

Topicality, text structure and anaphoric relations

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Abstract: In this paper, I define and develop the concept of “(textual) anaphora”, i.e. text relations between an anaphor and an antecedent, and I focus particularly on the so-called direct anaphors, viz. the anaphors that designate the same individual entity as the antecedent. My primary attention is on the linguistic material of the anaphors, which fundamentally depends on the antecedent’s pragmatic prominence, i.e. its degree of presence and saliency in the hearer’s mental-cognitive representation, at the moment it is anaphorised. This prominence is based partly on the antecedent’s topicality, which in turn depends on its place in four different semantic, syntactic and referential hierarchies, partly on the text and narrative structure, e.g. the textual distance between antecedent and anaphor, the presence of other possible antecedents, and possible topic changes. The topicality and the text/narrative structure can also be defined as “vertical” and “horizontal” criteria respectively, and as empirical evidence I use a bilingual (Italian – Danish) text corpus as well as other text sources. All examples are translated into English.

Keywords: anaphors, linguistic marking, topicality hierarchies, text structure

1. Introduction

An anaphor is defined as the linguistic expression with which an entity is resumed, i.e. mentioned again, in the following co-text. An anaphor, as e.g. *it* in (1)-(2), thus refers back to a previous co-textual constituent, the “antecedent”, as e.g. *a car* in (1)-(2), on which it depends for its interpretation and without which it loses its semantic and referential meaning.¹ The antecedent may be a “referring expression”, i.e. a constituent with which the speaker creates a link to a specific referent in an extralinguistic (imagined or real) world, as *a car* in (1),² or a non-referring, non-specific constituent, as *a car* in (2):

- (1) I saw *a car* in our backyard yesterday. I had never seen *it* before.
- (2) I shall never buy *a car*. I wouldn’t know where to park *it*.

In both cases, the second sentence loses its communicative function without the presence of the antecedent *a car*. Graphically, the two anaphoric relations can be described as in Figure 1 and 2 respectively, which show that the intratextual (or endophoric) anaphoric relation in itself is independent of the referential status of the antecedent. However, the existential conditions of antecedent and anaphor (established by their co-texts) must be the same, for which reason (3) is impossible, and the asterisk indicates the lack of coherence between the two sentences (Korzen 2000a: 517-523):

- (3) I shall never buy *a car*. *I will park *it* in our backyard.

¹ In this paper I confine myself to nominal antecedents and anaphors. The cited definition regards the “textual anaphor”. The “rhetorical anaphor” is defined as the repetition of one or more words at the beginning of utterances (or parts of utterances) within the same text (Ferrari 2010a: 59).

² On the very complex concept of “reference” (which various scholars see as a “speech act”, e.g. Searle 1969: 23ff; Hanks 2019) and “referring constituents”, cf. e.g. Searle (1969), Lyons (1977), Milner (1978), Winkelmann (1978), Brown & Yule (1983), Harder (1990), Hanks (2019) and for further discussions Korzen (1996: 60-72, 2000a: 196-202).

Figure 1. Graphical description of (1).

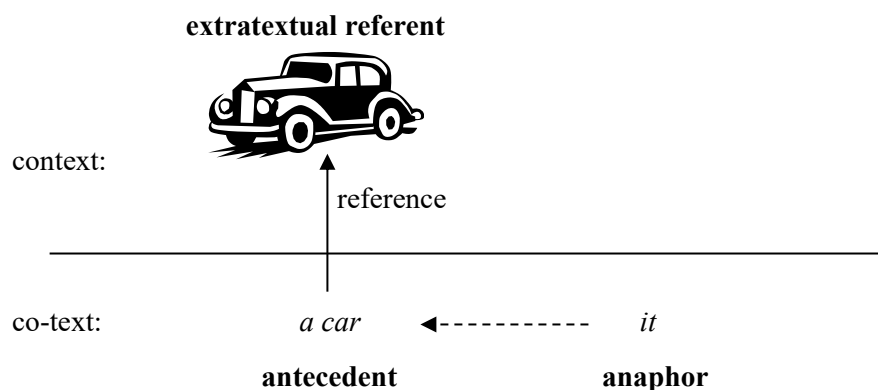
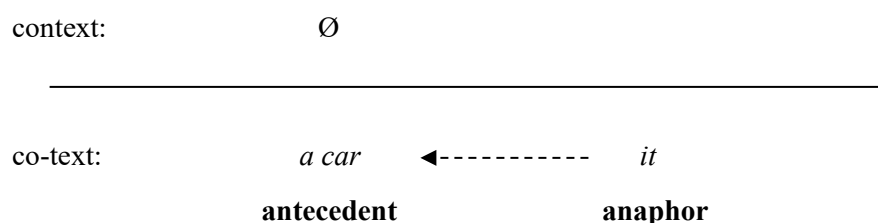


Figure 2. Graphical description of (2).



It is not always easy or straightforward to choose the right linguistic material for an anaphor in a given co-text. Three good examples of this are the authentic Danish cases in (4)-(6):

- (4) Folk der er på venteliste dør, fordi *de* er for lange. (Interview in Denmark's Radio, cit. in *Politiken's* column "Oh Danmark" 16.2.97)³
'People who are on waiting list die because *they* are too long'.
- (5) Schmeichel sikrede sig bolden i anden omgang, men havde slået ryggen og smed *den* over sidelinjen, så han kunne blive behandlet. (*Politiken*; cit. in *Politiken's* column "Oh Danmark" 5.1.97)
'Schmeichel secured the ball in the second half but had hit his back and threw *it* over the sideline so that he could be treated'.
- (6) Han var ude for at lufte sin hund, da han kom i skænderi og slagsmål med den nu efterlyste mand om hunden. Pludselig trak *denne* en pistol og slog caféejeren. (*Politiken*; cit. in *Politiken's* column "Oh Danmark" 7.2.99)
'He was out walking his dog when he got into an argument and fight with the now wanted man about the dog. Suddenly, *the latter* pulled out a gun and hit the café owner'.

On the basis of such "problematic" examples, the purpose of this paper is to develop and discuss the phenomenon of anaphora with special reference to the linguistic material of the anaphor in order to

³ The column "Oh Danmark" appeared for many years in the Sunday edition of the Danish newspaper *Politiken* and contained comic cases of "problematic" language usage.

clarify and explain the problems connected with examples (4)-(6). Since most of my research has focused on Italian (and Danish), much of the following empirical evidence will be in Italian, but the described phenomena and the linguistic circumstances that govern them are similar in the other Romance – as well as Germanic – languages, and all examples will be translated into English.

The following pages are structured as follows: In section 2, I describe the various anaphor types (direct, associative and resumptive) and the different ways of textualising the direct anaphors. In section 3, I introduce the over-all criteria that determine the material of the textualised anaphor, and I distinguish between so-called intraphrasal “vertical” factors and interphrasal “horizontal” factors. I describe the former in more detail and with a series of examples in section 4 and subsections, and the latter in section 5 and subsections. Section 6 contains my conclusions and an analysis of examples (4)-(6).

2. Anaphor types

Anaphors and anaphoric relations are, as is well known, among the most important elements of **textual cohesion**. The anaphor indicates that the same entity is rementioned and states that the text unit in which it occurs should be interpreted as connected with that of the antecedent, thereby contributing to **textual coherence**, i.e. to the fact that the two textual segments belong to the same text.⁴

It is also well known that anaphoric expressions can be textualised (i.e. realised textually) in various ways.⁵ The examples cited so far are all “direct” anaphors, i.e. anaphors that designate the same individual entity as the antecedent, and so are also the (Italian and English) anaphors in (7)-(13):

- (7) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. [\emptyset] Era di una marca che non conoscevo.
[NULL SUBJECT]
[English translation: I saw a car in our backyard last night. [$\emptyset = It$] was of a brand that I didn’t know.]⁶
- (8) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. Non l’avevo mai vista prima.
I saw a car in our backyard last night. I had never seen *it* before.
[UNSTRESSED (in Italian CLITIC) PRONOUN, see Danish examples in (4)-(5)]
- (9) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *Essa* era di una marca che non conosco.
I saw a car in our backyard last night. *That* was of a brand that I don’t know.
[STRESSED PRONOUN, see a Danish example in (6)]
- (10) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *La macchina* era di una marca che non conosco.

⁴ I here follow the definitions of textual cohesion and coherence for example by Conte (1991: 13-14). Another definition of textual coherence regards the text production phase and the principles and criteria adopted by the speaker in order to form his/her text so that the interlocutor interprets it in the intended way; cf. Merlini Barbaresi (1988: 130) and Cornish (1996: 38). For further discussion of these concepts, see e.g. Korzen (2000a: 382 ff.), and for the various types of coherence: referential, temporal, spatial and predicative, cf. for example Lundquist (1999: 70) and Korzen (2000a: 382 ff.).

⁵ Some scholars, e.g. Ferrari (2010a/b), distinguish terminologically between “anaphor” (or “anaphora”) designating the relation between two linguistic expressions, and the “anaphoric expression”, viz. the expression that textualises such a relation. In this paper I use the term “anaphor” for both meanings.

⁶ Unlike Italian, being a pro-drop language, English does not permit a null subject in cases like this. Instead, in the Germanic languages null subjects with finite verbs can be found in the so-called serial constructions $V_1 + V_2$, see section 4.1 and examples (21)’ and (22)’.

I saw a car in our backyard last night. *The car* was of a brand that I don't know.
[NP WITH A DEFINITE ARTICLE, "faithful" anaphor]⁷

- (11) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *Il veicolo* era di una marca che non conosco.

I saw a car in our backyard last night. *The vehicle* was of a brand that I don't know.
[NP WITH A DEFINITE ARTICLE, "unfaithful" anaphor]⁸

- (12) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *Quella macchina* era di una marca che non conosco.

I saw a car in our backyard last night. *That car* was of a brand that I don't know.
[NP WITH A DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE]

- (13) Ho visto *una macchina* nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *Quella macchina* non l'avevo mai vista prima.

I saw a car in our backyard last night. *That car* I had never seen it before.
[DISLOCATED DEMONSTRATIVE NP]

Apart from such "direct" anaphors, an anaphor may be "associative",⁹ i.e. designate an entity that is not identical to the one designated by the antecedent but can be associated with it, as in (14), or a "resumptive anaphor", which "incapsulates" the antecedent, as in (15), where the antecedent is the whole first sentence:

- (14) Ho visto una macchina nel nostro cortile ieri sera. *Il parabrezza* era rotto.

I saw a car in our backyard last night. *The windshield* was broken.
[ASSOCIATIVE NP ANAPHOR]

- (15) Ho visto due macchine in un incidente nella nostra strada. *Quell'evento* mi ha scioccato.

I saw two cars in an accident in our street. *That event* shocked me.
[RESUMPTIVE NP ANAPHOR]

In the following, I shall confine myself to direct anaphors, as they manifest a particular and interesting relation between the linguistic material and specific semantic-pragmatic and textual circumstances. Regarding "associative anaphors", I can refer my readers to e.g. Hawkins (1978), Kleiber (1997a/b), (2001), Conte (1988/1999), Cornish (1999), Lundquist (2003), Korzen (2000a, 2014) and other scholars cited there, and regarding "resumptive anaphors" see e.g. Halliday & Hasan (1976) (who adopt the term "extended reference"), Krenn (1985), D'Addio Colosimo (1984, 1988, 1990), Conte (1988/1999), Korzen (2016) and Pecorari (2017). Regarding the anaphoric ellipsis, cf. Korzen (2017) and other scholars mentioned there, and for an overview of these four kinds of anaphors, see also Korzen (2023). The so-called "evolutive anaphor", which designates an entity that has evolved compared to the entity designated by the antecedent, is discussed e.g. by Asher (2000), Lundquist (2007) and Korzen (2006, 2009).

⁷ A "faithful" anaphor is an NP anaphor with the same head noun as the antecedent.

⁸ The head noun of an "unfaithful" anaphor is lexically different from that of the antecedent, and the anaphor therefore conveys new information about the resumed entity. In Korzen (2023: 113-116) I discuss the various semantic possibilities of such information on the basis of three different Italian corpora, one of which is the "Mr. Bean corpus" that we shall return to in the following sections.

⁹ Also termed "indirect" or "implicit" (Ferrari 2010a: 60; Korzen 1996: 547).

3. The linguistic marking of direct anaphors

In examples (7)-(13) we go from less linguistically marked anaphors to more linguistically marked anaphors. The linguistic marking of an anaphor can be summarised as follows:

- lexical marking: the use of NPs instead of pronouns and null anaphors, cf. (10)-(13);
- morpho-phonological marking: the use of stressed pronouns instead of unstressed pronouns or null subjects, cf. (9), or the use of demonstrative articles instead of definite articles, cf. (12)-(13);
- positional marking: the use of dislocated NPs or pronouns instead of NPs or pronouns in unmarked position, cf. (13);¹⁰
- prosodic marking: in spoken language the use of contrastive accentuation or other particular intonation.

As can be seen, more than one kind of marking can occur in the same anaphor.

As we saw at the end of section 2, the literature on anaphora different from the direct type is very rich, and the same can be said about the direct anaphors. Among the most important Italian contributions we might mention Marengo (1979), Conte (1988/1999), Berretta (1990), Simone (1990), and informative encyclopaedia articles can be found in Ferrari (2010a/b) and Pecorari (2024). For more references, see Korzen (2000a, 2001). The linguistic material of the anaphoric expressions is discussed e.g. by Givón (1983), who mainly adopts quantitative and semantic criteria (such as the distance between antecedent and anaphora and the possible semantic interference caused by other lexical elements in the text span), by Fox (1987a/b/c), who focuses on the importance of text structure, by Berretta (1990), who points particularly to syntactic phenomena, and by Ferrari (2010b), who distinguishes between semantic repetition, substitution and contiguity in the relation antecedent – anaphor, and also points to the importance of the text type. Interesting discussions of the role and degree of antecedent accessibility are found in Ariel (2001 and other works) and in Arnold (2010). In a recent study, De Cesare (2025) investigates the main referential chains of biographies generated by GPT-4¹¹ and finds a tendency of repetitive textual patterns with over-codification of discourse referents and over-segmentation of semantically and pragmatically compact textual units.

All the mentioned approaches are useful and relevant, but taken individually they do not give a complete picture. Fundamentally, what is decisive for the linguistic material of an anaphor is the textual prominence, or salience, of the entity in question at the time it is anaphorised. The more text-pragmatically prominent the resumed entity is, i.e. the more salient it is in the hearer's mental-cognitive representation based on the textual (or contextual) input, the less the anaphoric expression needs marking, i.e. the less linguistic material is required in the anaphor.

It is important to state that generally it is not possible to outline absolutely categorical rules regarding the linguistic material of an anaphor, but some more or less strong tendencies can be determined. In the following pages I propose as essential for the prominence of a resumed antecedent the combination of two different aspects, 1: semantic, syntactic and pragmatic factors determining the general topicality of the antecedent, 2: the structure of the text sequence and of the narration in question. Hence, we can distinguish between **intraphrasal and “vertical” factors**, in the sense that they operate within the antecedent in a hierarchically vertical way (cf. section 4), and **interphrasal and “horizontal” factors**, which operate between constituents in a textually horizontal way (cf. section 5).

¹⁰ I here ignore the complicated discussion of the appropriateness of defining the position of the dislocated nominal constituent as “marked”; cf. Duranti & Ochs (1979), Berruto (1985: 59, foot note 1), Sobrero (1993: 425, note 21) and Korzen (2000a: 452-464).

¹¹ Generative Pre-trained Transformer 4, a multimodal large language model trained and created by OpenAI.

A third phenomenon particularly pertinent to the horizontal factor is the risk of semantic interference, i.e. the presence of other referents in the co-text that could be interpreted as relevant to the anaphor relation.

As empirical evidence of the factors mentioned I shall cite a series of text examples, of which many come from a corpus created in a contrastive empirical survey Italian – Danish, the so-called “Mr. Bean corpus”; some examples derive from other sources. The “Mr. Bean corpus” consists of narrative texts, more precisely 90 written and oral retellings of two Mr. Bean episodes, “The Library” and (part of) “Merry Christmas Mr. Bean”, produced by 27 students from the University of Turin and 18 students from the University of Copenhagen. The corpus was created in 1995 by a group of researchers from the University of Copenhagen and the Copenhagen Business School, including myself (Skytte et al. 1999), <https://mrbeankorpus.cbs.dk/>, with the collaboration of the University of Turin and Carla Bazzanella. In the episode “The Library”, from which most of the following examples originate, Mr. Bean enters the reading room of a library where he receives for consultation an incunabulum, which he later manages to cut up and destroy (see section 5.2 example (51) for an almost full account of the episode). In the episode “Merry Christmas Mr. Bean”, the protagonist finds himself in a department store, where he stages a very personal version of the Christmas nativity scene with figurines from an exhibition. We showed the two episodes to the students and asked them to retell the episodes orally and in writing in their mother tongue. The corpus totals the number of words cited in Table 1.

Table 1: Number of words in the Mr. Bean corpus.

	Oral texts	Written texts
Italian texts	11,813	7,374
Danish texts	11,691	7,261

4. Intraphrasal, vertical factors: topicality

The intraphrasal and vertical factors are linked to the concept of textual topicality. In recent decades, different scholars have proposed various semantic and pragmatic hierarchies that determine the probability that a nominal constituent will obtain **topic status** in a sentence or a text sequence. For the definition of **topic** I follow e.g. Givón (1983) and Lambrecht (1996: 127), who define topic as the textually recurring entity/entities about which the individual clauses “speak”, viz. on which they provide information.¹² The hierarchies that determine the topic probability are based on the following factors: identifiability, cf. (16), semantic/syntactic functions and roles, cf. (17), semantic classification, individualisation and lexical features, cf. (18)/(20), and referentiality, cf. (19):

- (16) **Identifiability:** [+ identifiable] > [– identifiable]
- (17) **Semantic/syntactic roles:** Agent/subject > Experiencer/dative > Patient/object > other (e.g. secondary constituent)
- (18) **Semantic classification and individualisation:** countable first-order constituent singular

¹² For more in-depth discussions on this subject, cf. e.g. Ariel (2001), Korzen (1999, 2000a: 211-217). For the definition of **text sequence**, cf. e.g. Korzen (2000c) and other scholars cited there.

uncountable first-order constituent > first-order constituent plural > second/third-order constituent¹³

(19) **Referentiality:** deictic > specific > generic > non-specific > intensional/conceptual¹⁴

(20) **Human or non-human:** [+ human] > [– human]

The further to the left a textual constituent is placed in the five scales mentioned, the more text-pragmatically prominent it is and the more suitable it is as text topic. For example, an Agent/subject appears more frequently as topic than an Experiencer/dative, which in turn appears more frequently than a Patient/object. A deictic, or at least specific, constituent appears more frequently as topic than a generic (i.e. a constituent designating a whole category), a non-specific or an intensional/conceptual constituent, etc. Hence, the most prototypical topic of a sentence or a text sequence is a constituent with the semantic-syntactic role of Agent/subject, referentially deictic or at least specific and lexically countable, singular and human. Of course, decisive for the actual choice of topic in a given text (sequence) is the text content, the narration itself, which may also imply topic changes with particular consequences for anaphor material. This phenomenon will be dealt with in section 5.2 below.

The hierarchies in (16), (17) and (20) are inspired by Givón (1976), while those in (18) and (19) are based on Herslund (1996), who follows the so-called “transitivity scales” suggested by Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252) and the hierarchies for object marking in various (especially Romance) languages proposed by Bosson (1991: 160). For more detailed discussions on these hierarchies, cf. Korzen (2000a/b, 2004, 2017).

The five hierarchies generally play important roles for nominal syntax. For example, all five hierarchies prove to be decisive for the tendency to nominal determination: the further to the left a constituent is placed, the higher the tendency is to determine it in a text, a tendency I have discussed in Korzen (2000a: 214-361, 2000b, 2004). But the last four, (17)-(20), also have an important impact on the linguistic material in anaphorisation, as we shall see in the following sections. As a general tendency, the further to the left the antecedent is placed, the less an anaphor needs linguistic marking.¹⁵

4.1. Semantic/syntactic function and lexical features

In this section, I give some evidence of the importance of the semantic role, syntactic function and lexical features of the antecedent, cf. the scales in (17) and (20). Examples (21)-(22) are very typical cases of text sequential introductions of a human text topic, an Agent/subject, i.e. an antecedent placed in the “top position” of scales (17) and (20), with subsequent anaphorisations by unmarked anaphors. More precisely, in (21) we have the text initial introduction of *un uomo* ‘a man’ (viz. Mr. Bean), and in (22) a sequence initial introduction of the protagonist *De Luca*:

(21) Un uomo entra in una biblioteca dove è possibile consultare testi antichi. Nel raggiungere il

¹³ First-order entities are physical objects and masses, which exist in the dimension space, second-order entities are events, actions and state-of-affairs, which occur or take place in the dimension time, while third-order entities are non-observable mental phenomena such as propositions and equations, cf. e.g. Lyons (1977) and Dik (1997).

¹⁴ An intensional/conceptual constituent is a constituent referentially reduced to an intensional, or conceptual, meaning for instance by being incorporated, see examples in section 4.2 below.

¹⁵ See also Givón’s (1990: 969) so-called “quantity principle”:

(a) A larger chunk of information will be given a larger chunk of code

(b) Less predictable information will be given more coding material

(c) More important information will be given more coding material

where (b) is particularly relevant to anaphor relations, while (c) is relevant to nominal determination.

posto che *gli* è stato assegnato dal bibliotecario, [\emptyset] si sforza di non fare rumore camminando in punta dei piedi. Con molta attenzione [\emptyset] si siede e [\emptyset] comincia ad estrarre dalla borsa i fogli per gli appunti e il portapenne. Per non disturbare il suo vicino che è intento nella lettura e gli manda occhiate al minimo rumore, [\emptyset] arriva al punto di oliare la cerniera del portapenne. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA8)¹⁶

‘A man enters a library where it is possible to consult ancient texts. In reaching the place that *he* has been assigned by the librarian, *he* tries hard not to make any noise by walking on tiptoe. Very carefully *he* sits down and [\emptyset] begins to take paper and pencil case out of his bag. In order not to disturb his neighbour who is absorbed in reading and sends angry looks at the slightest noise, *he* goes so far as to oil the zip of the pencil case’.

- (22) De Luca si morse un labbro e [\emptyset] lanciò un'altra occhiata allo scalone. Poi [\emptyset] si piegò in avanti, [\emptyset] corse fuori e [\emptyset] saltò sulla jeep che stava partendo, attaccandosi alla bandoliera di un agente. (Lucarelli 1998b: 15)

‘De Luca bit his lip and [\emptyset] glanced at the staircase again. Then *he* leaned forward, [\emptyset] ran out and [\emptyset] jumped into the departing jeep, holding on to a policeman's bandolier’.

The unmarked anaphors in Italian are the null subjects and, in (21), the clitic pronoun *gli*, in English, the pronoun *he* and the null subjects. The latter occur (with finite verbs)¹⁷ in the so-called “serial constructions”, which are intraclausal coordinate verb constructions, V_1 and V_2 (and $V_3...$), where the subject of V_2 ($V_3...$) is the same as that of V_1 but cannot be rendered explicit without breaking up the construction:

- (21)’ Very carefully *he* sits down and [\emptyset] begins to take paper and pencil case out of his bag.

- (22)’ Then *he* leaned forward, [\emptyset] ran out and [\emptyset] jumped into the departing jeep.¹⁸

Evidently, the topical constituent is pragma-cognitively very prominent: designating the entity that the text sequence talks about, cf. section 4.0, it stands, so to speak, at the top of our awareness, and this is reflected in the very limited need for linguistic material in the anaphor.

Instead, if we go down the hierarchy of (17) and (20), we observe that constituents other than human subjects/Agents much more often require marked anaphors. The following examples show three anaphorisations of *il libro* ‘the book’, in (23) functioning as object/Patient, in (24)-(25) as secondary constituents:

- (23) arriva il bibliotecario e [\emptyset = Mr. Bean] chiude immediatamente il libro, e- dopo che il biblio, il bibliotecario è andato via, [\emptyset] riapre *il libro* e [\emptyset] vede che... ha combinato un grande

¹⁶ Regarding the “Mr. Bean corpus” references (Skytte et al. 1999), *IS* and *IM* indicate Italian written and oral texts respectively; *DS* and *DM* indicate Danish written and oral texts respectively. The participants were divided into two groups, *A* and *B*.

¹⁷ In this paper, I ignore non-finite verb constructions, i.e. constructions with a gerund, a participle or a nominalised verb, such as e.g. *Arriving late*, you’ll miss dinner; *Born in the late 50s*, Joe grew up in absolute poverty; *Upon arrival in town*, we had dinner. Such constructions strongly contribute to the density and complexity of the text structure (Korzen 2021, 2024) and always refer to the co-text topic, in the cited cases *you*, *Joe*, *we*.

¹⁸ In Danish, these constructions are also termed “kongruenskonstruktioner” (see e.g. Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 284-285, 979-980), and they often correspond to finite + non-finite verb constructions in the Romance languages (cf. Herslund 2000; Korzen 2000a: 431-433; Gylling 2017: 53-54). A precise definition of serial verb constructions (in a stricter sense) – also termed complex predicates – is found e.g. in Aikhenvald (2006: 1). On $V_1 + V_2$ constructions in statistical comparison with other anaphors in Danish, see Korzen (2007).

pasticcio (Skytte et al. 1999, IMB13)¹⁹

‘the librarian arrives and [Ø = he/Mr. Bean] closes immediately the book, and after the libra... the librarian has left, [Ø = he] reopens *the book* and [Ø] sees that he has made a big mess’.

- (24) Anche in questo caso [Ø = Mr. Bean] cerca di fare del suo meglio, ma [Ø] si rivela estremamente maldestro: dopo aver appoggiato una velina su una pagina del libro, [Ø] starnutisce fragorosamente e [Ø] sporca *il libro*. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA13)
 ‘Also in this case, [Ø = Mr. Bean] tries to do his best, but [Ø = he] turns out to be extremely clumsy: after placing a tissue on a page of the book, [Ø = he] sneezes loudly and [Ø] dirties *the book*’.
- (25) [...] [Ø = Mr. Bean] decide a questo punto di strappare il foglio celando il rumore provocato con un finto starnuto e rifilando quanto rimasto attaccato alla rilegatura del libro con un taglierino riducendo in tal modo *il libro* in pezzi. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA5)
 ‘[...] at this point, [Ø = Mr. Bean] decides to tear the page, hiding the noise caused by a fake sneeze and trimming what remained attached to the binding of the book with a cutter, thus reducing *the book* in pieces’.

While the subject/Agent *Mr. Bean* continues to be rementioned with unmarked anaphors, *the book*, a non-human object/Patient and secondary constituent respectively, is anaphorised with NPs even though the text distance from the last mention is very short. In these cases, unmarked anaphorisations, i.e. anaphorisations with the unstressed pronouns *lo* – ‘it’, *lo riapre*, *lo sporca*, *riducendolo* ‘reopens it, dirties it, reducing it’, would not be sufficient.

Also among human subjects/Agents, there may be differences in saliency and therefore in anaphorisation. The example in (23) shows the difference between the primary topic, *Mr. Bean*, and a narratively secondary topic, *il bibliotecario* ‘the librarian’, who plays a minor role in the story. Even after the text introduction of the latter, *arriva il bibliotecario*, ‘the librarian arrives’, *Mr. Bean* is still anaphorised with an Italian null subject: [Ø] *chiude immediatamente il libro* ‘[Ø = he] closes immediately the book’. The same happens after the rementioning of the librarian, *dopo che il bibliotecario è andato via*, ‘after the librarian has left’. While the librarian is again anaphorised with a full NP, in spite of a short distance from the previous mention, *Mr. Bean* is once more anaphorised with a null subject: [Ø] *riapre il libro e [Ø] vede che...* ‘[Ø = he] reopens the book and [Ø] sees that...’.

Constituents in lower positions in the hierarchies, as well as secondary topics, may very well be anaphorised with unmarked anaphors, but this requires a textual position very close to the antecedent and – unlike in (23) where both the primary and a secondary topic are in play – the absence of possible semantic interference; this is the case of *il libro* – *lo* – *lo* ‘the book – it – it’ in (26). In (27) both *Mr. Bean* and the librarian are in play, but the latter (*il custode* ‘the caretaker’) is a secondary constituent that never reaches a topic position, and the sentence content disambiguates the anaphoric reference.²⁰

- (26) [Ø = Mr. Bean] Si infila meticolosamente un paio di guanti bianchi prima di ricevere il libro e non appena glielo portano comincia a sfogliarlo, mettere segnalibri e a ricopiare le

¹⁹ Here, as in other oral examples, the comma, the hyphen and the three dots indicate pauses of varying length in an oral retelling. For precise accounts of the transcription principles, see Skytte et al. (1999: 577-580).

²⁰ In Korzen (2001: 123-124) I discuss the importance for anaphor interpretation of the three different pragmatic-cognitive levels: the lexical, co-textual and contextual level, levels that can be described as “Chinese boxes”. See also Lundquist (2000: 110) and Korzen (2000a: 532-534).

immagini di suo interesse. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA5)

‘He meticulously puts on a pair of white gloves before receiving the book and as soon as they bring *it* to him, he begins to leaf through *it*, place bookmarks and copy the pictures of his interest’.

- (27) [Ø = Mr. Bean] Parla a gesti con il custode, *gli* indica il libro che vuole prendere in visione [...] (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA4)
 ‘He speaks with gestures with the caretaker, shows *him* the book he wants to see [...]

Usually, the risk of semantic interference is greater in the non-topical positions than in the topical position where the same particular individual or, possibly, group of particular individuals remain in the story focus. In case of possible semantic interference, a marked anaphor is generally preferred, as seen in (28), where *il libro che aveva richiesto* ‘the book he had requested’ is resumed with a “double-marked” anaphor *questo libro* ‘this book’ (marked both lexically and morphophonologically). This is an oral example which, like all oral texts, requires greater clarity due to the lack of visual control of the information given in the previous co-text, and apart from the anaphor chain originating from *the book* (marked with “j”) the text sequence also contains anaphor chains originating from *una carta velina* ‘a tissue paper’ (marked with “k”) and *una figura* ‘a figure’ (marked with “l”)

- (28) ecco che arriva il, il guardiano-, a portare appunto, il suo li, il libro che aveva richiesto_j, inizia ad aprire *questo libro*_j, perché voleva appunto, ricopiare, con una carta velina_k, una figura_l di *questo libro*_j, e prende la matita prende *la carta velina*_k, cerca di di tracciare *la figura*_l (Skytte et al. 1999, IMB2)
 ‘Then comes the, the guard-, to bring precisely, his book, *the book he had requested*_j, he starts to open *this book*_j, because he wanted precisely, to copy, with *a tissue paper*_k, *a figure*_l of *this book*_j, and he takes the pencil, he takes *the tissue paper*_k, tries to copy *the figure*_l’

If, on the other hand, a non-topical constituent rises in “rank” and becomes topic, such topic change requires a marked anaphor, even in a position immediately following the antecedent:

- (29) prima di uscire devono appunto consegnare il libro, *il libro* viene visto dal guardiano se è in buona condizione, poi escono [...] (Skytte et al. 1999, IMB2)
 ‘before leaving they must return the book, *the book* is checked by the guard if it is in a good condition, then they leave [...]

We shall return to the phenomenon of topic change as well as to the importance of the text structure in section 5 below. More Italian and Danish examples of the phenomena dealt with in this section can be found in Korzen (2000a: 501-512).

4.2. Referentiality and semantic classification

In this section I cite some examples of the importance of referentiality and semantic classification, cf. the scales in (18)-(19). The referentiality scale, (19), is generally very significant for the text topicality of a constituent and indeed for nominal determination, but regarding anaphor material the most important distinction is the one between **extensional** and **intensional** NP antecedents. Logical semantics distinguishes between the **extension** of a nominal lexeme, defined as all the extra-linguistic entities of which the lexeme constitutes a true description, also called the lexeme’s denotation, and the **intension** of a nominal lexeme, defined as the lexical features and characteristics attributed to the entities of the category in question. The intension of a lexeme, also termed the **concept** in question,

determines its extension, and the full extension constitutes the designated category.²¹

An **extensional** NP is an NP designating an extensionally defined part or portion of the category in question, i.e. a number of countable objects or a quantity of uncountable mass, possibly the category in its entirety (generic NPs). **Intensional**, or **conceptual**, NPs merely express the features and characteristics attributed to the entities of the category without defining any extensional quantity. NPs with a determiner are always extensional, whereas NPs without a determiner may be extensional or intensional (Korzen 1996, 2000a). Extensional NPs cover the four highest positions of scale (19); only an extensionally defined entity may be interpreted as specific (possibly deictic), generic or non-specific, and the examples (1)-(2) and Figure 1-2 in section 1 illustrate that e.g. the difference between specific and non-specific antecedents generally has no (or very little) impact on anaphor material.

Intensional NPs occur for instance in incorporations, such as Italian “comprare *casa*, sbagliare *strada*, bere *vino*”, ‘to buy [a] house, to take the wrong road, to drink wine’, and Danish “købe *hus*, læse *avis*, skrive *brev*, drikke *vin*” ‘to buy [a] house, to read [a] newspaper, to write [a] letter, to drink wine’, constructions in which the NPs merely add abstract restrictions to the verb as in “[to make a] house purchase, [to perform] newspaper reading, letter writing, wine drinking”, etc.²² They also occur in prepositional phrases, see an example in (34) below. These NPs do not convey any meaning of extension or extensionally defined entities.

The difference between an extensional and an intensional antecedent is crucial for the material of an anaphor. See for example:

- (30) Gianni ha comprato una casa vicino a Ginevra. [\emptyset] è molto vecchia
 ‘Gianni bought a house near Geneva. [\emptyset = *it*] is very old’
- (31) Gianni ha comprato casa vicino a Ginevra. ^(?)[\emptyset] è molto vecchia
 ‘Gianni bought [a] house near Geneva. ^(?)[\emptyset = *it*] is very old’

Whereas the null subject anaphor in (30) is unproblematic in Italian, the one in (31) is not excluded, but definitely less frequent than the one in (30). A null anaphorisation of the object in *ha comprato casa* ‘[he] bought [a] house’ requires that the interlocutor in his/her mental representation of the situation creates an entity type, a “mental” house, salient enough to allow such anaphorisation, and authentic examples are generally rare:

- (32) Anche quando il bambino si è riaddormentato, né la mamma né suo marito hanno aperto bocca. Avrei voluto aprir*la* io, avrei voluto dire che il piccolo era carino [...]. (Tamaro 1991: 103)
 ‘Even when the baby fell asleep again, neither the mother nor her husband opened [\emptyset = their] mouth. I would have liked to have opened *it* [= my mouth], I would have liked to say that the little one was cute [...]’.
- (33) - Sua moglie non diceva sul serio, eh signor Comstock? Vuole il divorzio?
 - Beh, può darsi che cambi idea.
 - Ah, *la* cambia sicuramente. (Marks 1963)²³

²¹ For lengthy discussions of these terms and notions as well as references to a number of scholars who have explored them, see e.g. Korzen (1996: 53-59, 2000a: 167ff, 209ff).

²² Such constructions are extremely rare in English with countable nouns in the singular. On noun incorporation in the Romance languages, see e.g. Herslund (2002), and on noun incorporation in Italian and Danish, see e.g. Korzen (2000a: 310-339, 2002) and other scholars cited there.

²³ A dialogue from the TV-film *Perry Mason*, Italian RAI1. Films and programmes in other languages than Italian are generally dubbed in Italian in Italian television.

- Your wife wasn't serious, was she, Mr. Comstock? Does she want a divorce?
- Well, she might [literally:] change idea.
- Oh, surely she will [literally:] change *it*'.

- (34) Angelica s'infilò il pellicciotto. Disse a Viola che l'accompagnasse con la sua macchina, perché lei era senza macchina, l'aveva presa Oreste. (Ginzburg 1973: 105)
 'Angelica put on her fur coat. She told Viola to take her in her car, because she was without [Ø = a] car, Oreste had taken *it*'.

In (32) the incorporation construction *aprire bocca* 'open mouth' is synonymous with the verb *parlare* 'speak', but the anaphor *la* 'it' refers to a specific *mouth*, i.e. the speaker's. In (33) the anaphor *la* 'it' refers to the specific idea about the divorce, and in (34) the construction (*essere*) *senza macchina* '(to be) without car' means something like "to be carless", and again the anaphor *l'* (*la*) 'it' refers to a specific car, viz. Angelica's.

The lack of extension in intensional antecedents means that unmarked anaphorisations require a very short distance between antecedent and anaphor, as in the authentic examples just cited. If we interpose other linguistic material, as in:

- (35) Gianni ha comprato una casa vicino a Ginevra una settimana fa, appena tornato dall'Italia. [Ø] è molto vecchia.
 'Gianni bought a house near Geneva a week ago, just returned from Italy. [Ø = It] is very old.'
- (36) Gianni ha comprato casa vicino a Ginevra una settimana fa, appena tornato dall'Italia. ??[Ø] è molto vecchia.
 'Gianni bought [a] house near Geneva a week ago, just returned from Italy. ??[Ø = It] is very old.'

the construction with the extensional antecedent in (35) remains acceptable, while problems arise with the intensional antecedent in (36), where a marked anaphor such as *la casa* 'the house' would be preferred, or an altogether different clause such as *È una casa molto vecchia* 'It's a very old house' or similar.

If at the same time we go down the scale in (18), the differences become more significant. If instead of the countable constituent in the singular, *house*, we choose a mass constituent as *wine*, we get constructions, extensional (37) and intensional (38), such as:

- (37) Gianna ci ha venduto del vino una settimana fa. [Ø] non era italiano.
 'Gianna sold us some wine a week ago. [Ø = It] was not Italian'.
- (38) Gianna vende vino da parecchi anni. ?[Ø] non è italiano.
 'Gianna has sold *wine* for several years. ?[Ø = It] is not Italian'.

Even if the unmarked anaphor after the intensional antecedent in (38) is rare, it is acceptable. However, if other linguistic material is interposed, as in:

- (39) Gianna ci ha venduto del vino una settimana fa dal suo piccolo negozio in centro. [Ø] non era italiano.
 'Gianna sold us some wine a week ago from her small shop in the centre. [Ø = It] was not Italian'.

- (40) Gianna vende vino da parecchi anni dal suo piccolo negozio in centro. ??[Ø] non è italiano.
 ‘Gianna has sold *wine* for several years from her small shop in the centre. ??[Ø = It] is not Italian’.

The unmarked anaphor in (40) would be considered too weak and an NP, *il vino* ‘the wine’, would be preferred – or, again, a different construction such as *Non è vino italiano* ‘It is not Italian wine’ or similar.

If, on the scale of (18), we go down to second- or third-order constituents, a position very close to the antecedent is essential to an unmarked anaphor, as we saw in example (33). If this is not the case, an unmarked anaphor is no longer able to resume an intensional antecedent, cf. (42), but will require an extensional antecedent, as in (41):

- (41) Hanno deciso di muovere un attacco alle postazioni nemiche vicine. [Ø] doveva essere molto violento.
 ‘They decided to launch an attack on the enemy positions nearby. [Ø = It] had to be very violent’.
- (42) Hanno deciso di muovere attacco alle postazioni nemiche vicine. *[Ø] [→ attacco] doveva essere molto violento.
 ‘They decided to launch [an] attack on the enemy positions nearby. *[Ø] [→ attack] had to be very violent’.

In cases such as (42), a marked anaphora, *l’attacco* ‘the attack’, would be considered necessary.

5. Interphrasal/horizontal factors: text and narrative structure

In several of the cases in the previous subsections, the distance between antecedent and anaphor was crucial to the choice of anaphor material, and especially a textual “barrier” such as a text sequence change can reduce the pragmatic saliency of the antecedent in the new sequence, causing a marked anaphor to be required. Vice versa, a marked anaphor often expresses a pragmatic, textual and/or narrative distance to the antecedent and can therefore be chosen to **create** a barrier, i.e. to signal that there is e.g. a text sequence change, which we shall see below. As we saw in example (29), also a narrative “barrier” such as a topic change can require a marked anaphor, see subsection 5.2.

In the textualisation of a longer non-linguistic input, such an input will typically be perceived and interpreted as a series of discrete units, e.g. “episodes” or “events” (Tomlin 1985: 92), and the division and distinction between them depend on the cognitive perception of the overall sequence. Psychological-cognitive processes control the so-called “attention allocation” (Tomlin 1987), and a change in this, an “attention shift”, causes an interruption in the flow of information and creates a psychological barrier or an “episode boundary”.

Such an attention shift can be caused by a shift in e.g. time, place, action/event unit, participating persons, etc., and its linguistic coding can consequently consist of e.g. time or space adverbs, *in that moment*, *after a while*, *then*, perfective or imperfective verbs, or special (typically marked) anaphors. As long as there is no attention shift of this kind, the flow of information is uninterrupted, and the interlocutor remains in the same cognitive “picture” or mental space. Regarding such “mental spaces”, Fauconnier (1994) distinguishes between “Time space”, “Space space”, “Domain space” and “Hypothetical space”, and the linguistic elements that signal shifts between mental spaces are termed space-builders (Fauconnier 1994: 17). Therefore, in many cases a marked anaphor will function as a space-builder.

In the following subsections I cite some examples of such phenomena, which we can define as

interphrasal or “horizontal” factors, i.e. factors linked to the text/or and narrative structure, and their impact on anaphor material.

5.1. Text sequence change

A text sequence change is usually the textual signal of an interruption of the cognitive-psychological attention focus, and, as stated, it is typically caused by a temporal, spatial, personal and/or narrative episode change. In written texts, the shift can be conveyed by a typographical paragraph change and in oral texts by intonation changes and pauses. In written texts, therefore, not infrequently, a change of paragraph coincides with the occurrence of a marked anaphor – whether there is a topic change or topic continuity. Examples (43)-(44) are cases of topic continuity:

- (43) Era quasi ora del coprifuoco quando [\emptyset = De Luca] arrivò in città, e cominciava rapidamente a fare buio. Non [\emptyset] aveva telefonato a Pugliese perché lo venisse a prendere [...]. Era caldo, l'estate stava finalmente arrivando, e c'era il vento, un vento tiepido a raffiche polverose, che gli incollava alle gambe le falde dell'impermeabile aperto.

De Luca rifletteva, preso completamente da una folla di pensieri che si urtavano e si sovrapponevano, sfuggendo al suo tentativo di metterli in ordine. (Lucarelli 1998a: 79)

'It was almost curfew time when [\emptyset = De Luca] arrived in the city, and it was rapidly beginning to get dark. [\emptyset = He] had not phoned Pugliese to come and pick him up [...]. It was hot, summer was finally coming, and there was a wind, a warm wind with dusty gusts, which glued the flaps of the open raincoat to his legs.

De Luca reflected, completely absorbed by a crowd of thoughts that collided and overlapped, escaping his attempt to put them in order'.

- (44) [\emptyset = “L'uomo”] Era di età indefinibile, vestito come un cocchiere: stivali, mantello di cerata, e in testa una bombetta. La sua apparizione inaspettata mise fine a ogni conversazione. [...] Restammo tutti in silenzio, finché, raggiunta che ebbe la pedana, l'uomo si inchinò più volte verso il pubblico [...]. Qualcuno dal fondo gli gridò qualcosa, e lui ribatté prontamente con una frase in dialetto che non riuscii a capire, ma alla quale molti risposero con un applauso.

L'uomo portava vistosi baffi grigi e spioventi, alla tartara, ma i capelli, in contrasto, erano ancora scuri [...]. (Maurensig 1996: 20-21)

'[\emptyset = The man] was of indefinable age, dressed like a coachman: boots, oilskin cloak, and a bowler hat on his head. His unexpected appearance put an end to all conversation. [...] We all remained silent, until, having reached the platform, the man bowed several times to the audience [...]. Someone from the back shouted something to him, and he promptly replied with a phrase in dialect that I could not understand, but to which many responded with applause.

The man wore a showy grey and sloping moustache, in the Tartar style, but his hair, in contrast, was still dark [...].'

In both cases the linear distance between the last mention of the individual in question, the subject/agent and primary topic (in (43): [\emptyset = *De Luca*], *lo*, *gli* 'he', 'him' 'his', in (44): *l'uomo*, *gli*, *lui* 'the man', 'him', 'he') and the anaphor in the new text sequence is very short, and yet the marked anaphora was chosen: *De Luca* / *The man*, signalling the transition to a new sequence, in (43) the transition to a new narrative episode, in (44) the transition to a description of the protagonist. These anaphors function as space-builders.

In the following example, an anaphoric NP with a demonstrative article has been chosen, *Quella strada* 'That road', probably because of the greater distance between antecedent (*una strada* 'a road') and anaphor and the co-textual presence of other referents (see also example (28) in section 4.1), and

because the antecedent, although text topic, is in a low position on the topicality scale in (20) as a non-human entity:

- (45) C'è una strada che a Borgoforte, provincia di Mantova, segue l'argine del Po fino ad un punto in cui il fiume Oglio si innesta nel Po, e lì sull'Oglio c'è uno dei rari ponti di barche rimasti in piedi, tra i tanti che esistevano in queste zone.

Quella strada non è asfaltata, tranne per un tratto iniziale. Intorno ci sono molte vecchie case coloniche in rovina [...]. (Celati 1985: 60, the beginning of the short story *Fantasmia a Borgoforte*)

'There is a road which in Borgoforte, the province of Mantua, follows the bank of the Po to a point where the river Oglio joins the Po, and there on the Oglio there is one of the few pontoon bridges left, among the many that existed in these areas.

That road it is not paved, except for an initial stretch. Around there are many old farmhouses in ruins [...].'

Such a "double-marked" anaphor (marked lexically and morpho-phonologically, cf. section 3), is a very "strong" anaphor and is often chosen if there are more pragmatical-textual "barriers" to overcome. In the following three cases, the antecedents are all low on the scale of (20) (non-human) and (17): in (46) the antecedent *il libro* 'the book' is object/Patient, and in (47)-(48) the antecedents *una biblioteca* 'a library' and *una cameretta da bambino* 'a children's bedroom' are secondary constituents:

- (46) arriva il signore che porta il libro, con molto... diciamo così rispetto, controlla *questo libro* guarda, toglie la polverina, e poi comincia a sfogiarlo (Skytte et al. 1999: IMB3)
'the gentleman who brings the book arrives, with a lot... let's say respect, he checks *this book* he investigates, removes the dust, and then begins to leaf through it'
- (47) allora, la scena si svolge in una biblioteca... un signore entra in *questa biblioteca*, ed è-, molto condizionato dal fatto che-, bisogna fare silenzio (Skytte et al. 1999: IMB4)
'well, the scene takes place in a library... a gentleman enters *this library*, and is-, very conditioned by the fact that-, you have to be silent'
- (48) Dall'alto della capanna si vede arrivare la statuina di un angelo portata da un elicottero-giocattolo, che si cala dentro e afferra Gesù Bambino, che viene portato insieme ai genitori, in una cameretta da bambino. Davanti a *questa cameretta* passa poi un gendarme-giocattolo. [...] (Skytte et al. 1999: ISB2)
'From the top of the hut you can see the statue of an angel brought by a toy helicopter, which descends inside and grabs the Baby Jesus, who is carried together with his parents in a children's bedroom. In front of *this bedroom* then a toy gendarme passes by. [...].'

In (46)-(47), the two oral retellings, the text sequence change is signalled by a pause (in the transcription indicated by a comma and three full stops respectively), and in (48), a written retelling of the Mr. Bean episode "Merry Christmas Mr. Bean", it is indicated by the space adverb *Davanti a questa cameretta* 'In front of this bedroom' and the time adverb *poi* 'then'.

5.2. Topic change

As stated in section 4.0, the hierarchies in (16)-(20) determine the probability that a nominal constituent will obtain topic status in a given sentence or a text sequence, but pivotal for the actual choice of topic in a specific text sequence is, of course, the narrative structure, the narration itself,

and a narration often implies changes of text topics whether there is a text sequence change or not. In section 4.1, example (29), which I repeat here, we saw a case of intrasequential topic change, where a non-topical constituent rose in “rank” and became topic:

- (29) prima di uscire devono appunto consegnare il libro, *il libro* viene visto dal guardiano se è in buona condizione, poi escono [...] (Skytte et al. 1999, IMB2)
 ‘before leaving they must return the book, *the book* is checked by the guard if it is in a good condition, then they leave [...]

A topic change implies a shift in the psychological-cognitive attention from one referent to another, a shift which requires a marked anaphor even in an intrasequential position immediately following the antecedent, as in (29). A similar situation appears in (49), which shows a double topic change from *Mr. Bean* to *il foglio ‘the sheet’* and back to *Mr. Bean*, both changes marked with NP anaphors:

- (49) Nell’atto di ricopiare la sagoma, [\emptyset = Mr. Bean] non riesce a trattenere uno starnuto che provoca lo sfasciamento del foglio su cui stava disegnando: *il foglio* cade, ma *Mr. Bean* non se ne cura e continua distrattamente a ricalcare direttamente sulle pagine del testo. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA10)
 ‘In the act of copying the silhouette, he [= Mr. Bean] cannot hold back a sneeze that causes the damage of the sheet on which he was drawing: *The sheet* falls down, but *Mr. Bean* does not care and absentmindedly continues to draw directly on the pages of the text’.

The return to a primary topic does not necessarily trigger a marked anaphor. This is seen in (29), where the new topic *il libro ‘the book’*, in itself a marked anaphor, was resumed with a null anaphor, *se [\emptyset] è in buona condizione*, ‘if [\emptyset = it] is in a good condition’, but after this the narration focus returns to the two readers, who are anaphorised with a null subject: *poi [\emptyset] escono* ‘then [\emptyset = they] leave’.

Example (50) shows a case of a secondary topic, *la persona addetta ‘the person in charge’* (i.e. the librarian), rising in “rank” and becoming topic, replacing the primary topic *un uomo ‘a man’* (i.e. Mr. Bean), who before the topic change was “regularly” anaphorised with a null subject: [\emptyset] *Mostra un foglio alla persona addetta*, ‘[\emptyset = He] shows a sheet of paper to the person in charge’. Instead, the topic change requires a marked anaphor even in the position immediately following the antecedent, as in (29), and *la persona addetta* is anaphorised with the marked demonstrative pronoun *questo ‘this’* [= who]; probably an NP anaphor was considered a marking too “powerful” so close to the antecedent. In the following clause, the focus is maintained on the secondary topic, which is again resumed with a marked anaphor, the stressed personal pronoun *lui, ‘he’*. The reference of a null subject in this place would have been unclear (\rightarrow *Mr. Bean* or *the librarian*).

- (50) Un uomo entra in una biblioteca. [\emptyset] Mostra un foglio alla persona addetta, *questo* gli fa segno di accomodarsi, mentre *lui* va a prendere il libro richiesto. (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA1)
 ‘A man enters a library. [\emptyset = He] shows a sheet of paper to the person in charge, *who* [lit.: *the latter*] signals him to take a seat, while *he* goes to fetch the requested book.’ (Skytte et al. 1999, ISA1/1-2)

The demonstrative pronoun *questo ‘this’* specifies that the antecedent is close by. The two Italian demonstratives *questo – quello ‘this – that’* convey the deictic distinction “near” – “distant”, respectively.

A topic change can occur within the same text sequence, as in (29) and (49)-(50), but will often occur together with a text sequence change, as is seen in the Danish example in (51), an almost full

account of the Bean episode “The Library”:

- (51) *Mr. Bean* kommer ind på et bibliotek med gamle bøger, han får at vide af bibliotekaren, en ældre nobel herre, at han ikke må larme [...], han gør i det hele taget alt for at undgå at forstyrre den mand der allerede sidder på biblioteket og læser i en stor gammel bog.

Manden skuler til Mr. Bean, da han pludselig begynder at hikke. For at stoppe hikken prøver Mr. Bean at holde vejret [...]. Hele denne manøvre hjælper dog intet, han hikker stadig.

Bibliotekaren kommer med en bog til Mr. Bean, som tager sine hvide bomuldshandsker på. [...] Mr. Bean river siderne ud af bogen og for at camouflere lyden nyser han samtidig, derefter tager Mr. Bean sin hobbykniv frem og skærer de flossede kanter af. Dette resulterer i at han kommer til at skære bogen op.

Biblioteket lukker og *bøgerne* skal afleveres tilbage. Da den anden mand vender sig væk fra bordet ombytter Mr. Bean bøgerne. [...] (Skytte et al. 1999, DSA5)

‘Mr. Bean enters a library with old books, he is told by the librarian, an elderly nobleman, that he must not make any noise [...], he does everything in his power to avoid disturbing the man who is already sitting in the library reading a large old book.

The man scowls at Mr. Bean when he suddenly starts to hiccup. To stop the hiccup, Mr. Bean tries to hold his breath [...]. However, this whole maneuver does not help, he continues to hiccup.

The librarian brings a book to Mr. Bean, who puts on his white cotton gloves. [...] Mr. Bean tears the pages out of the book and to camouflage the sound he sneezes at the same time, then Mr. Bean takes out his hobby knife and cuts off the frayed edges. This results in him cutting the book open.

The library closes and *the books* must be returned. When the other man turns away from the table, Mr. Bean exchanges the books’.

The text in (51) gives examples of both secondary topics rising to a primary position (*manden* ‘the man’, *bibliotekaren* ‘the librarian’) and non-human entities becoming topic (*biblioteket* ‘the library’, *bøgerne* ‘the books’), and all topic changes imply marked anaphors that function as space-builders.²⁴ The new topic in the second sequence, *Manden* ‘The man’, is textualised with an NP anaphor in spite of the very short distance to the last mention, where, however, it was Patient/object, hence low on the scale in (17).

6. Conclusion – and a return to examples (4)–(6)

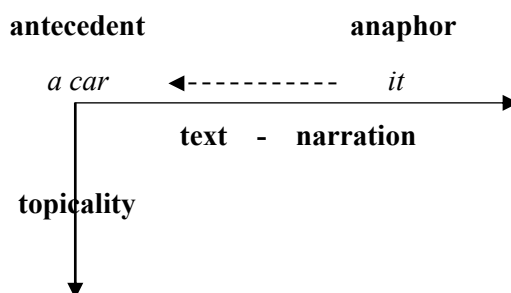
On the basis of the observations in the previous sections and subsections, we can conclude (not surprisingly) that the linguistic marking of an anaphoric expression depends on the interpretability of the anaphoric relation. An anaphor does not need particular linguistic marking if the relation between it and the antecedent is easily interpretable. The anaphoric relation can be considered “easily interpretable” if the antecedent is text-pragmatically prominent at the time it is anaphorised, which means that there are no “barriers” between antecedent and anaphor due to intraphrasal or interphrasal factors.

Intraphrasal factors are related to the topicality, i.e. the pragmatical-topical prominence, of the antecedent in the sentence or text sequence in which it occurs, whereas the interphrasal factors are

²⁴ Even the topic continuity in the third paragraph, *derefter tager Mr. Bean sin hobbykniv frem* ‘then Mr. Bean takes out his hobby knife’, resulted in a marked anaphor, which might seem a case of “over-marking”, unless it is meant as a space-builder together with the time adverb *derefter* ‘then’, to indicate the shift to a new event unit.

related to the textual and narrative structure and to possible changes in text sequence and/or topic status. Hence, we can talk about “vertical” and “horizontal” criteria respectively, and referring back to Figures 1-2 in section 1, we can graphically describe the factors in this way:

Figure 3. Graphical description of the factors determining anaphor material.



The pragmatic-topical prominence of a nominal constituent, the “vertical” criterion, depends on its position in the five pragmatic, syntactic and semantic hierarchies mentioned in section 4.0, of which the four last scales, (17)-(20), are particularly relevant to anaphoric relations. The further to the left in the four hierarchies an antecedent is placed, the more pragmatically-cognitively prominent it is, and the more easily – i.e. with less linguistic marking – it can be anaphorised. An unmarked anaphor signals the resumption of a pragma-textually prominent entity, and if the antecedent is the topic of the text (sequence) in question, the unmarked anaphor signals topic continuity.

On the other hand, a marked anaphor generally signals a more “difficult” anaphoric relation, i.e. the resumption of an antecedent in a low position in the pragma-textual hierarchies and/or an antecedent found across a “barrier” such as a text sequence change, a topic change or a longer text span, possibly with other text referents causing the risk of semantic interference, the “horizontal” criteria.

We can now return to and clarify the “problematic” cases in the authentic Danish examples (4)-(6) in section 1 above. In (4) we notice that the intended antecedent, *venteliste* ‘waiting list’, is a secondary constituent, a prepositional complement, and non-human, i.e. in low positions on the syntactic and lexical scale in (17) and (20). Furthermore, it is placed in a subordinate (relative) clause. An unmarked anaphor is therefore not sufficient to anaphorise it, instead such anaphor will inevitably refer to the highest placed potential antecedent, viz. the subject and primary topic *Folk* ‘People’, cf. the examples (21)-(25) in section 4.1.

An unmarked anaphor has also been used in (5); this text manifests the presence of other referents and thereby a potential semantic interference. The unmarked anaphor will refer to the nearest possible antecedent, which is *ryggen* ‘his back’, and not the intended antecedent *bolden* ‘the ball’ in the first clause.

In (6), a marked anaphor, a demonstrative pronoun, has been used, but the problem is that the preceding text contains three potential antecedents, *han, den nu efterlyste mand, hunden* ‘he, the now wanted man, the dog’. Evidently, the speaker intended *den nu efterlyste mand* ‘the now wanted man’ as the antecedent, but having chosen the demonstrative pronoun *denne*, ‘this’, which specifies the deictic content “near” (see also section 5.2, example (50)), the reference will indicate the nearest possible antecedent, i.e. *hunden* ‘the dog’.

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