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Demonstratives in parallel texts: a case study¹

The aim of this paper is to show the usefulness of parallel texts for typological investigations. In order to analyze the way in which demonstrative systems of the European languages function, two kinds of data have been considered: first, the results of a questionnaire based on situations represented in 48 pictures, which will be necessarily discussed only in a summarized way here. Second, and this will be the main topic of this paper, a corpus of parallel texts: the translations, in different languages of Europe, of the book *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*. Parallel texts have been used to verify the generalizations based on the data elicited through the questionnaire.

1. Introduction

In descriptive grammars, terms like “proximal/distal” or “near/far” from the speaker are typically used to define the meaning of demonstratives. However, these definitions are only an approximation of a complex semantic domain. In particular, an important point concerns the distinction, as found in the literature, between so-called “distance-oriented” systems and “person-oriented” systems. The question is: is that a real distinction, or are they two instantiations of a more general system?

In order to answer this question, I have compiled a questionnaire for the elicitation of data. Because demonstratives seem to straddle the boundaries between visual perception, abstract semantic organization and pragmatic context, two parameters have been considered: distance (semantic parameter) and reciprocal orientation between speaker and hearer (pragmatic parameter). The questionnaire includes 48 pictures and is based on the notion of dyad of conversation (JUNGBLUTH 2001). This notion goes beyond the traditional distinction between “person-oriented” and “distance-oriented” systems because it is based on a detailed physical analysis of the orientation of speaker and addressee. The pictures in the questionnaire represent the three main communicative situations: face-to-face conversations, front-to-back conversations and side-by-side conversations.

In order to check the generalizations obtained by the elicited data, I have used a corpus of parallel texts, consisting of translations of *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* by J.K. Rowling in various European languages.² I have chosen this book because it is recent and it has been translated into many languages of the world. Because it is mainly a children’s book, conversation is very natural and colloquial and includes a lot of dialogues. Dialogues are particularly interesting because they are a context in which demonstratives are frequently employed in their exophoric use (i.e. with external reference to real objects in space).

¹ I wish to thank MICHAEL CYSOUW and BERNHARD WÄLCHLI for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

² A parallel corpus based on the translations of the same *Harry Potter* book has been used for a typological study of epistemic possibility in the Slavonic languages (VAN DER AUWERA *et al.* 2005). Moreover, STOLZ (this issue) has used another book of the *Harry Potter* series, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s stone*, to investigate possessive relations in the languages of Europe. The languages of the translations considered in this study are Basque, Catalan, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Spanish.

2. Methodology

It has to be kept in mind that the use of translations in linguistic research is not unproblematic: the phenomenon of interference from the source language is well known (GELLERSTAM 1996). But this does not mean that translation must be ignored: if controlled, translational equivalents can be a very useful tool in linguistic research, as I will try to show in this paper.

A recent contrastive study of spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese (WU 2004) uses a similar methodology. One set of data was obtained from an experimental procedural task (jigsaw puzzle task). Another set of data came from a corpus formed by two pieces of narrative discourse (*Winnie-The-Pooh* and *Baohulu de Mimi*) with their Chinese and English translations respectively, considering that:

“Parallel texts make it possible to observe how demonstrative reference in one language is signaled in the other within basically similar or identical propositions. As parallel texts put the discourse contextual factors largely in control, the behaviour of the demonstratives can be observed and compared in a focused manner.” (WU 2004: 26)

The generalizations obtained from the analysis of the data elicited through the questionnaire will be discussed necessarily in a summarized way (for further details, see DA MILANO 2005). The attention will be devoted to the verification made possible through the use of parallel texts.

3. The systems of demonstrative pronouns

The topics of the analysis have been on the one hand demonstrative pronouns and, on the other hand, demonstrative adverbs, according to Diessel’s definition of demonstratives:

“[...] demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions. Many studies confine the notion of demonstrative to deictic expressions such as English *this* and *that*, which are used either as independent pronouns or as modifiers of a cooccurring noun, but the notion that I will use is broader. It subsumes not only demonstratives being used as pronouns or nouns modifiers but also locational adverbs such as English *here* and *there*.” (DIESEL 1999: 2)

As far as pronouns are concerned, the data from the questionnaire allowed classifying the languages into eight different types, four two-term demonstrative systems (summarized in 3.1-3.4) and four three-term demonstrative systems (summarized in 3.5-3.8).³ As far as the parallel corpus is concerned, in the original text all the occurrences of *deictically used* demonstratives have been isolated and for each of the sentences thus isolated, the translational equivalents have been identified. Among these, the total set of sentences with either demonstrative determiners/pronouns or demonstrative adverbs amounted to 83. Looking only at the pronouns, the analysis of the parallel texts confirms the classification obtained through the questionnaire.

³ Because of limitations of space, it is not possible to show the data obtained from the questionnaire.

3.1. Proximal vs. unmarked two-term systems

Two term systems exist in different variants. One possibility attested is that the two demonstratives show an opposition in locational proximity (i.e. proximal vs. distal), and the term for distal is the unmarked case.⁴ From the questionnaire, it turned out that the following languages have such demonstrative systems: Norwegian (proximal *her*, unmarked *der*), Danish (proximal *den*, unmarked *det*), Dutch (proximal *deze*, unmarked *die*), English (proximal *this*, unmarked *that*), and Northern Italian (proximal *questo*, unmarked *quello*). As shown (1) and (2), with examples from the parallel texts, English and Dutch exhibit a clear preference for the use of the distal term in situations unmarked for proximity.⁵

- (1) a. 'Tie **that** round the bars,' said Fred, throwing the end of a rope to Harry.
[English 32]
b. 'Hier, knoop **dat** om de tralies', zei Fred, die Harry een touw toewierp.
[Dutch 23]
- (2) a. 'Is **that** supposed to be music?' Ron whispered. [English 144]
b. 'Moet **dat** muziek voorstellen?' fluisterde Ron. [Dutch 100]

3.2. Distal vs. unmarked two-term systems

The reverse case was also attested in the questionnaire study. Some languages treat the proximal demonstrative as the unmarked case, in contrast to a marked distal. This was found in Polish (unmarked *ten/ta/to*, distal *tamten*), Russian (unmarked *этот*, distal *тот*), Czech (unmarked *ten*, distal *tamten*),⁶ Hungarian (unmarked *ez*, distal *az*), Bulgarian (unmarked *tazi*, distal *onazi*), and Modern Greek (unmarked *αυτός*, distal *εκείνος*).

In the examples (3)-(6) from the parallel texts, English uses the unmarked distal form. However, in Polish, Czech and Hungarian, the unmarked proximal term is used. Note that (4) and (6) show situations in which the object referred to is not near the speaker and English accordingly uses the (unmarked) distal demonstrative *that*. However, Polish, Czech and Hungarian use the (unmarked) proximal term, which is some evidence that the relation relative to the speaker is not of importance in these languages.

⁴ The notion of markedness has been considered here as an asymmetric relation among different elements which is determined by various criteria as frequency, semantic generality and use in neutral contexts (GREENBERG 1966). This notion has been relevant in recent studies about demonstrative systems (DIXON 2003; ENFIELD 2003) and it is useful to make an interlinguistic comparison among demonstrative systems.

⁵ Numbers behind the citations refer to the pages of the editions consulted.

⁶ Note that *té* is a variant of *ten*, and *to* is the neuter form of *ten*. The usage of the suffix *-hle* is not of importance to the present investigation.

- (3) a. 'Tie **that** round the bars,' said Fred, throwing the end of a rope to Harry. [English 32]
 b. 'Przywiąż **to** do kraty', powiedział Fred, rzucając Harry'emu koniec liny. [Polish 32]
 c. To už mu Fred pohotově házel konec provazu a vyzval Harryho: 'Uvaž ho kolem **té** mříže!' [Czech 27]
 d. '**Ezt** kösd rá a rácsra', szólt Fred, és egy kötelet dobott oda Harrynek. [Hungarian 30]
- (4) a. 'Can I have **that**?' interrupted Draco, pointing at the withered hand on its cushion. [English 60]
 b. 'Mogę **to** dostać?', przerwał im Draco, wskazując na wyschniętą rękę na poduszce. [Polish 59]
 c. 'Koupil bys mi **tohle**?' přerušil je Draco a ukazoval na vyschlou ruku na polštáři. [Czech 49]
 d. 'Vedd meg **ezt** nekem', szólt közbe Draco, és a párnán heverő aszott kézre mutatott. [Hungarian 53]
- (5) a. 'Is **that** supposed to be music?' Ron whispered. [English 144]
 b. 'Czy **to** ma być ich muzyka?' zapytał szeptem Ron. [Polish 141]
 c. '**To** má být hudba?' šeptl Ron. [Czech 114]
 d. '**Ezt** nevezik ők zemének?' suttogta Ron. [Hungarian 126]
- (6) *Dumbledore reached across to Professor McGonagall's desk, picked up the blood-stained silver sword and handed it to Harry. [...]*
 a. 'Only a true Gryffindor could have pulled **that** out of the Hat, Harry', said Dumbledore simply. [English 358]
 b. 'Tylko prawdziwy Gryfon mógł wyciągnąć **ten** miecz z tiary' rzekł profesor Dumbledore. [Polish 347-348]
 c. '**Tenhle** meč mohl z klobouku vytáhnout jedině ten, kdo do Nebelvíru opravdu patří', řekl prostě Brumbál. [Czech 280]
 d. '**Ezt** csak olyan ember húzhatta elő a süvegből, aki izig-vérig griffendéles' szólt Dumbledore. [Hungarian 309]

3.3. Dyad oriented two-term systems

Prototypically, dyad-oriented systems use the proximal term for referents in the area between speaker and hearer, and the distal term for referents outside this common area. This type is found in Catalan. In the following example from the parallel texts (7), Catalan uses the proximal demonstrative also to refer to an object, the crossbow, which is near the addressee.

- (7) a. 'What's **that** for?' said Harry, pointing at the crossbow as they stepped inside. [English 280]
 b. '¿I **això**?' – va preguntar el Harry, assenyalant la ballesta un cop van ser dins. [Catalan 255]

3.4. One-term systems

Demonstrative systems of French and German show a tendency toward reduction. In grammars, French is described as having two demonstratives: *ceci* and *celà/ça*⁷ and German is described as having a three-term systems: *dieser*, *der*, *jener*. But as the results obtained with the questionnaire have shown, and the parallel texts seem to confirm, French and German show a tendency to use only one term, *celà/ça* and *der/die/das*, respectively. In most examples, the two languages use only this demonstrative, as is illustrated here with examples (8) and (9).

- (8) a. 'Tie **that** round the bars,' said Fred, throwing the end of a rope to Harry. [English 32]
 b. 'Attache **ça** aux barreaux', dit Fred qui lança à Harry l'extrémité d'une corde. [French 30]
 c. 'Schnür **das** um die Gitterstäbe', sagte Fred und warf Harry das Ende eines Seils zu. [German 29]
- (9) a. 'Can I have **that**?' interrupted Draco, pointing at the withered hand on its cushion. [English 60]
 b. 'Est-ce que je peux avoir **ça**?' coupa Drago, en montrant du doigt la main desséchée posée sur le coussin. [French 58]
 c. 'Kann ich **die** haben?', unterbrach Draco und deutete auf die verwitterte Hand auf dem Kissen. [German 56]

3.5. Dual-anchored three term systems

In this type, there are three different demonstratives: proximal, medial and distal. Specifically, the medial term is used both to refer to something near the addressee and to something at a medium distance away from the speaker (irrespective of the location of the addressee). From the data from the questionnaire, this type was established for Spanish (proximal *este*, medial *ese*, distal *aquel*) and Basque (proximal *hau*, medial *hori*, distal *hura*). The following examples from the parallel texts show clear contexts in which the intended referent is near the addressee. These contexts are particularly useful to analyze the medial term in three-term systems.

⁷ As ARRIVÉ *et al.* (1986: 211) say: "La forme *ça* n'a pas morphologiquement l'aspect d'une forme composée. Toutefois ses emplois sont ceux des formes composées. *Ça* est d'ailleurs historiquement issu de *cela*, peut-être sous l'influence de l'adverbe *çà*. Dans l'usage oral contemporain, *ça* tend à se substituer à *cela*, lui-même plus employé que *ceci*." moreover, PRICE (1971: 127) argues that "as a demonstrative, the simple pronoun *ce* has been almost entirely displaced by the compound form *ceci* (< *ce* + *ci*) and *cela* (< *ce* + *là*). (In speech, *cela* is usually reduced to *ça*, which is tending to go the way of *ce* and be weakened to 'it' [...]."

English, which has a two-term system, always uses the distal/unmarked term, whereas Spanish and Basque use the medial term.

- (10) *Harry, glancing over, saw Malfoy stoop and snatch up something. Leering, he showed it to Crabbe and Goyle, and Harry realised that he'd got Riddle's diary.*
 - a. 'Give **that** back' said Harry quietly. [English 258]
 - b. '¡Devuélveme **eso**!' – le dijo Harry en voz baja. [Spanish 204]
 - c. 'Itzuli **hori**!' – esan zion Harryk isilka. [Basque 201]
- (11) *Seconds after they had knocked, Hagrid flung it open. They found themselves face to face, with him aiming a crossbow at them. Fang the boarhound barking loudly behind him. [...]*
 - a. 'What's **that** for?' said Harry, pointing at the crossbow as they stepped inside. [English 280]
 - b. '¿Para qué es **eso**?' – preguntó Harry, señalando la ballesta al entrar. [Spanish 221]
 - c. 'Zertarako da **hori**?' – galdetu zion Harryk, barrura sartu eta balezta seinalatuz. [Basque 218]

3.6. Addressee-anchored three type systems

In this system with three demonstratives, the medial term is only used to refer to something near the addressee. In the questionnaire study, such demonstrative systems were found in Sardinian (proximal *custu*, medial *cussu*, distal *cuddu*), Tuscan (proximal *questo*, medial *codesto*, distal *quello*), and in Portuguese (proximal *esto*, medial *esso*, distal *aquel*). I have had no access to translations of Harry Potter in these languages to verify the results from the questionnaire.

3.7. Systems that shows a tendency toward reduction

In Serbo-Croatian, a special variant of a three-term demonstrative system has been attested. In Serbo-Croatian there are three demonstrative terms (proximal *ovāj*, medial *tāj*, distal *onāj*) but only the proximal and the medial term are regularly used. This might point towards a development from a three-term to a two-term system. I have had no access to a translation of Harry Potter in this language to verify the results from the questionnaire.

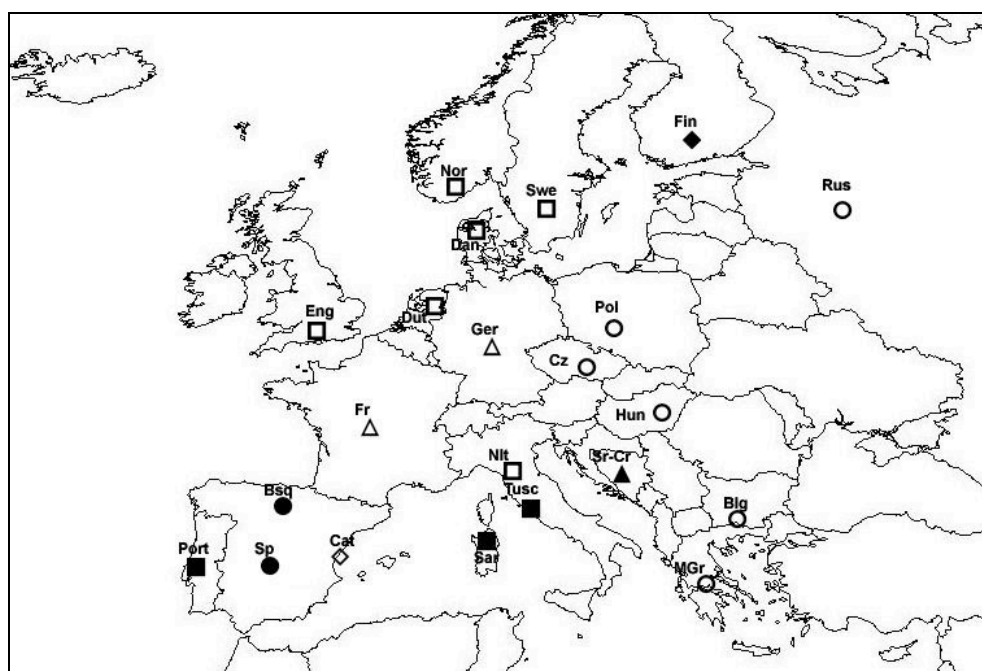
3.8. Not prototypically dyad-oriented three term systems

Finnish codifies a contrast between a space shared by the speaker and the hearer and a space outside of this area. *Tämä* is used for inside and *tuo* for the opposite meaning. *Se* refers to "something in the addressee's perceptual sphere" (LAURY 1996: 306). This behavior is typical of a dyad-oriented system, but we have to take into account the fact that Finnish is a non-article language; for this reason, the use

of demonstratives is comparable only to a certain degree and this is the explanation for the label ‘not prototypically dyad-oriented’ system.

- (12) a. ‘Tie **that** round the bars,’ said Fred, throwing the end of a rope to Harry. [English 32]
 b. ‘Sido **tämä** kaltereiden ympäri’, Fred sanoi ja heitti köyden pään Harrylle. [Finnish 33]
- (13) Harry, glancing over, saw Malfoy stoop and snatch up something. Leering, he showed it to Crabbe and Goyle, and Harry realised that he’d got Riddle’s diary.
 a. ‘Give **that** back’ said Harry quietly. [English 258]
 b. ‘Anna **se** tänne’, Harry sanoi hiljaa. [Finnish 258]

Map 1. Areal distribution of the systems of demonstrative pronouns



- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| □ Proximal/unmarked | ● Dual-anchored type |
| ○ Unmarked/distal | ■ Addressee-anchored type |
| ◇ Prototypically dyad-oriented | ▲ Toward reduction |
| △ Toward one term | ◆ Not prototypically dyad-oriented |

3.9. Summary

Map 1 summarizes the types discussed in this section. In the sample of the questionnaire, two-way systems (14 cases) are more frequent than three-way distinctions (7 cases). The areal distribution of the two-term systems shows the existence of three areas. The first one, formed by the languages of northwestern Europe (Norwegian, Danish, English, Dutch, and Northern Italian), shows a contrast between a proximal term and an unmarked demonstrative. Second, French and German, which are considered the most prototypical Standard Average European (SAE) languages (VAN DER AUWERA 1998), show a tendency toward the reduction from a two-term system to a one-term system. Third, a further area is formed by the languages of middle-eastern Europe (Polish, Russian, Czech, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Modern Greek). These are languages that have demonstrative systems that contrast an unmarked term with a distal one. Two of these languages (Bulgarian and Modern Greek) belong to the Balkan Sprachbund (BANFI 1985; 1991).

Three-term systems are less widespread than two-term systems and they are diffused in the Mediterranean area plus Finnish. Of these languages, Spanish and Basque show a dual-anchored type system. Finally, Tuscan and Sardinian have an addressee-anchored system.

4. The systems of demonstrative adverbs

As I have argued in the previous section, the systems of demonstrative pronouns can be classified in two basic types: two-term and three-term systems. The same distinction can also be found for demonstrative adverbs. I will first discuss the two term systems (Section 4.1), followed by the three term systems (Section 4.2). Finally, in Section 4.3, I will discuss the geographical distribution of these types in the languages of Europe.

4.1. Two-term systems

As far as two-term systems of demonstrative adverbs are concerned, various subcategories can be distinguished. First, there are two-term demonstrative systems (with a contrast between a proximal term and a distal one) in which the distal term is unmarked. This has been attested in Norwegian (proximal *her*, unmarked *der*), Danish (proximal *her*, unmarked *der*), English (proximal *here*, unmarked *there*), and Dutch (proximal *hier*, unmarked *daar*).

- (14) a. 'HARRY! What d'yeh think yer doin' down **there**?' [English 62]
b. 'HARRY! Wat mot dat **daar**?' [Dutch 44]

Second, there are two-term demonstrative systems in which the proximal demonstrative is unmarked. This has been attested in Polish (unmarked *tu(taj)*, distal *tam*), Russian (unmarked *tut*, distal *tam*), Czech (unmarked *tady*, distal *tamhle*), Hungarian (unmarked *itt*, distal *ott*), Bulgarian (unmarked *tuk*, distal *tam*), and Modern Greek (unmarked *edō*, distal *eki*). In these cases, the parallel corpus

seems to confirm the generalizations obtained through the questionnaire. In contexts in which English uses the distal adverb *there*, Polish, Czech and Hungarian use the proximal term, as exemplified in (15)-(17).

- (15) *He dreamed that he was on show in a zoo, with a card reading 'Underage Wizard' attached to his cage. People goggled through the bars at him as he lay, starving and weak, on a bed of straw. He saw Dobby's face in the crowd and shouted out, asking for help, but Dobby called,*
 a. 'Harry Potter is safe **there**, sir!' and vanished. [English 29]
 b. 'Harry Potter jest **tutaj** bezpieczny, sir!', *I zniknął*. [Polish 29]
 c. '**Tady** je Harry Potter v bezpečí, pane!' a zmizel. [Czech 25]
 d. 'Harry Potter **itt** biztonságban van, uram!', *azzal eltűnt*. [Hungarian 27]
- (16) a. 'HARRY! What d'yeh think yer doin' down **there**?' [English 62-63]
 b. 'HARRY! Cholibka, a co ty **tutaj** robisz?' [Polish 61]
 c. 'HARRY! Prosím tě, co **tady** pohledáváš?' [Czech 51]
 d. 'HARRY! Mi a cickafarkat keresel te **itt**?' [Hungarian 55]
- (17) a. 'Wait **there**', he called to Ron. [English 327]
 b. *Poczekaj **tutaj**!* zawołał do Rona. [Polish 318-319]
 c. '*Počkej **tady**!*' křykl na Rona. [Czech 256]
 d. '*Várj meg **itt***' kiáltott át Ronnak. [Hungarian 283]

Finally, a dyad-oriented system two-term system has been found in Catalan (proximal *aquí*, distal *allà*). In cases where English uses the distal demonstrative, Catalan uses the proximal, just like in Polish, Czech and Hungarian.

- (18) a. 'Wait **there**', he called to Ron. 'Wait with Lockhart. I'll go on. [English 327]
 b. '*Espera't **aquí** – li va cridar al Ron. Espera m'amb el Decors. Jo continuo.* [Catalan 296]

4.2. Three-term systems

As far as three-term systems are concerned, various different subsystems can be distinguished. First, I distinguish so-called dual-anchor systems. For an explanation of their behavior, see Section 3.5. Dual-anchor systems allow us to improve the traditional and insufficient classification between 'person-oriented' systems and 'distance-oriented' systems. In dual-anchor systems the medial term is used not only referring to a place near the addressee (person-oriented), but also referring to a place at a middle distance away from the speaker (distance-oriented). This is attested in Spanish (proximal *aquí*, medial *ahí*, distal *allí*), Basque (proximal *hemen*, medial *hor*, distal *han*), and Serbo-Croatian (proximal *ovdje*, medial *tu*, distal *tamo*). Example (19) shows a context in which the speaker points very clearly to a space near the addressee. This is the beginning of a letter, implying that the demon-

strative adverb refers to the place where the addressee is. In these contexts, Spanish and Basque use the medial term.

- (19) a. *Dear Ron, and Harry if you're **there**, ...* [English 53]
 b. *Querido Ron, y Harry, si estás **ahí**,* [Spanish 45]
 c. *Ron maitea, eta Harry ere bai, **hor** baldin badago:* [Basque 43]

Second, there are addressee-anchored type systems, as found in Sardinian (proximal *innoi*, medial *inguni*, distal *inguddeni*), and Tuscan (proximal *qui*, medial *costi*, distal *lì-là*). As shown in Section 3.6, in these systems the medial term is used exclusively referring to a space near the addressee (the traditional 'person-oriented' system). I do not have any examples to verify the results from the questionnaire because I have had no access to any translations of Harry Potter in these languages.

Third, a not prototypically dyad-oriented system is attested in Finnish (proximal *täällä*, medial *siellä*, distal *tuolla*), see Section 3.8.

- (20) a. *'HARRY! What d'yeh think yer doin' down **there**?'* [English 62]
 b. *'HARRY? Mitä sinä **täällä** hortoot?'* [Finnish 63]

Fourth, German has a system with a contrast among proximal, medial and distal terms (proximal *hier*, medial *da*, distal *dort*). However, the examples (21)-(22) show the widespread use of the adverb *da*, indicating that *da* is becoming the default demonstrative adverb.

- (21) a. *'Oh, Ron, there won't be anyone in **there**', said Hermion.* [English 170]
 b. *'Ach Ron, **da** wird niemand drin sein', sagte Hermine.* [German 162]
- (22) a. *There was an ugly sort of wardrobe to his left, full of the teachers' cloaks. 'In **here**. Let's hear what it's all about.* [English 315]
 b. *Zu seiner Rechten stand ein hässlicher Kleiderschrank voller Lehrerumhänge. '**Da** rein. Hören wir erst mal, was eigentlich los ist.* [German 301]

French and Portuguese are traditionally seen as having three-term systems. However, there is a clear tendency to reduce the three terms to two terms (French proximal *ici/là*, distal *là-bas* and Portuguese proximal *aqui/ali* distal *além*). From the data obtained with the French translation of Harry Potter, it is possible to observe the widespread use of the adverb *là*, progressively replacing *ici*. This is a tendency already recognized: "It should be noted also that usage of the proximal and distal demonstratives heavily favours the latter, particularly in speech" (HARRIS 1998: 221). Examples (23) and (24) show contexts in which the places referred to are clearly near the speaker. In these cases, English uses the proximal term *here*. However, French uses the (formerly) distal *là*.

- (23) a. *'What're you doing **here**?' [English 218]*
 b. *'Qu'est-ce que vous faites **là**?' [French 215]*
- (24) a. *'I'm **here**!' came Ron's muffled voice from behind the rockfall. [English 326]*
 b. *'Je suis **là**!' répondit la voix étouffée de Ron, derrière l'amas de rocs. [French 319]*

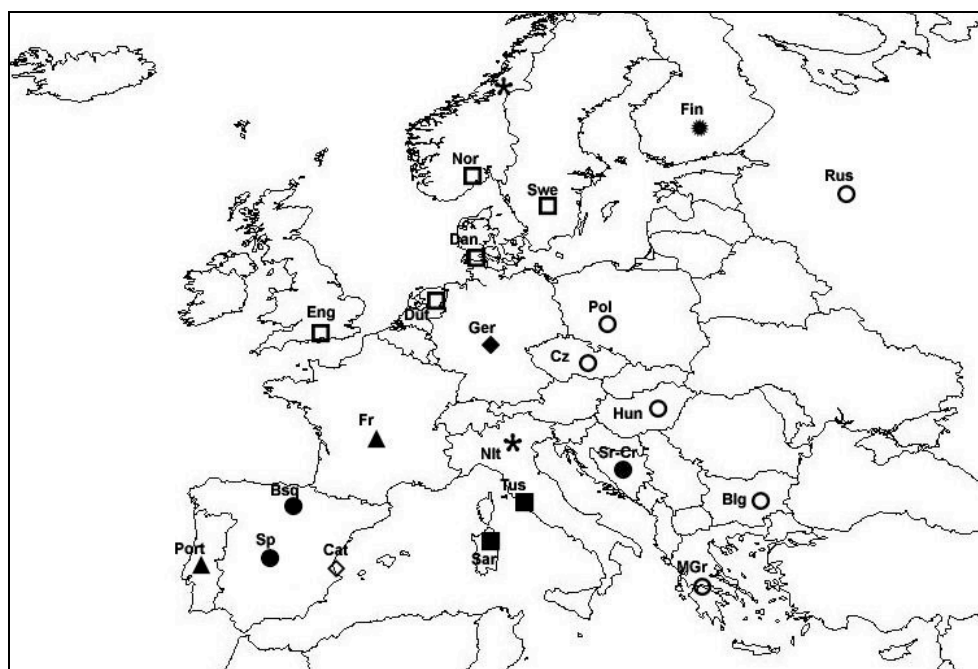
Finally, in Northern Italian a system of demonstrative adverbs is attested that shows a tendency to develop a contrast among three terms (proximal *qui/qua*, medial *lì*, distal *là*).

- (25) a. *'It's over **there**, it got washed out'. Harry and Ron looked under the sink, where Myrtle was pointing. A small, thin book lay there. [English 249]*
 b. *'Eccolo **lì**, si è bagnato tutto!' Harry e Ron guardarono sotto il lavandino, nella direzione indicata da Mirtilla. Per terra c'era un libricino. [Italian 208]*
- (26) a. *'Ron – that girl who died. Aragog said she was found in a bathroom', said Harry, ignoring Neville's snuffling snores from the corner. 'What if she never left the bathroom? What if she's still **there**?' [English 304]*
 b. *'Ron... la ragazza che è morta. Aragog ha detto che fu trovata in un gabinetto' disse Harry ignorando Neville che russava fragorosamente dall'altra parte della stanza. 'E se non fosse mai uscita dal gabinetto? E se fosse ancora **là**?' [Italian 253-254]*

4.3. Summary

In European languages two-term systems of demonstrative adverbs are widespread, as can be seen on Map 2. A comparison between Map 1 and Map 2 clearly shows the lack of isomorphism between the systems of demonstrative pronouns on the one hand (Map 1) and the systems of demonstrative adverbs on the other (Map 2). The systems of adverbs show a more complex articulation: this conforms to a general typological tendency: "perhaps one can hazard the generalizations that speaker-centered degrees of distance are usually (more) fully represented in the adverbs than the pronominals" (LEVINSON 2004: 43). Moreover, in Map 2 it is possible to individuate a northern area and an eastern area characterized by the prevalence of two-term systems, and a southern area with the majority of three-term systems.

Map 2. Areal distribution of the systems of demonstrative adverbs



5. Conclusions

In this paper, some of the translational equivalents of the English demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs have been investigated in the languages of Europe. It has to be kept in mind that I have investigated only some places of one text in one translation for each language, which may have led some idiosyncrasies. But, with these caveats, the research has shown that there are no very complex systems of demonstratives in the languages of Europe. Nevertheless, also systems that, at a first glance, seem to be relatively simple can vary in a rather subtle way in their conditions of use, making it difficult to make a typological classification.

It has been possible to identify three sub-groups within the languages considered (DA MILANO 2005). The first one includes approximately the languages of the so-called Charlemagne Sprachbund (VAN DER AUWERA 1998): French, German, (core), and Dutch, English, Danish, Norwegian, Northern Italian (periphery). The second subgroup includes the languages of central-eastern Europe: Russian, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Modern Greek. The third subgroup includes

Mediterranean languages: Basque, Spanish, Portuguese, Tuscan, Sardinian, and Serbo-Croatian, but also Finnish.

The use of parallel texts, with the opportunity to check the contexts in which the demonstratives occur, has made it possible to verify nuances seemingly negligible (and in many descriptions, neglected) in the way in which demonstrative systems are structured. It has turned out to be fruitful to use parallel texts as a control test of data obtained through the questionnaire. The results from the parallel texts mainly confirmed the prior typological generalizations. I would agree with WU (2004: 203) that “[...] handled properly, the use of parallel corpora can produce fruitful results in a comparative/contrastive study”.

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