* deictic terms refer to objects (in the broad sense of the word) of the real world. The deictic field is materialized by those objects which obtain a deictic function with respect to the speaker, his coding time and his coding place. In this sense deictic fields establish frames of reference for deictic terms.

If deictic terms are used anaphorically, cataphorically or discourse deictically the linguistic co-text establishes the frame of reference. Referents of deictic terms then are linguistic units, either syntactically classified (anaphor and cataphor), or not classified (discourse deixis). In the case of imaginary deixis the deictic field as the frame of reference is comparable to that of the *demonstratio ad oculos*,

although its ontological status is imaginary rather than real. The utterer presents an imagined or fictitious situation and transposes the deictic center of orientation into this situation in such a way that consequently deictic terms are to be interpreted with respect to the transposed center rather than with respect to the real deictic center of which the actual speaker forms a constitutive part. Clear cases of imaginary deixis are examples of quoted speech. Quotation marks are conventions applied to indicate that deictic terms inside and outside are related to separate deictic fields.

In an utterance as (1)

(1) *John said: "I am leaving now."*

the referent of the first person pronoun is not the actual speaker but a quoted one, and the time deictic adverbial *now* as well as the Present Tense do not refer to the actual coding time but to the coding time of the quoted utterance. The Past Tense, however, is to be interpreted relative to the actual coding time. The example shows that imaginary deixis is not restricted to fictional texts but may just as well be used to describe facts about the real world.

2.0 Of the four modes of pointing briefly discussed here, imaginary deixis is the one relevant for an analysis of deictic fields as frames of reference in fictional discourse. Although coded by a real person, the author, utterances which constitute a piece of fictional discourse, e. g. a novel short-story, or the like, do not count as<sup>5</sup> utterances of the author since deictic terms used in this context do not refer to his person, time or place, i. e. the author's situation does not provide the deictic center of orientation. As a consequence, *demonstratio ad oculos* cannot be the mode of pointing applied in fictional texts. Imaginary deixis, on the other hand, allows the author to establish deictic centers of orientation independent of his own situation. There are no restrictions as to the number of deictic centers he

may establish and, in addition, he may establish them on different levels. Proper analysis of the constitution of a fictional text, which is the prerequisite for an adequate semantic interpretation, therefore not only faces the problem of reconstructing deictic centers and related deictic fields but also the task of determining relations between them. In the following sections I shall provide empirical evidence for the necessity of reconstructing deictic centers in fictional texts in order to provide an interpretation for deictic terms occurring in this context.

2.1. An author may design a piece of fictional discourse as if it were narrated by a specific person. This fictitious person is commonly referred to as the "narrator" and counts as the utterer of all those utterances of the narrative which are not marked as being issued or coded by other, e.g. by characters of the narrative, to whom we shall turn later on. Deictic terms used in utterances of the narrator are interpreted within the deictic field of which his person, the coding time and the coding place of his utterances constitute the deictic center. The deictic field of the narrator may include the reader as the addressee. In this case, the narrator is the referent of the first person pronoun and the reader the referent of the second person pronoun, as in (2):

(2) *It is enough to tell you, that as some of my worst comrades (...) knew me by the name Moll Flanders, so you may give me leave to go under that name till I dare own who I have been, as well as who I am.*

*Defoe, Moll Flanders: 71*

Within the deictic field of the narrator the role of the addressee may be assumed by characters of the novel, as in (3):

(3) *Yes, Mrs. Reed, to you I owe some fearful pangs of mental suffering. But I ought to forgive you, for you knew not what you did.*

*(C. Bronte, Jane Eyre: 22)*

The identification of the referents of deictic terms is achieved non-verbally. The interpretation of the deictic field which establishes the frame of reference for deictic terms is the extra-linguistic, situational context of an utterance, its center being identified by the speaker, his coding time and his coding place. The first person pronoun refers to the actual speaker and the second person pronoun to the person addressed by the speaker. Tense and time deictic adverbs express temporal relations with respect to the coding time and place deictic expressions localize object or events relative to the coding place. Thus, in the case of *demonstratio ad oculos et ad aures* deictic terms refer to objects (in the broadest sense of the word) of the real world. The deictic field is materialized by those objects which obtain a deictic function with respect to the speaker, his coding time and his coding place. In this sense deictic fields establish frames of reference for deictic terms.

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If the narrator refers to characters of the narrative by using third person pronouns, they fulfill the person deictic relation of "the other person talked about" with respect to the narrator as the utterer, i. e. within the deictic field of the narrator. An example is the following sentence, which introduces the narrative *Across the River and into the Trees*:

- (4) *They started two hours before daylight, and at first, it was not necessary to break the ice across the canal as other boats had gone ahead*

(Hemingway, *Across the River*: 5)

The introductory use of the sentence and thus the lack of an antecedent for the interpretation of *they* disallows an anaphoric interpretation and thus necessitates a deictic interpretation. The point of orientation of time deictic relations in the deictic field of the narrator is provided by the time which counts as the coding time of the utterance under consideration. Thus, the Present Tense forms and the time deictic adverbial *now* in (5) and (6) are to be interpreted as co-extending with the coding time:

- (5) *I have been married ten years. I know what it is to live entirely for and with what I love best on earth. I hold myself supremely blest.*

(C. Brönte, *Jane Eyre*: 454)

- (6) *We are now grown old; I am come back to England, being almost seventy years of age, my husband sixty-eight, having performed much more than the limited terms of my transportation, and now, notwithstanding all the fatigues and all the miseries we are both in good heart and health.*

(Defoe, *Moll Flanders*: 295)

Past Tense forms and Future Tense forms refer to time intervals preceding and following the coding time, respectively as can be derived from the following examples. In the contexts they come from, example (7) follows (6) and (8) fol-

lows (5):

(7) *My husband remained there some times after me to settle our affairs, and at first I intended to go back to him, but at his desire I altered that resolution, and he is come to England also.*

(Defoe, *Moll Flanders*: 295)

8 *I know that a stranger's hand will write to me next, to say that the good and faithful servant has been called at length into the joy of his Lord. And why weep for this? no fear of death will darken St. John's last hour: his mind will be unclouded; his heart will be undoubted; his hope will be sure; his faith steadfast.*

(C. Bronte, *Jane Eyre*: 456)

Thus, examples (5)-(8) provide evidence that, in fact, in fictional discourse time deictic expressions in those utterances which are presented as issued by the narrator have to be interpreted relative to the coding time of the utterance they are contained in. In addition, examples (6) and (7) show that place deictic terms also may have to be interpreted in the deictic field of the narrator. The locative adverbial in (6), *I am come back to England*, represents the fact that the place of the narrator, who counts as the utterer of (5) and (6), is situated in England at coding time. As the reader knows, the source of the movement expressed by *come*, which at the same time is the place of the state expressed by *remain* in (7), is America. The narrator deictically refers to this locality by using the place deictic adverb *there* in *my husband remained there some times*, which is marked /+far/, indicating the relative distance with respect to the coding place.

The data presented in this section were chosen to demonstrate that deictic terms in fictional discourse - person deictic, time deictic and place deictic terms - may have to be interpreted within the deictic field of the narrator, i. e. with respect to the deictic center of orientation which is

established by the narrator, his coding time and his coding place. A deictic center of orientation can be defined as a function  $f$  of three variables  $s$ =utterer,  $t$ s=coding time and  $l$ s=coding place, where the function obtains a different value whenever one of the variables receives a different value. That is, there are possibly many deictic centers of orientation of which the narrator forms a constitutive part, taking into account that the variables coding time or coding place need not be and usually are not constant throughout the full length of the text. Consequently, several deictic fields of the narrator may have to be distinguished each of them presenting a frame of reference, which have to be reconstructed for a proper identification of the referents of deictic terms.

2.2. In addition to the deictic field or, rather, the deictic fields of the narrator an author of fictional discourse may establish further deictic fields centered around fictitious persons who function as characters in the narrative. An example of such additionally introduced deictic centers and, related to them, deictic fields, has been mentioned already: quoted speech. Every utterance in fictional discourse which is presented as if coded by one of the fictitious characters introduces a new deictic field the center of which is formed by the character, the coding time and the coding place of his utterance. Example (9) represents a conversation between three characters as quoted by the fictitious narrator of the narrative it comes from:

(9) *"It's a friend of mine - a Cheshire-Cat," said Alice: allow me to introduce 'it'.*

*"I don't like the look of it at all". said the King: "however, it may kiss my hand, if it likes."*

*"I'd rather not", the Cat remarked.*

*(Carroll, Alice: 81)*

The deictic terms in each quoted sentence refer to a different deictic field and, in addition, those occurring in the utterances of the narrator refer to yet another one. Thus, for an adequate interpretation of (9), at least four deictic fields will have to be distinguished.

Like quoted speech, "quoted thoughts" in fictional texts introduce new deictic centers of orientation and related deictic fields. In (10),

(10) *They always take it personally, he thought.*

(Hemingway, *Across the River*: 20)

*they* has to be interpreted with respect to the character whose thoughts are presented, whereas *he* has to be interpreted with respect to the narrator who is presenting the thoughts. In both cases the pronouns determine the person deictic role "the other person/s/ talked about", however, with respect to different centers. Therefore, an analysis of (10) will have to distinguish two frames of reference for the deictic terms.

Interior monologue can be viewed as a form of quoted thought lacking a quote indicating device. Since this is the only difference with respect to quoted thought, sentences representing this form are to be analyzed in the same way, i. e. for the present discussion, the deictic center of orientation for deictic terms used in interior monologue is the character whose thoughts are being verbalized. In (11b), which presents an example of interior monologue, place deictic, time deictic and person deictic terms are determined with respect to the character, his coding time and his coding place. (11a), immediately preceding (11b), however, has to be considered as being coded by the narrator and, consequently, deictic terms occurring in this context find their referents in the frame of reference determined by the deictic field surrounding the narrator:

- (11) a. *Grey horror seared his flesh. Folding the page into his pocket he turned into Eccless Street, hurrying homeward. Cold oils slid along his veins chilling his blood: age crusting him with a salt cloak.*
- b. *Well, I am here now. Morning mouth bad images. Got up the wrong side of the bed. Must begin again those Sandow's exercises.*

(Joyce, *Ulysses*: 63)

Thus, the analyst of fictional texts has to be prepared to distinguish different frames of reference for deictic terms in sequences of sentences, even though no change of orientation is indicated explicitly.

Different deictic frames of reference not only have to be distinguished if new characters are introduced, but one and the same character may be in the center of different deictic fields. The following examples are all taken from *Moby Dick*. In each of the examples the place deictic adverb *here* is used, referring to a place in the vicinity of the utterer. In each of the examples the utterer is the same, but the places referred to by *here* are different:

- (12) *Rather ominous in that particular, thought I. But it is a common name in Nantucket, they say, and I suppose this Peter here is an emigrant from there.*

(Melville, *Moby Dick*: 28)

- (13) *But look, here come more crowds pacing straight for the water, and seemingly bound for a dive (...). Inlanders all, they come from lanes and alleys, streets and avenues - north, east, south, and west. Yet here they all unite.*

(Melville, *Moby Dick*: 22)

- (14) *Look there, that chap running around the corner. He wears a beaver hat (...). Here comes another with a sou'-wester and a bombazine cloak.*

(Melville, *Moby Dick*: 49)

For the interpretation of *here* in each of the examples, therefore, a different place deictic point of orientation has to be assumed.

2.3. An interesting case of deictic reference is what goes under the name of "narrated monologue". While in the examples discussed so far frames of reference could be separated neatly because all deictic terms in one sentence were oriented at one deictic center, the situation is different here. Deictic terms in sentences of the form narrated monologue are oriented at two deictic centers of orientation, thus allowing collocations which otherwise are not permissible. (15) is an example of narrated monologue:

(15) *I joined tomorrow.*

(*Conrad, Youth: 116*)

In (15) the Past Tense indicates that the event described belongs to the past, whereas *tomorrow* locates it temporally in the future. The only sensible explanation for this superficial contradiction is that the event time is viewed with respect to two time deictic points of orientation<sup>6</sup>. As a consequence, to describe sentences like (15) two deictic centers of orientation will have to be established to provide the points of orientation for deictic terms used in this manner.

3.0. The examples presented may suffice to demonstrate that for an adequate interpretation of deictic terms in fictional texts and, in this sense, for the determination of the frames of reference which provide the referents for deictic terms, an identification of the deictic center of orientation is necessary. Feature analysis which represents the roles referents of deictic terms obtain, though necessary, is not sufficient for an adequate interpretation of deictic terms. In this respect, however, situation-free utterances as constituents of fictional texts do not differ from situa-

tion-bound utterances being used in an actual communicative situation. If, for example, John talks to Mary and Peter to Bill, then both, Mary and Bill, obtain the role of addressee, which can be interpreted on the basis of features describing the second person pronoun used to address them. But an adequate interpretation in addition has to answer the question "addressee with respect to whom?", i. e. with respect to what deictic center. Therefore, proper analysis of deictic terms is dependent on the identification of the deictic center and only if the deictic center is identified is an identification of the concrete deictic field as the frame of reference possible.

In an actual communicative situation, i. e. in the case of situation-bound utterances, the identification of the deictic center is easy, since it is identical to the acoustic source of an utterance. A change of the deictic center is indicated by a change of the acoustic source, i. e. if of several persons involved in a communicative situation another one takes up the role of the speaker, this implies that the deictic center of orientation has changed and that consequently the deictic terms used have to be interpreted with respect to the new center. In situation-free utterances the identification of the deictic center cannot be achieved by means of non-verbal, sensual activities, but it has to be reconstructed. The process of reconstruction follows the rules derived from language use in actual communicative situations: Since the interpretation of deictic terms is dependent on the situational context of an utterance, in situation-free utterances where no situational context is given the situation is imagined, its substance thus being different from, but its structure identical to real situations. To accomplish the necessary task of reconstructing deictic centers of orientation formally, i.e. within a linguistic theory, a contextual, pragmatic theory is needed which in some way provides a description of the abstract points of orientation with respect



to which deictic terms are to be interpreted. Such a contextual description will not have to be different for situation-bound and situation-free utterances. What differentiates situation-bound utterances and situation-free utterances, though, is that by definition deictic terms used in a situation-bound utterance are oriented at one deictic center of orientation and that, consequently, one contextual description for each utterance is sufficient. Situation-free utterances, on the other hand, which constitute fictional and non-fictional texts, may contain deictic terms oriented at more than one contextual description. In addition, a contextual theory for the analysis of text must provide means to describe deictic centers of orientation on different levels to account for the fact that different relations hold between deictic fields in texts, which can be identified as co-ordination, embedding and interference, as I shall demonstrate in the following section.

3.1. Let us consider first a dialogue presented in a fictional text:

- /16/ a. *'You're in good shape, Colonel,' the surgeon said.  
'I'm sorry I can't go on the shoot. I can't even shoot.'*
- b. *'Hell,' said the Colonel. 'That doesn't make any difference. Neither can anybody else in this army. I'd like to have you around.'*
- c. *'I'll give you something else to back up what you'-re using.'*
- d. *'Is there anything?'*
- e. *'Not really. They're working on stuff, though.'*
- f. *'Let them work,' the Colonel said.*

*/Hemingway, Across the River: 12/*

(16a), (16b) and (16f) are examples of quoted speech proper in that they contain quoted utterances and quote indicating utterances. The quote indicating utterances are to be consi-

dered as utterances of the narrator which provide information about the identity of the interlocutors, who obtain the person deictic role of persons talked about in the deictic field of the narrator. The definite noun phrases *the surgeon* and *the Colonel* determine the reference of the first person pronoun in the quoted utterances (16a) and (16b), respectively. The deictic fields of the characters are in this sense dependent on the deictic field of the narrator. Since all deictic terms in the quoted utterances of (16a), (16b) and (16f) are oriented at the deictic center of a character and all utterances of the narrator at his deictic center, the dominance relation can be specified as one embedding. Examples (16c) - (16e) present alternating utterances of the interlocutors without interfering introductory remarks of the narrator. As utterances which constitute a dialogue in a real communicative situation these utterances are presented and have to be analyzed on the same level. Though each utterance requires its own contextual description, none of them is dominant with respect to the others. The relation between them is thus one of co-ordination.

In narrated monologue the pronoun used to refer to the character whose monologue is being narrated is a third person pronoun, unless the narrative is a first person narrative and the narrator presents his own thoughts, sensations or statements of the past in narrated monologue form. The use of the third person pronoun indicates that the character as the referent obtains the person deictic role of the other person talked about with respect to the narrator, i.e. the pronoun is interpreted with respect to the narrator. If a narrative is presented in the Past Tense, thus indicating that the events narrated are to be viewed as having occurred prior to the coding time of the narrator, then a Past Tense in narrated monologue indicates the same time deictic relation. It is therefore to be interpreted with respect to the coding time of the narrator and its referent is provided by

the frame of reference determined by the deictic field of the narrator. In narrated monologue, on the other hand, place deictic and time deictic adverbs as well as pronouns not referring to the character whose thoughts, sensations or statements are narrated determine the roles their referents assume within the deictic field of the character. In (17)

*/17/ She was glad she had done so while she could, for now she could not. There her daughters had been safe from war and revolution and the trouble of the people. There they were now, safe. Here she was alone*

*/Buck, Liang: 8/*

the pronoun *she* refers to the character and determines her role in the deictic field of the narrator as the Past Tense determines the events or states of affairs as past with respect to the narrator's present. The pronoun *they* also determines the person deictic role but with respect to the character's center, as *now* indicates co-extension of its referent with the coding time of the character, i. e. the time which counts as the time at which her thoughts and sensations were coded. *Here* and *there*, respectively, refer to places in the vicinity and not in the vicinity of the coding place of the character. Since the character in narrated monologue obtains the same person deictic role as in quoted speech or thought within the deictic field of the narrator the same relation of dominance holds here. Since, however, in the surface sentence deictic terms are oriented at two deictic centers, which results in an interference of deictic fields, this dominance relation may be specified as one of interference.

Thus, possible relations between deictic fields in fictional discourse are co-ordination (deictic fields of characters, e.g. in a dialogue), embedding (a deictic field of a character in relation to the deictic field of the narrator, e.g. in quoted speech or thought) and interference (a deictic

field of the narrator and a deictic field of a character, e.g. in narrated monologue). If a character quotes utterances of another character, then again, this represents a case of embedding one deictic field into another and both are embedded into the deictic field of the narrator if he is the one who presents the speech of the first character. Potentially there are no restrictions as to the number of embedding and co-ordinating deictic fields in fictional texts. A contextual theory, therefore will have to provide not only the means to formally describe a deictic center of orientation but also ways to account for co-ordination, embedding and interference of contextual reference. As I mentioned initially, I know of no linguistic theory, syntactically or semantically based, following generative grammarian or modal logic principles, which would be equipped to solve the problems here discussed. If, however, such a theory were developed, it would not only allow proper analysis of the reference of deictic terms in texts, but it would at the same time serve as a device to describe the pragmatic structure and thus an important aspect of the constitution of texts.

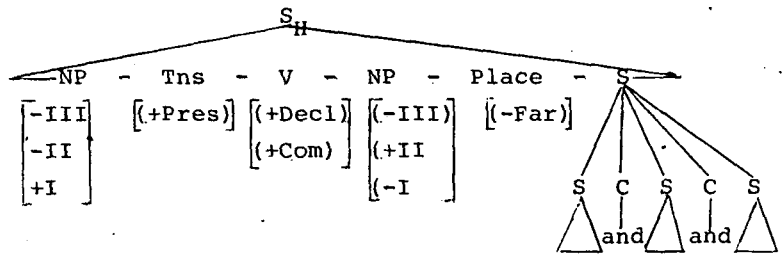
3.2. In Rauh (1978) I decided on using modified hypersentences as contextual descriptions.<sup>7</sup> I by no means maintain that a hypersentence model can be considered a final solution since too many problems are related to the concept of hypersentences. But it may, nevertheless, serve as a starting point to demonstrate what has to be done and what can be done.

According to the modified hypersentence model I applied, situation-bound utterances are described in deep structure as being embedded into one hypersentence which syntactically, i.e. by means of syntactic categories and features, represents the speaker, the addressee, the person(s) or thing(s) talked about, and the place and time deictic points of orientation, thus providing syntactically all points of orienta-

tion necessary for the interpretation of deictic terms. The verb in the hypersentence determines by means of features syntactic and semantic properties of the sentence which is finally generated as the surface sentence: A declarative sentence is marked by the feature (+declarative), an interrogative sentence by (+interrogative) and an imperative by (+imperative). A second feature marking the verb in the hypersentence indicates that the surface sentence serves the function of communication: (+communicatio). Constituent sentences of texts which contain deictic terms oriented at one deictic center of orientation are described in the same way as situation-bound utterances.

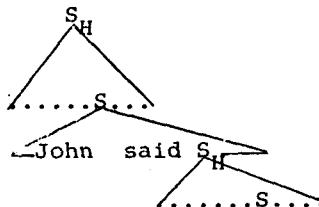
Sequences of sentences containing deictic terms oriented at one deictic center are described as a conjunction of sentences embedded into one hypersentence, as figure (F1) demonstrates:

(F1)

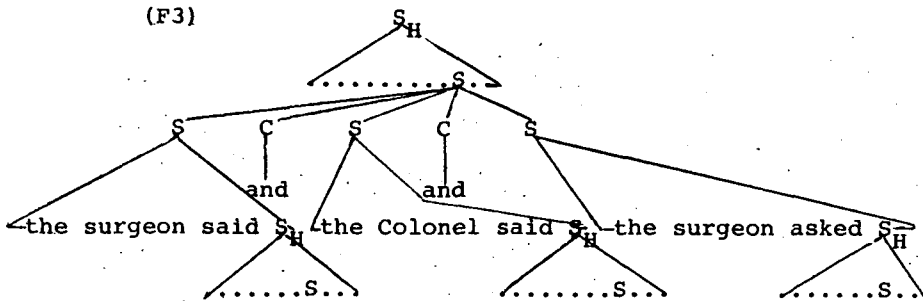


If quoted speech is presented either in a fictionally or non-fictionally used sentence, both the quoting and the quoted part are embedded in hypersentences in deep structure, the hierarchical structure describing the relation of dominance holding between the two:

(F2)



If a dialogue is quoted either in fictional or non-fictional texts in such a way that each quote is introduced by introductory sentences, then the introductory sentences appear as a conjunction of sentences embedded into the topmost hypersentence, each containing a hypersentence as a direct object representing the contextual description for the quoted sentences:



If, however, a dialogue is presented without introductory remarks, then the underlying structure describes a conjunction of hypersentences and each of these hypersentences contains as a direct object the sentence which later appears as the surface sentence. The description of each of the conjoined sentences thus equals the description of sentences used as situation-bound utterances. But sentences constituting a dialogue are not isolated units. They present cohesion in that alternating interlocutors change the roles of speaker and addressee and the referent of *you* used by speaker<sub>1</sub> is the referent of *I* used by speaker<sub>2</sub> and conversely. Thus, the relation of co-reference holds between constituents of conjoined hypersentences, which can be captured by means of rules. The relation of co-reference also holds between constituents of dominating and embedded hypersentences in examples of quoted speech. The referent of the noun phrase describing the person deictic relation of the other person talked about in the dominating hypersentence is identical to the referent of the noun phrase describing the role of the speaker in the embedded hypersentence.

Examples of situation-free utterances described so far, may occur either in fictional or non-fictional texts, their description being the same in both contexts. There is one difference, though, between sentences used fictionally or non-fictionally. Whereas in non-fictional contexts it is not possible for an utterer to present thoughts and sensations other than his own either in a directly verbally coded or narrated monologue way, this may be done by a fictitious, omniscient narrator who counts as the utterer of utterances issued in a narrative. To account for this fact descriptively, I introduced the features (+experience <sup>+</sup>cognition) as alternatives to the feature (+communication) marking the verb of a hypersentence to indicate the semantic function of the surface sentence. Hypersentences of this type dominate sentences representing quoted thoughts, interior monologue and narrated monologue. In the case of the latter two, these hypersentences are themselves immediately embedded into hypersentences of the normal type which serve as contextual descriptions of the narrator's situation. Thus, the similarity between interior and narrated monologue is accounted for, the difference between the two being described by deictic reference, since deictic terms in interior monologue are all determined with respect to the deictic center of the character, represented by the immediately dominating hypersentence, and deictic terms in narrated monologue are determined with respect to the deictic centers of both the character and the narrator, represented syntactically by the embedded and the dominating hypersentence, respectively.

②

4. Concluding my presentation, I return to the questions introduced initially, which served as a guideline for this contribution, and suggest more or less tentative answers. First it was asked which theory of semantics should be considered as basic in the explanation of fictional texts. Whatever theoretical framework is chosen for a linguistic

semantic theory, it will have to provide context independent descriptions of linguistic units which represent their sense. In the case of deictic terms considered here, such descriptions represent the roles referents of deictic terms obtain and are constant irrespective of the contexts in which deictic terms are used. Secondly, a linguistic semantic (or pragmatic) theory will have to provide means to account for the relevance of situational contexts for an appropriate interpretation of deictic terms. Context independent descriptions are not sufficient, as can be seen especially in the case of narrated monologue. In addition, contextual theories will have to be prepared to distinguish contextual descriptions on different levels and establish rules to describe the relations between them. Question (2) was concerned with the importance of the reference to objects in the constitution of fictional texts. I have attempted to show that a text is constituted by numerous frames of reference determined by the deictic fields which provide the referents for deictic terms in the text. Analyzing deictic reference in fictional texts, therefore, at the same time provides insight into the (pragmatic) constitution of these texts. I have not talked about how I view the difference in substance of referents of deictic terms being either objects of the real or a fictitious world, though I indirectly committed myself to an answer by applying a deictic theory which distinguishes such modes of pointing as imaginary deixis and *demonstratio ad oculos* and relates imaginary objects to deictic terms used in fictional texts and real objects to those used in situation-bound utterances which apply the mode of pointing called *demonstratio ad oculos*. Whether a referent exists or existed in reality, is believed or pretended to exist, or simply imagined, has no impact on the linguistic act of reference, which can be defined as a relation between a linguistic and a non-linguistic unit, whatever the latter's ontological status may be.



Question (3), finally, I modified slightly in order to be in a position to provide a non-speculative answer. The modified version asks for the relation that exists between fictional texts and texts about reality. I suggest subdividing texts about reality into two classes, one representing situation-bound utterances with a given situational context, the other representing situation-free utterances, such as letters, (auto)biographies, essays and the like, where situational contexts are not given but have to be reconstructed. Actually, it is only to the latter class that I relate the concept text. In this sense fictional texts and texts about reality linguistically differ only in one aspect in that in texts about reality it is not possible for a speaker to present another person's thoughts or sensations in a quasi performative way. If, therefore, a text contains thoughts or sensations verbalized and presented by a person who is not the experiencer, then this has to be taken as a fictional element in the constitution of the text. Otherwise, fictional texts and texts about reality cannot be distinguished on linguistic grounds. This implies, also, that imaginary deixis as a mode of pointing is not restricted to fictional texts but may just as well be applied in texts about reality, which, in fact, is the case.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The term "actual communicative situation" used here refers to what Lyons calls the "canonical situation of utterance": "this involves one-one, or one-many signalling in the phonic medium along the vocal-auditory channel, with all the participants present in the same actual situation able to

see one another and to perceive the associated non-vocal paralinguistic features of their utterances, and each assuming the role of sender and receiver in turn" (Lyons, 1977:637). Not included are, therefore, such communicative situations where technical instruments, e.g. telephone, walky-talky, loud speaker and the like, are used.

- 2 Bühler only distinguishes these three levels. As Fillmore (1971; 1971a) has pointed out, the level of social deixis also has to be considered. Schmid (1972), in addition, includes the level of mode as a deictic category.
- 3 In Rauh (forthcoming) I present a more detailed discussion of the relation between the abstract deictic field and its possible realizations.
- 4 For further information on modes of pointing see Rauh (forthcoming) and the references given there.
- 5 The notion "count as" ("zählen als") was introduced and defined by A. Kratzer (1978) in the sense applied here.
- 6 More examples of narrated monologue which provide empirical evidence for the adequacy of the present analysis are provided in Rauh (1978). The related problem of "narrative tense" is discussed in detail in Rauh (forthcoming).
- 7 The hypersentence model I developed in Rauh (1978) is based on Sadock (1969), which, though more primitive than Sadock (1974), was preferred because of its being compatible with early Chomskyan generative syntactic theory, which was the general theoretical framework of my approach. Early Chomskyan theory, on the other hand had to be preferred to his more recent works because hypersentences have to be deleted, a process which is highly restricted since the introduction of the "Structure-Preserving Constraint" (Emonds, 1976). Under this constraint hypersentences cannot be deleted. See also Chomsky/Lasnik (1977).

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