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Polish demonstrative pronouns as "markers of value"

1. Introduction

The conditions that rule the use of adjectival demonstrative pronouns seem to be somewhat of a puzzle. Extensive research on this topic has shown that it is very difficult to formulate a clear set of rules that unequivocally predict the distribution of adjectival pronouns. Either we get a very general rule with many exceptions, or we are confronted with a complex system of conditions that still does not cover all possibilities.[1] The problem concerns both languages with and languages without a definite article, although there is a slight shift in focus. In the former, one has to delineate the functions of the definite article from those of the demonstrative pronouns. In the latter, one has to be careful to note possible "article-like functions" of demonstratives.

In this paper I would like to suggest a new approach to the treatment of adjectival demonstrative pronouns. My analysis is based on Polish data. Possible applications to other languages will be addressed in the last section.

2. Theoretical background: the denotational status of noun phrases

In order to properly describe the referential features of a noun phrase, we need a detailed system of so-called "denotational status" of noun phrases[2]. The denotational status describes how a noun phrase relates to the world. There are quite a number of works that classify different denotational status, such as Padučeva (1979, 1985), Šmelev (1996), Topolińska (1976, 1977, 1981) and Grzegorczykowa (1992, 1998). To be sure,

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[1] Research has been done on various languages. The most important works for Polish are Fontański (1986), Pisarkowa (1969) and Topolińska (1981, 1984).

[2] The term "denotational status" (denotativnyj status) was coined by Padučeva (1979: 29). In (1985: 83) she also uses the term "referential status" (referencial'nyj status), both terms having been used synonymously since. I prefer "denotational status" for reasons that will became obvious below.

these works are insightful and thought-provoking, but none of them describe the whole variety of denotational possibilities. I therefore designed a new classification, which incorporates the works of Padučeva and Šmelev as well as Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces.

The decisive feature of this model is the strict distinction between two levels of description of a noun phrase, namely the referential level and the discourse-pragmatic level. The referential level concerns the type of referent, whereas the discourse-pragmatic level describes the identifiability of the referent by the discourse participants. Every noun phrase must be analyzed on both levels. They basically form a cross-classification, although some combinations are impossible or are simply unlikely to occur in a discourse. The two levels of description pertain to the realms of contents, to the sphere of semantics in a broader sense, and can thus claim to be universally valid.

Figures 1 and 2[3] show the complete system of denotational status, but only the features relevant to my topic will be discussed in more detail.

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[3] Key to the abbreviations used in figures 1 and 2: *spec. = specific, distr. = distributive, neutr.-indef. = neutral-indefinite, intro-indef. = introductive-indefinite, def. = definite, d. = description, frame-rel. = frame-related, individ. = individual, anamn. = anamnestic.*

Referential Features
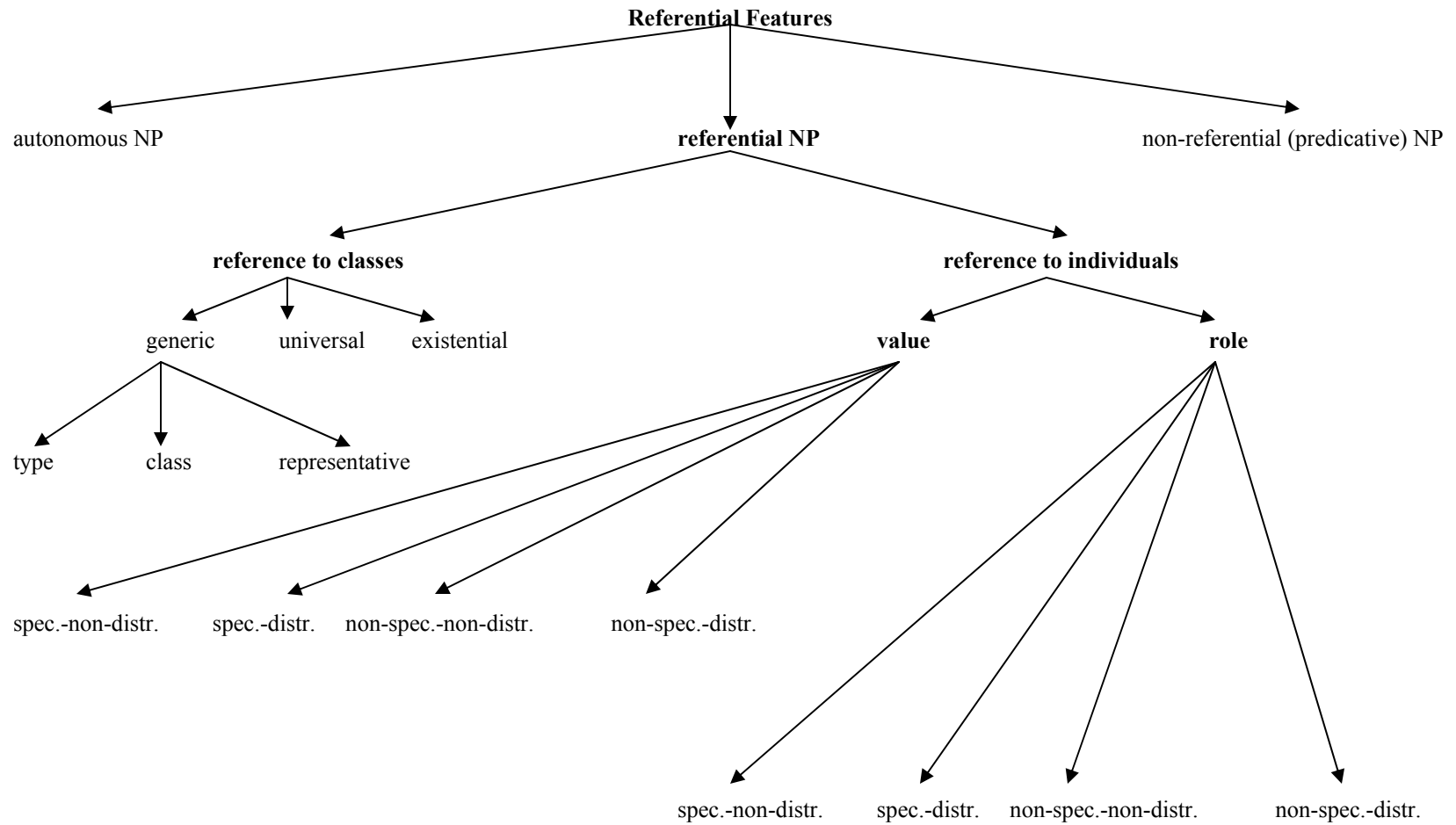
autonomous NP   **referential NP**   non-referential (predicative) NP

reference to classes   **reference to individuals**

generic   universal   existential   **value**   **role**

type   class   representative

spec.-non-distr.   spec.-distr.   non-spec.-non-distr.   non-spec.-distr.

spec.-non-distr.   spec.-distr.   non-spec.-non-distr.   non-spec.-distr.

Fig. 1: referential level

Discourse-Pragmatic Features

definite   indefinite

neutr.-indef.   intro-indef.   non-intro-indef.   def. as to quality

endophoric (anaphoric)   exophoric

deictic   non-deictic (definite descriptions)

def. d. proper   unique d.   frame-rel. d.   individ. d.   anamn. d.   situational d.   proper names
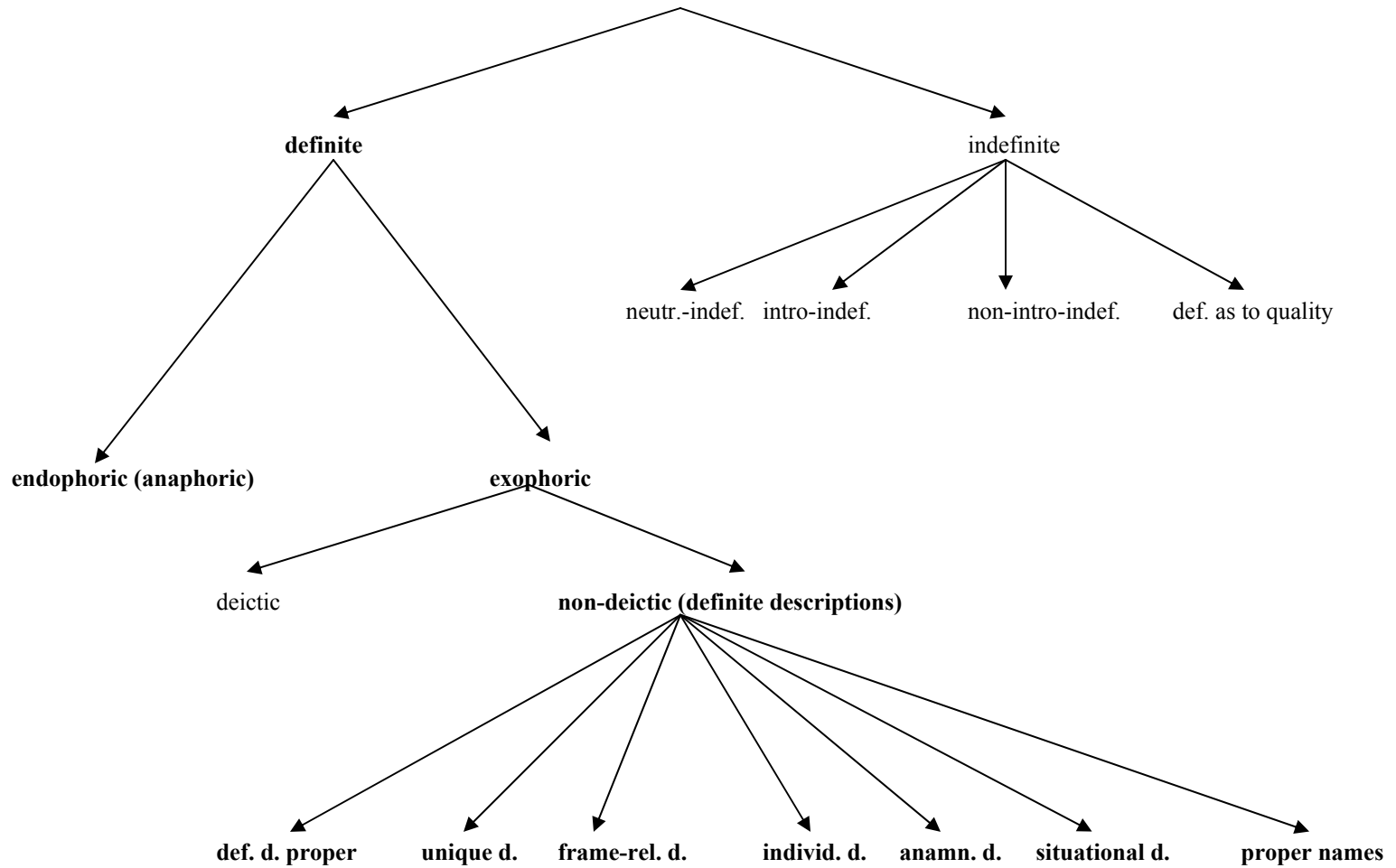
Fig. 2: discourse-pragmatic level

2.1 Referential level

On the referential level, we first have to distinguish reference to class from reference to an individual. This distinction is very common and can be found in every referential classification. It should therefore not be necessary to give examples. Since class reference is not typical for noun phrases with adjectival demonstrative pronouns[4], I will skip the details of class reference and pass on to the types of individual reference.

The most important opposition concerning the topic of this paper is the contrast between roles and values[5]. A first approximation to this opposition is Donnellan's (1966) distinction of referential vs. attributive use of a definite description. The reference to value corresponds to the referential use, while the reference to role corresponds to the attributive use. Reference to value takes place when the quality mentioned in the noun phrase has no relevance to the utterance as a whole, but is just one possibility amongst others for naming the referent. If the function of the object or person in question does play a significant role in interpreting the utterance, the noun phrase refers to the role.

I will illustrate these features with Donnellan's own famous example "Smith's murderer is insane". Suppose, that Smith was a peaceful person and therefore a very unlikely murder victim. If a speaker says "Smith's murderer is insane", thereby conveying that his or her assessment of the murderer's mental state is based on the fact that the person in question killed Smith, the noun phrase refers to the role *Smith's murderer*. Suppose now that the speaker reads a newspaper clip mentioning that a person, who happens to be Smith's murderer, was committed, and says: "Smith's murderer is insane". The crime has nothing to do with the speaker's assessment of the referent. In this case, the noun phrase *Smith's murderer* refers to the value.

Unlike Donnellan's "attributive use", the term "role reference" will be used in a very broad sense. In particular, I follow Fauconnier (1985: 56) in extending it to indefinite noun phrases.[6]

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[4] In fact, noun phrases marked with adjectival demonstratives can be used for class reference only in very specific circumstances. See Mendoza (2004: 274-277) and example (8) below.
[5] Terms according to Fauconnier (1985: 39).
[6] Note that reference to value or reference to role always implies reference to an individual, since the role-

2.2 Discourse-pragmatic level

The most important distinction of the discourse-pragmatic level is the distinction between definite and indefinite noun phrases. Since this study focuses on demonstrative pronouns and therefore exclusively on definite noun phrases, I will not discuss indefinite noun phrases.

Before I move on to the definite noun phrases, I would like to say a few words about grammatical definiteness/indefiniteness. The grammatical opposition definiteness vs. indefiniteness does *not* belong to the system of denotational status. I consider grammatical definiteness/indefinitess a grammatical category as defined by Mel'čuk. Simply put, a grammatical category is a category that a) pertains to a certain word class, b) is obligatorily expressed and c) has a relatively small set of markers[7]. The definite and indefinite articles of languages like English, German, French, etc. are the markers that express the grammatical category of definiteness/indefiniteness. Being a grammatical category, grammatical definiteness/indefiniteness is not universal. Some languages possess it, others do not.

It is crucial to an accurate analysis of noun phrases to strictly keep apart discourse-pragmatic definiteness/indefiniteness and grammatical definiteness/indefiniteness. If the opposition definite vs. indefinite is grammaticalized in a certain language, the respective features of noun phrases in this language have to be described according to an additional third level.

Let us get back to discourse-pragmatic definiteness. A noun phrase can be definite for different reasons. For one, it can be definite because it relates to another noun phrase in the ongoing discourse. These are the endophoric noun phrases, the bulk of which are anaphoric.[8] Then there are the exophoric noun phrases, which directly relate to an object in the extralinguistic world.

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value distinction does not concern classes (cf. fig. 1).

[7] Mel'čuk's own definition is much more elaborate (see Mel'čuk 1997: 249), but the above simplified version is sufficient for the purposes of this paper.

[8] Cataphoric reference is not very common with Polish demonstratives and therefore will be excluded from

Within exophora, we have deictic and non-deictic noun phrases. The latter ones I will call *definite descriptions in the broader sense*. These fall in several subgroups, which are:[9]

1) Definite descriptions proper

2) Unique descriptions

3) Frame-related descriptions

4) Individual descriptions

5) Anamnestic descriptions

6) Situational descriptions

7) Proper names

A *definite description proper* consists of a noun and an attribute. There is only one referent that fits the description, e.g. *the author of Pan Tadeusz, the winner of the Tour de France in 2004*, etc.

Unique descriptions are noun phrases that have a referent that is unique within the so-called naive conception of the world, i.e. noun phrases formed with nouns like *sun, moon*, and *earth*.

The referent of a *frame-related description* is unique to a certain script or frame. Examples are *the dean* in the frame "faculty", *the teacher* in the frame "classroom", etc. The script or frame exists independently of the speech situation.

Individual descriptions also have a unique referent. The relevant space for them is a situation confined to a small group of people who know each other personally, like members of a family or a group of friends. Example (1) illustrates this type of description:

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the argument. – The case of *ten* combined with the head noun of a relative clause cannot be considered an instance of cataphoric reference. It is a facultative constituent of a complex formative of relative clauses *(ten)...który,* etc.

[9] Other classifications are presented in Berger (1993: 296-297.), Bogusławski (1977) and Topolińska (1981: 29-37, 1984: 309-313).

(1)   Spotkamy się *w gospodzie.*[10]
          We will meet in *the pub*.

The noun phrase *w gospodzie* is an individual description when used among a group of friends who always meet in the same pub and thus the addressee(s) know exactly which pub the speaker refers to.

The unique descriptions, the frame-related descriptions, and the individual descriptions can be combined into one group, namely "noun phrases with a unique referent to a certain situation". The subgroups differ as to the "size" of the relevant universe of discourse. Although the three groups behave alike on the formal level, they exhibit different referential characteristics and thus do not form a uniform group (see below).

To be able to identify the referent of an *anamnestic description* the hearer has to exploit the knowledge and the experience he or she shares with the speaker, as in (2):

(2)   Do you remember *that funny guy from Munich*?

The person the noun phrase *that funny guy from Munich* refers to is not present in the discourse situation, he is not unique relative to a certain situation, and the noun phrase does not constitute a definite description proper. But he is somebody the discourse partners met before or talked about before, and therefore the hearer knows whom the speaker has in mind.[11]

The referent of a *situational description* can be identified only with the help of the immediate speech situation. In order to identify the referent of the noun phrase *the book* in (3), the hearer has to turn to the situation in which the utterance is used. The book has to be present in the speech situation:[12]

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[10] This example is from Topolińska (1981: 35). She classifies the noun phrase *w gospodzie* as a "situational" or "situation-bound" description. Topolińska's situational or situation-bound descriptions are similar, though not identical to my *situational descriptions*.

[11] Because of their relation to previous discourse or discourse-like situations, Berger (1993: 296) refers to anamnestic descriptions also as "pseudo-anaphoric descriptions" ("pseudo-anaphorische Deskriptionen").

[12] Some authors, like Breu (2004: 18) subsume noun phrases like this under deictic noun phrases. In my

(3)   Could you give me *the book*?

Situational descriptions seem to be very similar to individual descriptions. They differ, however, in one significant aspect. The identifiability of the referent of situational descriptions depends solely on the speech situation, whereas the referent of individual descriptions does not have to be present in the speech situation. Correct reference assignment of the latter is completely independent of the actual discourse situation.

The different groups of definite descriptions favor different types of referent. Definite descriptions proper and frame-related noun phrases are very often used to refer to a role. Unique descriptions, individual descriptions, anamnestic descriptions and situational descriptions, as a rule, refer to a value. Proper names do not describe a role[13] and therefore always refer to values, and to definite values at that[14].

2. Inventory of Polish demonstrative pronouns

In Polish there are three demonstrative pronouns: *ten, tamten* and *ów, ten* being the most frequent among them. *Ten* is neutral to the proximal-distal contrast. It denotes proximity only when in oppostion to distal *tamten*. The pronoun *ów* can safely be considered a more bookish variant of *ten*. It is used almost exclusively anaphorically[15], and in that position is more or less interchangeable with *ten*, barring stylistic effects.

Ten and *tamten* are both adjectival and substantival pronouns. Substantival (anaphorical) *ten* is restricted to a certain role in the communicative organization of the utterance: it forms the thematic part of the utterance and at the same time resumes a rhematic antecedent. *Tamten*, on the contrary, is not sensitive to communicative

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opinion, however, a deictic noun phrase referring to an object or a person has to be accompanied by a gesture. This is, of course, not true for temporal deixis or for reference to a space (*in this room*).

[13] Fauconnier (1995: 55) offers a different explanation of proper names. According to him, they describe the role "having the name x", even thought they "point to values directly" (Fauconnier 1995: 155). See Mendoza (2004: 163-164) for a discussion of Fauconnier's point of view.

[14] This is not true for proper names used in a secondary function.

[15] I have found some instances of anamnestic uses, cf. Mendoza (2004: 302-303).

organization. The pronoun *ów* seldom appears in substantival position, but when it does, it shows the same restrictions as substantival *ten.*

The denonational features of all three pronouns are more or less identical. My argument will be illustrated by *ten*, whose unmarkedness allows us to focus on the issues relevant to this article.

3. How do demonstratives work?

In this section, I will discuss some of the factors that obviously govern the use of demonstrative pronouns and show how they can be reduced to a small number of basic functions.

My paper does not examine the so-called expressive or emotional use of demonstrative pronouns. This is a secondary function and has to be dealt with separately[16]. Moreover, I have elected not to discuss whether *ten* can be a considered a definite article, albeit in *statu nascendi*. The answer to this hinges on the answer to two additional questions: how does the chain of grammaticalization proceed and when is the metamorphosis from a demonstrative to an article completed? Discussing these questions is beyond the scope of this article. According to my definitions, Polish *ten* is at the very beginning of the chain of grammaticalization. It is far from being a full-fledged article, even though it occurs very frequently, particularly in colloquial speech.

3.1 Exophoric noun phrases

The case of exophoric noun phrases is relatively straightforward. Deictic demonstrative pronouns are obligatory, whereas the use of demonstrative pronouns in definite descriptions depends on the type of definite description. Definite descriptions proper, noun phrases with a unique referent (i.e. unique descriptions, frame-related descriptions, and individual descriptions), and proper names cannot have demonstrative pronouns. The following examples show a definite description proper (4), a frame-related description (5), and a situational description (1), which was introduced above:

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[16] In fact, the emotional funtion can be derived from the contrastive function, cf. fn. 19.

(4)   *Pisarz "Kazań gnieźnieńskich"* miał wyraźne przyzwyczajenia stylistyczne. (Topolińska 1981)
        The author of the " Gnezno Sermons" had distinctive stylistic habits.

(5)   *Kierownik ogrodu zoologicznego* okazał się karierowiczem. (Mrożek, Słoń)
        The director of the zoo turned out to be a careerist.

(1)   Spotkamy się *w gospodzie*.
        We will meet in *the pub*.

None one of these examples accepts *ten* or any other demonstrative pronoun. The same is true for noun phrases with unique descriptions (*to słońce 'the sun', **ten księżyc* 'the moon') and proper names (*ten Piotr)[17].

Anamnestic and situational descriptions, on the other hand, do not only allow a demonstrative pronoun, they almost demand one. The noun phrase in (6) is an anamnestic description and the phrase *tych śrubek* in (7) belongs to the group of situational descriptions. In both cases it is much better to use the demonstrative pronoun:

(6)   Ależ *ten wczorajszy* gość był nudny. (Topolińska 1981)
        That guest yesterday was really boring.

(7)   [Context: telephone conversation about how to tape telephone conversations]
        X – A co, telefonem go [magnetofon, *I.M.*] połączyłeś?
        Y – Tak.
        X – Przez jakiś czujnik czy tylko tak mikrofon?
        Y – Nie po prostu przykręciłem do *tych śrubek* dwa druty i włączyłem do magnetofonu i cześć. (Pisarkowa 1975)
        X – So, did you connect it [the tape deck] with the telephone?
        Y – Yes.
        X – By a sensor or a microphone?
        Y –No, I just connected two wires to *the screws* and connected them to the tape deck and that was it.

3.2 Anaphoric noun phrases

The description of anaphoric noun phrases is more complicated. Here we find fewer clear-cut regularities and more room for variation. There are certain constellations

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[17]This does not pertain to emotional *ten.*

of antecedent and anaphoric noun phrase that render the use of an adjectival demonstrative either necessary or impossible. However, the vast majority of anaphoric noun phrases tolerate both possibilities.

In cases like (8), the use of a demonstrative pronoun is absolutely necessary. The antecedent refers to the class of elephants and the anaphoric expression takes up the antecedent by naming the hyperonym *zwierzę* 'animal'. If the pronoun is left out, the string of sentences become incoherent:

(8)   Dzisiaj będziemy omawiać *słonia*. *To zwierzę* jest jednym z największych zwierząt świata.
        Today we are going to talk about *the elephant. This animal* is one of the largest animals in the world.

On the other hand, in example (9) it is not possible to use demonstratives. The antecedent refers to a group of individuals, the anaphoric noun phrases *dziewczyna* 'girl' and *chłopiec* 'boy' take them up one by one:

(9)   Do tramwaju wsiadła *jakaś młoda para studencka*. *Dziewczyna* rozejrzała się i przeszła od razu na przednią platformę, *chłopiec* zatrzymał się przy konduktorze. (Topolińska 1981)
        A *couple of young students* went into the streetcar. *The girl* looked around and went straight to the front platform, *the boy* stood by the conductor.

One factor often held responsible for the use of demonstrative pronouns is the functional sentence perspective. A rhematic anaphoric noun phrase seems to be obligatorily marked by *ten* or another demonstrative pronoun, as in (10):

(10)   Tytuł książki nie był zły. Pochodził z *jakiegoś wiersza*. Z jakiego wiersza? Joe potrząsnął głową. Był przekonany, że zna *ten wiersz* (Joe Alex, Gdzie przykazań brak dziesięciu)
        The title of the book wasn't bad. It came from *some poem*. From what poem? Joe shook his head. He was convinced that he knew *the poem*

Another important factor is the semantic relation between antecedent and anaphoric noun phrase. When the anaphoric noun phrase repeats the antecedent word by word, as in (11), the use of a pronoun is clearly preferable, although not strictly necessary:

(11)   Ktoś wskazał mi *miejsce, które mieliśmy zająć. Miejsce to* znajdowało się na wprost sceny. (Topolińska 1981)
Somebody showed me *our place. The place* was located opposite the stage.

The use of demonstrative pronouns in constructions where the anaphoric expression is semantically connected to the antecedent but does not use the same expression, is often optional. Both (12) and (13) are perfectly fine without a demonstrative pronoun.

(12)   Marek przedstawił mi *swoją córkę. Dziewczynka* od pierwszej chwili była mi sympatyczna.
Marek introduced me to *his daughter*. I liked *the girl* immediately.
(13)   Załączyli kurek do *słonia* i ku ich uradowaniu już po krótkiej chwili na środku szopy stanęło *zwierzę* w całej wysokości. (Mrożek, Słoń)
They connected the [gas] tap to the *elephant*, and, to their delight, after a little while the *animal* rose to its full height in the center of the shed.

Let us take a look at how this factor interacts with the communicative organization. *Dziewczynka* in (12) is the theme, therefore we do not expect a pronoun. But *zwierzę* in (13) is rhematic and thus contradicts the rule concerning the use of demonstratives in the rhematic part of an utterance. Now, if one wants to use a demonstrative pronoun, it is better to use it in (13), i.e. in the rhematic part, than in (12) with *dziewczyna* being the theme.

When there is no semantic connection between the antecedent and the anaphoric noun phrase we also, as a rule, find a demonstrative pronoun. In cases like this the anaphoric expression often assigns an additional property to the referent, that is, we have an additional predication, cf. (14):

(14)   Przez dwa lata udzielałam *Wandzi* korepetycji, ale już dłużej nie mogę z *tą idiotką* wytrzymać.[18]

I have been tutoring *Wandzia* for two years, but I can't bear *that idiot* any longer.

The list of criteria could be continued, but I think that these examples suffice to show that it is very difficult, maybe even impossible, to formulate a finite set of rules unambiguously predicting the use of demonstrative pronouns in anaphoric noun phrases.

My approach to this problem is to abandon the idea of a finite set of conditions and to focus on the basic functions of demonstrative pronouns. This offers not only a simpler way of handling anaphoric noun phrases, but also the possibility of an integrative description of both endophoric and exophoric noun phrases.

3.3 Basic functions of demonstrative pronouns

The functions of demonstrative pronouns can be reduced to three functions. The first one is the *generation of contrast.* In using a contrasting demonstrative pronoun, the speaker ascribes a quality to the referent that does not relate to the other members of the same class.[19] The contrast can be asserted or presupposed. In the former case, the pronoun bears stress, in the latter case it is unstressed. Both endophoric and exophoric expressions can create a contrast. Deictic noun phrases with a demonstrative pronoun are always contrastive. Noun phrases with contrastive pronouns relate to individuals or to classes. An example for the latter case is (8) above, where the subset of elephants contrasts with other subsets of the class "animal". Demonstrative pronouns with the contrastive function are obligatory. Without them there is either no contrast or the utterance is unacceptable.

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[18] Obviously, (14) is also acceptable with the unmarked noun phrase *idiotką*, cf. Topolińska (1981: 50).

[19] This means that the elements of a class share almost all their relevant features, except for one. So one can say that in ranking an object in one class together with other objects, one effectively deprives it of its uniqueness. This is exactly what a speaker does in using emotional *ten*. Emotional *ten* locates the referent in a class consisting of elements with basically the same features. At the same time, it puts some space between the speaker and the referent, since one needs a certain distance to observe an object within its environment. It is this distance that allows for an "emotional", i.e. negative or positive assessment of the referent.

The second function is to point to a *particular denotational status*: the referent is an individual (not a class), it is a value (not a role), and it is definite. A demonstrative pronoun makes sure that the noun phrase in question is not being interpreted as referring to a class, or to a role, or as having an indefinite referent.[20]

The "value-indicating function" becomes very clear in the next example. This (15) is a fragment of a conversation between two women talking about how to get a certain internship mandatory for law school graduates:

> (15)   X – Pytałam się w jaki sposób to załatwić, więc mówi: proszę panią, trzeba załatwić przez *wizytatora*[21], bo *wizytator* jeździ teraz do ministerstwa starać się o te etaty.
> Y – Ja nawet nie wiem jak się *ten wizytator* nazywa (Pisarkowa 1975)
> X – I asked how to do this, and she said: well, that has to be done by *the supervisor*, because now *the supervisor* goes to the ministry to take care of these posts.
> Y – I don't even know *the supervisor*'s name.

The first two noun phrases *wizytator* and *wizytatora* refer to the role. The action *starać się o te etaty* can be considered to be part of the job description of a supervisor. The noun phrase *ten wizytator,* on the other hand, refers to the person who acts as supervisor at the time and therefore refers to the value.

Does this function correspond to the aforementioned distribution of demonstrative pronouns within the group of definite descriptions in the broader sense? Only partially. It is compatible with the definite descriptions proper, the frame-related descriptions, the anamnestic descriptions, and the situational descriptions. The first two groups mostly refer to roles and do not accept a demonstrative pronoun. The latter two relate to values and are typically used with a demonstrative.

Proper names, unique descriptons and individual despriptions, however, contradict this regularity. They relate to value but have to be used without a pronoun. Nevertheless, I think I can maintain my thesis. Let us start from the proper names. As

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[20] That does not mean that umarked noun phrases cannot have the denotational status I just described. It just means that a demonstrative pronoun guarantees that the noun phrase is interpreted in that way.

[21] I.e. *wizytator państwowych biur notarialnych przy Sądzie Wojewódzkim w Krakowie* 'supervisor of the national notary's offices at the provincial court in Cracow".

mentioned before, the denotational status "definite value" is inherent to proper names. Thus there is no need to additionally indicate their denotational status.[22] Unique descriptions have to be treated similarly. Unlike nouns like *dziekan* 'dean' or *śruba* 'screw', which can be used in all types of noun phrases, nouns like *sun* and *moon* are always restricted to reference to a definite value, when they refer to the respective elements in the naive conception of the world[23]. Thus they are similar to proper names. Individual descriptions, too, function like proper names, but only in a very small group of speakers. They are names that have been given to an object and always refer to the value of that object.[24]

The third function concerns the anaphoric noun phrases only. When listing some of the conditions that govern the use of demonstrative pronouns I did not mention a very important one: *guarantee of coreferential interpretation*. Many authors consider this factor as one factor among numerous others. In my opinion, however, it is the third basic function of demonstrative pronouns.

But when is the coreferential interpretation of an anaphoric noun phrase in danger, requiring the use of a pronoun? One could try to name all the relevant conditions and would end up with a list similar to the one discussed above and which has been found to be rather inconvenient.

In the end, it is the speaker and his or her assessment of the speech situation and the hearer's knowledge and "interpretational skills" that decide whether or not a pronoun will be used. The speaker can leave it to the hearer to find the correct antecedent, or he or she can make it easier for the hearer by using a demonstrative pronoun. If, for example, the semantic relation between the antecedent and the anaphoric noun phrase is close, it is easy to establish coreference. But if the two noun phrases are semantically unrelated, establishing coreference is difficult. So we can formulate the following rule, which

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[22] Incidentally, proper names used in a secondary function, which are exempt from this restriction (cf. fn. 14), do allow pronouns, demonstratives as well as indefinites.

[23] This explanation will obviously affect the semantic descriptions of nouns like *sun* and *moon*, but that is a different topic.

[24] See also Bogusławski (1977). He specifies a "zero proper name" in the semantic structure of so-called denominations, a denomination being a type of noun phrase partially overlapping with my unique

explains examples (12), (13) and (14): the closer the semantic relation, the less likely is the use of a demonstrative pronoun and vice versa. A similar effect is obtained by the distance between antecedent and anaphoric noun phrase. The farther apart the two expressions, the more it might seem necessary to support the hearer's search for the antecedent by using a demonstrative pronoun.

Not all anaphoric adjectival demonstratives, however, are used to signal coreference. In order to account for examples (11) on one hand, and (9) on the other hand, we have to turn to the second function of demonstratives, namely the indication of a certain denotational status. In example (11), the function of *ten* is not to establish coreference but to indicate reference to value. The speaker wants to make sure that the anaphoric noun phrase does not refer to the role. Information about the role would be redundant information and therefore affect the coherence of the discourse. In (9), on the other hand, the members of the set 'couple of young students' are identified by their roles, not by their values. Therefore the noun phrase refers to the role and that makes the use of a demonstrative pronoun impossible.

4. Conclusions

In order to describe the use of adjectival demonstrative prounouns one has to distinguish *contrastive* and *non-contrastive functions*. Contrastively used pronouns are obligatory. In principle, they have no restrictions as to the type of referent—that is, they also occur in noun phrases referring to classes. They can be part of both exophoric and endophoric noun phrases.

Non-contrastive pronouns, on the other hand, are restricted to a certain type of referent, namely definite values. Demonstrative pronouns in anaphoric noun phrases often have a third function, which is also non-contrastive: they help the hearer to find the right antecedent. Non-contrastive demonstrative pronouns are optional. The speaker uses them to make sure that the hearer will relate the noun phrase in question to the referent or antecedent the speaker has in mind. Figure 3 summarizes these functions:

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descriptions and individual descriptions.

basic functions of demonstrative pronouns

non-contrastive [optional]

contrastive

[obligatory,

no restriction as to type of referent]

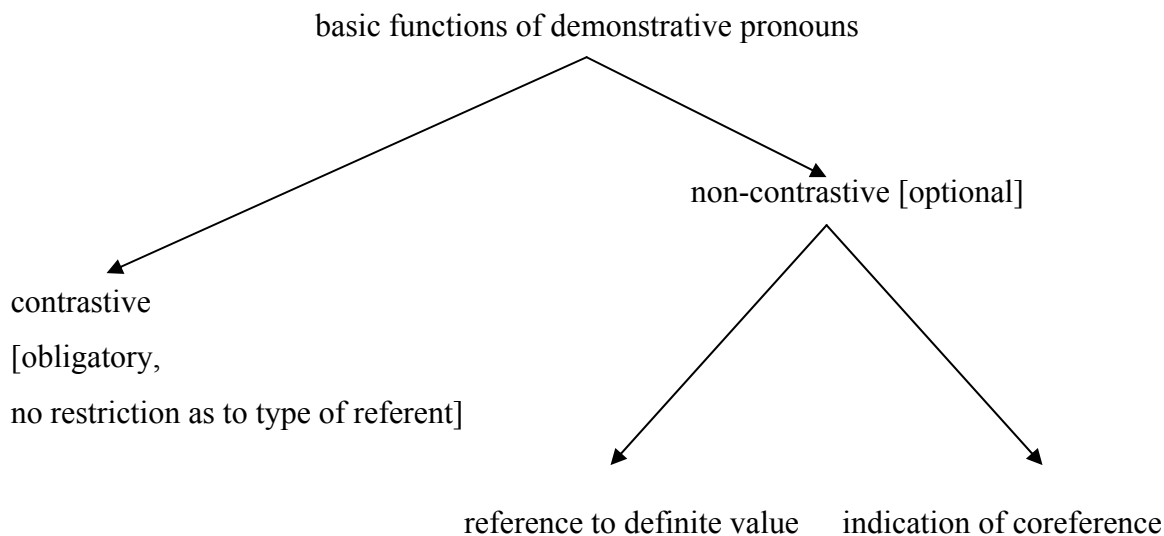reference to definite value   indication of coreference

Fig. 3

There is evidence that the results of this paper can be generalized to other languages and to other types of pronouns.

The "value constraint" for demonstrative pronouns, with all probability, is not confined to Polish, but also is a typical feature for demonstratives in other languages, regardless of whether they possess an article or not. Moreover, the expansion from reference to value to role reference is an important stage in the chain of grammaticalization of demonstrative pronouns towards a definite article. Full-fledged definite articles do not have the value constraint.

The restriction to reference is also typical for some indefinite pronouns. Take the opposition *edin* vs. Ø in Bulgarian or *eden* vs. Ø in Macedonian. The studies by Hauge (1977) and Weiss (1996) inevitably lead to the conclusion that the indefinite pronouns Bulg. *edin* and Maced. *eden* ('one') signal reference to value, whereas an unmarked noun phrase refers to the role.[25]

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[25] Cf. Hauge's comment as to the quality of unmarked noun phrases in comparison to noun phrases marked with *edin*: "the attention seems to be focused upon some quality expressed by the NP in question, rather

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than the indvidual(s) denoted by that NP" (1977: 41).

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