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Textual development beyond temporality and interactions between the adversative connector *pero* and the *indefinido*

Abstract: This paper investigates temporal and textual structure and focusses on textual development. It aims to show that the typical bipartite opposition between temporal update in narrative constellations and the lack of update in stative contexts is too simplistic. What we find, rather, is a gradable scale between two poles. The first pole is that of a typical narrative development, where the reference time is updated, but the textual development may be strengthened further by argumentative means. The other pole concerns stative constellations, where the text develops through a motivated ordering that successively adds information to a whole (furnishing update). Between the two poles there is a further kind, which may or may not correlate with an update of the reference time. In this case, the text develops through the opposition between sets of propositions (argumentative update). Points on the scale may also overlap. In addition to introducing the scale, the paper shows the explanatory power of the argumentative update with respect to the use of perfective tense-aspect forms in contexts where the reference time does not shift.

Keywords: textual development, argumentative update, furnishing update, adversative connector

1 Introduction

A standard conception of narrative texts is that their narrative parts should develop according to temporal principles, while the descriptive parts are understood to be

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static (cf. Kamp/Rohrer 1983). In this contribution, we argue that this conception is too simplistic as other kinds of text structuring mimic the temporal ordering of eventualities. In order to show this, we will exploit the concept of textual development, which is basically understood as the motivated and necessary ordering of a text. We aim to show that there are different types of textual development, which may be understood as forming a scale ranging from a narrative pole to a seemingly stative pole. The two literary extracts (1) and (2) exemplify the two poles, respectively.¹

- (1) [1] *Le jeune marin sauta_{ps} dans le canot*, [2] *alla_{ps} s'asseoir à la poupe*, [3] *et donna_{ps} l'ordre d'aborder à la Canebière*. [4] *Deux matelots se penchèrent_{ps} aussitôt sur leurs rames*, [5] *et l'embarcation glissa_{ps} aussi rapidement qu'il est_{pres} possible de le faire au milieu des mille barques* [. . .]. (Frantext: Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, 1846, 13, taken from Egetenmeyer 2021b)
- '[1] The young sailor leapt into the boat, [2] seated himself in the stern [3] and gave the order to row across to the Canebière. [4] Two sailors immediately bent over their oars [5] and the vessel proceeded as fast as it could, among the thousand small boats [. . .]' (Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, 2003, 15, taken from Egetenmeyer 2021b).

In example (1), reference is made to several events. The order in which they are mentioned – [1] to [5] – corresponds to the order in which the events referred to may be taken to have occurred in the fictional world. Two important linguistic properties contribute to the eventive character of the passage.² First, the verb meanings (*Aktionsart*) include dynamicity. Second, the inflected main verbs are marked by the *passé simple*, the French past tense form marked for perfective aspect. In a discourse model such as discourse representation theory (DRT), the tense form is considered an indicator of narrative development (cf. Kamp/Rohrer 1983, 251s.; see Section 3 for an overview and the theoretical terminology).

¹ In the Romance examples, we use simplified tense-aspect abbreviations to facilitate reading (see also Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018, 31, n. 10; Egetenmeyer 2021a, 1066, n. 7): PRES for présent/présente (present tense), PC for passé composé/pretérito perfecto compuesto (compound past), IMP for imparfait/imperfecto (imperfective past), PS for passé simple/pretérito simple or indefinido (simple past, i.e., the perfective past), PQP for plus-que-parfait/pluscuamperfecto (pluperfect), CONDI for conditionnel présent (present conditional) and IMP.SUBJ for imperfecto de subjuntivo (imperfect subjunctive).

² The last inflected verb is in the present tense. It does not occur in a main clause and does not express an event of the main storyline, so we exclude it from our description.

By contrast, example (2) from Tolkien's *The Hobbit* features not perfective, but imperfective past tense-aspect forms. According to Kamp/Rohrer (1983, 253), this should exclude temporal development.

- (2) [1] *En un agujero en el suelo, vivía_{IMP} un hobbit.* [2] [. . .] *era_{IMP} un agujero-hobbit,* [3] *y eso significa_{PRES} comodidad.*
 [4] *Tenía_{IMP} una puerta redonda, perfecta como un ojo de buey, pintada de verde [. . .].* [5] *La puerta se abría_{IMP} a un vestíbulo cilíndrico, como un túnel: un túnel muy cómodo, sin humos, con paredes revestidas de madera y suelos enlosados y alfombrados, provisto de sillas barnizadas, y montones y montones de perchas para sombreros y abrigo[s] [. . .].* [6] *El túnel se extendía_{IMP} serpeando,* [7] *y penetraba_{IMP} bastante, pero no directamente, en la ladera de la colina [. . .],* [8] *y muchas puertecitas redondas se abrían_{IMP} en él, primero a un lado y luego al otro.* (Tolkien, *El Hobbit*, 2010)
 ‘[1] In a hole in the ground there lived a hobbit. [2] [. . .] it was a hobbit-hole, [3] and that means comfort.
 [4] It had a perfectly round door like a porthole, painted green [. . .]. [5] The door opened on to a tube-shaped hall like a tunnel: a very comfortable tunnel without smoke, with panelled walls, and floors tiled and carpeted, provided with polished chairs, and lots and lots of pegs for hats and coats [. . .]. [6] The tunnel wound on and on, [7] going fairly but not straight into the side of the hill [. . .], [8] and many little round doors opened out of it, first on one side and then on another’ (Tolkien, *The Hobbit*, 2011, 3).

Example (2) can be classified as descriptive. In descriptions, verbs are often stative (cf. Weinrich 1982, 171s.). Some of the verbs in example (2) would be dynamic in other contexts, namely, when selecting [+animate] subjects (or at least subjects belonging to a [+motion] class, cf. Dowty 1991, 572). However, in the example, they are combined with [–animate] and, partly, [–motion] subjects, which clearly attenuates the dynamicity.³ Still, the components of the descriptions are presented in a certain order.⁴ Curiously, in the example, the order of sentences [4] to [7] (and of the relevant components within [8]) corresponds to the spatial order of the described

3 The verbs in question are *extenderse serpeando* in [6] and *penetrar* in [7]. The argument with respect to *abrirse* in [8] is that it expresses the potential to be opened rather than habitual opening, while a specific opening event is to be discarded altogether. In contrast, *abrir(se) a* in [5] is understood to lack movement and therefore there is no residue of dynamicity, as discussed in footnote 7.

4 The fact that a text is presented in a certain order is necessary due to the linear nature of (written and spoken monological) language (cf. also Wandruszka 2015, 55ss.).

places. This kind of motivated ordering is not infrequent in descriptions, be they literary or non-literary.

In example (3) a fictional character reflects upon his potential acts.

- (3) [1] *Avait-il donc résolu_{PQP} de tuer Roubaud, puisqu'il disposait_{IMP} déjà de sa femme et de son argent ?* [2] *Non, certes, il n'avait rien décidé_{PQP}, il ne se précautionnait_{IMP} sans doute ainsi, que dans le cas où il se déciderait_{COND}.* (Zola, *La Bête Humaine*, 305, taken from Landeweerd/Vet 1996, 158)
- '[1] Had he, then, resolved to kill Roubaud, since he was already arranging what to do with his wife and his money? [2] No, of course he had made no such decision, he was only taking these precautions in case he did decide.' (Adapted from Landeweerd / Vet 1996, 158)

In (3), we also see a highly fixed sentence order. Two sets of propositions ([1] and [2]) are opposed, as indicated by the negation (*non*, 'no', *n'avait rien décidé*, 'hadn't decided anything') and the correction (*ne . . . que*, 'only'). They cannot be inverted, although they do not express a sequence of events as in example (1).

The basic idea of the present contribution has similarities to Stalnaker's (2002) belief changes (see Section 4). However, we refine the concept of textual development differently and distinguish certain kinds with the aim of establishing a scale. The scale ranges from the typical temporal update in narrative contexts to the potentially motivated ordering in descriptions. Between these two poles the argumentative update is located (cf. Hanke 1995 for the relationship between narratives and argumentation, which conflicts, in a way, with Riegel et al. 1994, 623). It should be mentioned that we do not intend to analyse different genres. The research on argumentation often focuses on a certain text type (cf. Doury/Plantin 2015, 9, but also Smith 2003). This basic conception also leads Lo Cascio (1999) to describe the interaction of narration and argumentation as an interaction between two opposed linguistic devices delimited at least on the clause or sentence level. Rather, we follow the idea "that every form of language use has an argumentative aspect" (van Eemeren et al. 2014, 490, with reference to Ducrot 1980 and others). In this respect, we also take into account meaning components and linguistic indicators of one text type which occur in another text type, for instance, argumentative connectors occurring in narrative passages. Thus, after introducing the scale of textual development, we show how it may be applied to capture the use of perfective tense-aspect forms in contexts where the reference time does not shift. Such constellations pose special problems to traditional accounts of temporal discourse structure.

We proceed as follows: in Section 2, we discuss the textual properties that form the point of departure for the concept of textual development. In Section 3, we

introduce the relevant elements from the account of temporal discourse structure as presented by Becker/Egetenmeyer (2018), which will allow us to determine the properties of different cases that need a more precise analysis. In Section 4, we go into the details of textual development and introduce two types which have not yet been given sufficient consideration in the literature, namely, furnishing update and argumentative update. Then, in Section 5, we refine the scale of textual development and show how it can be applied. Section 6 sums up our insights regarding the scale and its explanatory power.

2 Textual properties and the role of events

We focus on the properties of texts and basically abstract away from potential speaker-hearer discrepancies. However, application of the points we raise to an interactional or a knowledge-based framework should not pose major problems. We leave this important enterprise aside at this point because it complicates the description and may cloud our focus. What becomes especially important as a result of this simplification is a linear conception of text. In this respect, we draw on ideas going back to de Saussure (1995, 102) on the linearity of the linguistic sign. Wandruszka (2015, 81; the emphasis is his) extends the concept of linearity beyond the word level to the phrase and clause levels (and simple combinations of them):

“[. . .] die Sprache [ist] als *linearisierte Struktur in Bewegung* zu verstehen [. . .], das hei[ß]t als eine stets in Aufbau und Entfaltung begriffene Struktur, deren Produktion und Realisierung, so wie ihre Rezeption, in einer raumzeitlich linearen Bewegung abläuft.”

‘Language is to be understood as a *linearised structure in motion*, i.e., as a structure that is constantly being built and developed, whose production and realisation, like its reception, takes place in a spatio-temporal linear movement.’

The spatio-temporal linear order is thus a basic property of language. This holds true not only for the inner-sentential relationships that Wandruszka (2015) focuses on, but also for sentences in sequence. An important effect of this property is the default sequential reading for events referred to in sequence. It is especially strong when the events are referred to with verbs with perfective morphology, which is available in Romance languages (cf. Kamp/Rohrer 1983, 251s.). In English, the tense-aspect system does not have the same distinctive functions as the Romance system, and yet we are inclined to interpret the first two sentences of (4) in the order in which they occur.

(4) [1] *He bought bread.* [2] *He bought flowers.* [3] *He returned home.*

While world knowledge tells us that the third sentence should refer to an event posterior to the first two (in 2023, despite other possibilities, it is still common to buy bread and flowers in shops outside one's home), there is no strict objective reason to buy first bread and then flowers, except for possible practical reasons or perhaps an individual's habit. Still, the interpretational effect of the linearity of language cannot be abstracted away from. This means that when we invert sentences [1] and [2], the expected reading deviates from the original one and the buying of the flowers is understood to take place before the purchase of the bread (see ex. 5).

(5) [1] *He bought flowers.* [2] *He bought bread.* [3] *He returned home.*

In the present contribution, we do not seek to dwell on exceptions of this tendency in the realm of events (cf. the role of the explanation relation as discussed in Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018, 40, with reference to Vet 1996, 154). Rather, we are interested in how linear textual development comes about, beyond narrative relations. As we will show, a correlation between the linear order of a text and the content presented is also possible when there is no, or no clear, temporal development. We will refine the problem in Section 4 and introduce our analysis in Sections 4.1 and 4.2. Still, temporal discourse structure is the basis from which other kinds of textual development need to be distinguished. Therefore, in the following section we discuss how temporal discourse structure can be properly accounted for.

3 Accounting for temporal updates in narrative contexts

In most publications on temporal relations in narrative texts, two opposing constellations are mentioned (cf. Weinrich 1982; Kamp/Rohrer 1983, and, among those accounts not focussing on discourse, e.g., Comrie 1976; 1985). Either the narrative is temporally developed further, or time seems to stand still. A simple made-up example is (6), which we will use to provide a basic introduction to the account of temporal discourse structure presented by Becker/Egetenmeyer (2018).

(6) *Yesterday, [1] Jane stepped out of the front door. [2] She walked to the park. [3] She entered it [4] and looked around. [5] The grass was green [6] and little flowers were blooming.*

Becker/Egetenmeyer's (2018) visualisations help elucidate the problem we are interested in. Figure 1 represents the temporal structure of (6).

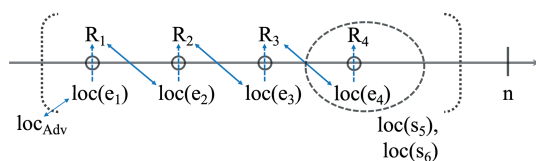


Figure 1: Visualisation of example (6) following Becker/Egetenmeyer (2018).

The adverbial expression *yesterday* sets the time frame within which the asserted events occur or states are given. Clauses [1] to [4] express events in the sense of bounded and dynamic eventualities and form part of the ongoing storyline. Thus, the respective location times introduce reference times (cf. Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018, 37, for this conception). The reference time is central to the account. Simply put, it “measures” the temporal development and, more specifically, it indicates the time point “to which the story has so far advanced” (cf. Kamp/van Genabith/Reyle 2011, 199). It is an abstract concept which also serves to describe anchoring relations properly (cf. Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018, 32, for an extensive discussion). This is shown in Figure 1, where the location times $loc(e_2)$ to $loc(e_4)$ are anchored to the respective preceding reference times.

By contrast, clauses [5] and [6] express states. States alone typically do not further develop the story temporally, rather they maintain an already introduced reference time (cf. Kamp/Reyle 1993, 523ss.). In the example the corresponding location times ($loc(s_5)$ and $loc(s_6)$) include the reference time R_4 , which is intuitive, as the event of looking around (e_4) allows the individual referent to perceive the states expressed in [5] and [6]. Finally, as the past tense indicates, the eventualities are asserted to occur at a time before the speaker’s now (n).

All in all, this is a typical constellation. In addition, however, what we have seen is also the typical conception in current accounts of temporal discourse structure. In Sections 4 and 5 we present examples that do not adhere to this standard case and discuss how we can account for them.

To complete the picture, Becker/Egetenmeyer’s (2018) account articulates two dimensions of textual structure. On the one hand, it considers the linear relationships between times, i.e. the level of chronological relations (sequence, overlap, inclusion etc.), the level of perspective, and the level of structuring into foreground and background (cf. Weinrich 1964). On the other hand, it focusses in particular on hierarchical relationships, which are determined in terms of prominence. Becker/Egetenmeyer (2018, 44) follow Himmelmann/Primus (2015, 42), who define a prominent entity as one that stands out from a set of equal entities. The property of being prominent also allows an entity to serve as an anchor for others (cf. Himmelmann/Primus 2015, 44). It is due to this property that prominence is of paramount importance in the description of temporal structuring. In the realm of tem-

poral discourse structure, the entities analysed are eventualities and time points (cf. Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018, 41). However, in discourse analysis, the concept also applies to the category of propositions. As Becker/Egetenmeyer (2018, 47ss.) argue, a potentially prominent time point is, for instance, the first time point of an episode, because it is typically this time point upon which the other time points in the episode will depend. We will come back to the property of prominence in Section 5.

4 Textual development with non-typical updates

In the preceding sections, we introduced the relevant elements we need in order to describe textual development more accurately. In Section 1, we defined it as a motivated and necessary ordering. At the heart of this lies a correlation between the textual structure and a non-linguistic structuring. Temporal updating is the prototypical type of textual development. In this case, a correlation holds between the order in which the events are mentioned in the text and the order in which they are given in the narrated world. We repeat example (7) from Section 2, where we saw that a simple sequence of events brings about textual development. The order of the event expressions corresponds to the order of the events in the narrated world. Neither can be altered independently of the other.

(7) [1] *He bought bread.* [2] *He bought flowers.* [3] *He returned home.*

Based on Becker/Egetenmeyer's (2018) account, example (7) can be visualised as in Figure 2.

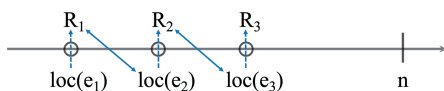


Figure 2: Visualisation of example (7).

The visualisation in Figure 2 shows the standard temporal anchoring of location times ($loc(e_n)$) to the preceding reference times (R_{n-1}). This is the unmarked case in narrative sequences, i.e., an ongoing story line. The temporal development is expressed by means of tense-aspect and *Aktionsart* features (cf. Weinrich 1982, 169). Because of the explicitness of the formal and lexical marking and the relatively stable functioning (see Section 2 for a note on exceptions), and in agreement with wide acceptance in the scientific community, we take temporal update as the prototypical case of textual development. However, as already mentioned, it is not

the only one. In the following subsection, we will discuss cases which, in a standard account, would be determined as stative. This entails a seeming clash. Therefore, we need to discuss refinements and present linguistic evidence.

In his research on common ground, Stalnaker (2002, 708ss.) mentions the temporal properties of belief states in an ongoing discourse. His account is partly in line with ours. Importantly, he also supports the conception that belief states develop along with the discourse: “As the conversation proceeds, beliefs [. . .] will normally be constantly changing” (Stalnaker 2002, 708). However, his idea of change is very broad. Adding information to the common ground is sufficient for a change to take place. Furthermore, the information does not have to be accommodated since recognition of an utterance event as such already constitutes change in his terms (cf. Stalnaker 2002, 708). As we will see below, our account is more restrictive. But first, we should add that Stalnaker (2002, 709) also determines a time for the change of the belief state: “Not before the occurrence of [. . .] the making of the assertion, but after it ha[s] occurred” (Stalnaker 2002, 709). If we abstract away from processing, we can determine this time more precisely as the time when the assertion is made. This is in line with our account.

As indicated above, we diverge from Stalnaker not only in that we leave aside interactional and processing characteristics, but, more importantly, we do not adhere to his generalisation of change. The kind of textual development we focus on is not a general phenomenon. In fact, we agree with the research literature on discourse that many, or even most, cases of stative description do not produce any textual development.⁵ The standard account (cf. Kamp/Rohrer 1983) is therefore mostly right. This can be shown with the made-up example (8).

- (8) [1] *À huit heures, le gangster entra_{ps} dans le restaurant.* [2] *Il était_{IMP} grand.* [3] *Il portait_{IMP} des lunettes de soleil.* [4] *Il avait_{IMP} un revolver dans la main droite.*
 ‘[1] At 8 o’clock, the gangster entered the restaurant. [2] He was tall. [3] He was wearing sunglasses. [4] He had a gun in his right hand.’

⁵ We want to mention two interesting diverging cases discussed in the literature. First, von Stutterheim/Klein (1989, 50) also share the standard view, but they add the option of “dynamic descriptions”, which are habitual series of events, such as the daily routine of a protagonist in a story. However, these do not fall under our classification of descriptions. Second, a very interesting constellation is lists, which have also been discussed in the context of narrative texts (cf. Goody 1977, 74ss.). According to Schaffrick/Werber (2017, 305, with reference to von Contzen 2016, 241, and others), they are localised at the limits of narrativity. However, Voghera (2018, 194) takes an interactional stance and attributes to them the potential to advance a text in the sense that they are devices that display information in a way that is easy to construct and to follow. Her concept of text progression appears to be different from ours.

In (8), an eventive sentence ([1]) is followed by a property description concerning the previously introduced character ([2]). Sentences [3] and [4] express states which also describe the character physically. Only the location time of the verb in sentence [1] introduces a reference time (R_1). The other location times merely include R_1 . This is visualised in Figure 3.

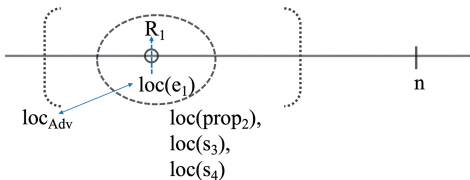


Figure 3: Visualisation of example (8).

The order of the sentences is only partly inflexible.⁶ For referential and presentational reasons, sentence [1] has to come first, which, as said, makes reference to an event. In addition, we might think that in this kind of mini-episode sentence [4] should really be presented last, the reason being that it acts as a kind of climax. This is a well-entrenched narrative principle, but the corresponding ordering is not a prerequisite for the passage to be understood correctly. Finally, [2] and [3] are interchangeable. Neither the information concerning the whole person nor that with respect to the adornment on his face have properties which would make one or the other order necessary. This is also true if we keep in mind sentences [1] and [4]. Neither [2] nor [3] have a specific relationship to [1] or [4], which would make an adjacency between the respective sentences necessary. Thus, the example diverges from the example pair (4) (repeated as example 7) and (5) (see Section 2), where a change in the order of the event expressions results in two different sets of situations. The only possible factor which might disallow a change of the order in (8) would be stylistics. Importantly, however, the necessary ordering we will focus on is not based on stylistics. Rather, in this kind of ordering, we find clear-cut linguistic indicators of different sorts.

Aside from the standard temporal update, we consider two different types of textual development. The first, which is located at the stative pole, is the motivated ordering of descriptions, which we call furnishing update. We find adverbials emphasising the order, but also other lexical material that creates a correspondence with the physical constellations in the described world, and perspective phenomena in a broad sense of the word. The second type comes about through

⁶ At this point, we do not take perspective into account. We come back to it below.

meaning oppositions between sets of propositions. We call it the argumentative update, where typical indicators are connectors.

4.1 Furnishing update

As we have already mentioned, non-narrative text passages may also have a motivated and necessary ordering. First, we discuss descriptions which exhibit a kind of textual development. We call this “furnishing update” (see the definition below).

In Section 1, we saw the case of an ordered description. We repeat this example in (9) and discuss in greater detail how the ordering effect comes about.

- (9) *En un agujero en el suelo, vivía_{IMP} un hobbit. [. . .] era_{IMP} un agujero-hobbit, y eso significa_{PRES} comodidad.*

*Tenía_{IMP} una puerta redonda, perfecta como un ojo de buey, pintada de verde [. . .]. La puerta se abría_{IMP} a un vestíbulo cilíndrico, como un túnel: un túnel muy cómodo, sin humos, con paredes revestidas de madera y suelos enlosados y alfombrados, provisto de sillas barnizadas, y montones y montones de perchas para sombreros y abrigos [. . .]. El túnel se extendía_{IMP} serpeando, y penetraba_{IMP} bastante, pero no directamente, en la ladera de la colina [. . .], y muchas puertecitas redondas se abrían_{IMP} en él, **primero** a un lado y **luego** al otro. (Tolkien, *El Hobbit*, 2010)*

‘In a hole in the ground there lived a hobbit. [. . .] it was a hobbit-hole, and that means comfort.

*It had a perfectly round door like a porthole, painted green [. . .]. The door opened on to a tube-shaped hall like a tunnel: a very comfortable tunnel without smoke, with panelled walls, and floors tiled and carpeted, provided with polished chairs, and lots and lots of pegs for hats and coats [. . .]. The tunnel wound on and on, going fairly but not straight into the side of the hill [. . .], and many little round doors opened out of it, **first** on one side **and then** on another’ (Tolkien, *The Hobbit*, 2011, 3).*

Example (9) combines properties and generalised statements to create a complete picture of the place where the hobbit lives (*tenía una puerta redonda, la puerta se abría,*⁷ *el túnel se extendía*, etc.). The description is presented in what we might call

⁷ As an anonymous reviewer reminds us, the basic meaning of *abrir* ‘to open’ is dynamic and the imperfective tense-aspect form plays an important role in producing a stative reading. Although

“stages”. The term “stage” is intended as an abstract way of referring to specific parts of the text. It is vague in respect of syntactic structure, as possible instantiations may be the clause, the sentence, or several sentences together, and also in respect of propositional content. In the example, the stages correspond to the described places in the fictional world. After a general statement about the whereabouts and the quality of the place where the hobbit lives, the first relevant stage is the description of the door from the outside (*tenía una puerta redonda*). The second stage describes the place behind the door (*vestíbulo*, ‘hall’), which is also the beginning of the corridor (*túnel*, ‘tunnel’), and stage three presents the course of the corridor. World knowledge and certain parts of the lexical information indicate that the stages are locally apart (but adjacent). A standard mental representation involves mutual exclusion of the places. Simply put, the described place is either outside the hall (and, thus, the home) or inside it, or behind it, along the length of the tunnel. The order of presentation (cf. Wandruszka 2015, 81; see Section 2) corresponds to the physical ordering of the places. The ordering becomes part of the corresponding mental representation. For instance, the door is not adjacent to the tunnel as the hall intervenes between them. In addition to a partly world knowledge-based ordered representation, there are two important linguistic factors which specifically contribute to the ordering effect in the example. First, the author makes use of transitions between the stages. This is the case with the formulations *La puerta se abría a . . .* ‘The door opened on to . . .’, which connects stages one and two, and *El túnel se extendía . . .* ‘The tunnel wound on . . .’, where stage two is moved on to stage three. This strongly emphasises the effect of a development. Second, the adverbials *primero* ‘first’ and *luego* ‘then’ make an ordering explicit, which is further supported by the conjunction *y* ‘and’ introducing *luego*. Thus, even though the example clearly presents a description, and makes use of states and properties (see also Section 1), it saliently presents textual development. The development is produced by a combination of different means involving the order of presentation, lexical material expressing transitions, as well as adverbials and connectors. In summary, the text fragment displays a motivated and necessary ordering and therefore nicely exemplifies the case of textual development at the stative pole.

A further factor is perspective. A marked perspective, or in Genette’s (1980) terms, a type of “focalisation” that is not neutral, is a powerful structural means (see example 10). So, if we take perspective into account, example (9) becomes

we do not want to deny this general principle, we instead assume that what we find in the example is actually intransitive *abrir(se) a* ‘to open (itself) to’ and that it has undergone a change in meaning similar to the locally used intransitive *dar a* ‘to face’, ‘to give onto’. If this is correct, the use of the verb is stative independently of grammatical aspect.

even more interesting. In (9), we may suppose a neutral narrator presenting the description of the hobbit's hole. The passage is "nonfocalised" (Genette 1980, 189). Still, as the example shows, a furnishing update is possible. By contrast, the counter-example (10) shows that a marked perspective may support the furnishing update.

- (10) *We were in an impressive and beautiful situation on a rocky plateau. It was too high for grass, there was very little earth and the place was littered with boulders, but the whole plateau was covered with a thick carpet of mauve primulas. There were countless thousands of them, delicate flowers on thick green stems. Before us was the brilliant green lake, a quarter of a mile long, and in the shallows and in the streams that spilled over from it the primulas grew in clumps and perfect circles.* (Smith 2003, 29, our emphases)

Smith (2003, 29) uses the passage in (10) specifically as an example of a description. She notes that in descriptions "[t]ime is static or suspended", even though "[d]escriptive passages progress spatially through a scene" (Smith 2003, 28). While she is clear about the property of "spatial advancement" (Smith 2003, 28), she leaves room for interpretation with respect to the temporal properties: "Time doesn't advance, at least not significantly" (Smith 2003, 29). However, with regard to traditional accounts of discourse structure based on reference times, the case of (10) is unequivocal: we do not find any kind of temporal advancement (cf. also Smith 2003, 95). In other words, the state introduced in the first sentence presupposes a reference time which is included in the location time corresponding to the state. More importantly, the sentences that follow introduce seven states (we leave aside the relative clause), all of which hold true at that very same reference time. Nonetheless, the mini discourse has a particular ordering, which cannot be altered easily. The important difference, with respect to the preceding example, is that (10) is a case of internal focalisation, as emphasised by the ego-narrator. The description is determined by a "restriction of field", in the words of Genette (1980, 189); the descriptive structure depends on the ego-narrator's field of vision and follows its shift along the described order. Fleischman (1991, 88) compares this shift to the movement of a camera focus. Interestingly, Fleischman (1991, 88 and 91) also distinguishes between temporal updates and a way of visualising objects sequentially.

In the present contribution, we focus on textual development. We account for example (10) in a similar way to (9). The basic idea can also be found in Smith (2003, 95), who notes that in descriptions, "[t]here is a sense of progression [. . .], spatial in nature". We intend to refine this and map it onto stages. The first sentence sets the scene; it determines the location of the ego-narrator and presents the first stage,

the *rocky plateau*. After further descriptions of the plateau, a shift is made to the second stage, the *lake*. The shift between these stages corresponds to a change in the ego-narrator's field of vision. This is also the case with the shift to the third stage, *the shallows* and *the streams*, which is a shift from an overall view of the lake to certain details of its shores. As we have seen, the example has a specific ordering which cannot be changed easily, as the stages represented crucially depend on each other. The passage in (9) is presented as a non-focalised narrative, where the stages are not only ordered in parallel with the fictional physical structure they refer to, they are also connected with transitions. By contrast, in (10) the shift between the stages corresponds to the changing field of vision of a perspectivising ego-narrator.

We subsume both examples under the term “furnishing update”. The term articulates the fact that the text develops through the addition of information that contributes to a described whole. The fact that the linguistic units are ordered is a result of the linearity of language (cf. Wandruszka 2015, 55ss.). Importantly, in this kind of textual development the order of the text's informative units, the “stages” (see above), is motivated by the contribution of the order; in other words, the order itself is relevant for the content. Conversely, the order of the informative units is necessarily determined by the described content. This strong correlation is made, or may be made explicit with linguistic means.

Definition of furnishing update

A furnishing update is a kind of textual development where the narrative time (determined by means of the reference time *R*) does not advance, but where the order of the textual units (“stages”) is motivated and necessary. It is motivated because the order itself contributes to the meaning of the respective passage. It is necessary because the information unit of one stage crucially depends on another information unit having been given at a previous stage.

As we have already stated, this type of update lies at the stative pole of the scale of textual development. It may be, but is not necessarily determined by an explicit perspectiviser. In the following subsection, we present a further type of textual development which is located between the stative and narrative poles of textual development.

4.2 Argumentative update

The second kind of non-narrative textual development is what we call an “argumentative update”, following Egetenmeyer (2021a, 1092, n. 35). Interestingly, while Smith (2003, 13) classifies descriptions as stative, she determines the argumentation text mode as being atemporal. However, we believe this conception to be too simplistic. As we will see, the argumentative update is located somewhere

between the furnishing update and the typical temporal update. Similar to the furnishing update, objective time does not have to advance, although this kind of textual update may correlate with an update of the reference time. What is of most importance is that we find clear oppositions, which can only be licensed by sequentiality.

Example (11) is an instance of free indirect discourse (FID). FID is a kind of represented speech or thought which has no lexical or formal marking to indicate that it is a character within the story who speaks or thinks and not the narrator (cf. Banfield 1982; Eckardt 2014; and for the temporal relations involved, Egetenmeyer 2021a). The properties of FID are not central to the discussion of the example in terms of the interests of the present contribution.

- (11) [1] *Avait-il donc résolu_{POp} de tuer Roubaud, puisqu'il disposait_{IMP} déjà de sa femme et de son argent ?* [2] *Non, certes, il n'avait rien décidé_{POp}, il ne se précautionnait_{IMP} sans doute ainsi, que dans le cas où il se déciderait_{CONDI}.* (Zola, *La bête humaine*, 305, taken from Landeweerd/Vet 1996, 158)

'[1] Had he, then, resolved to kill Roubaud, since he was already arranging what to do with his wife and his money? [2] No, of course he had made no such decision, he was only taking these precautions in case he did decide' (adapted from Landeweerd/Vet 1996, 158)

In (11), the protagonist thinks about his situation and this is expressed by means of FID (cf. Landeweerd/Vet 1996, 158). What is of interest for us is that the content of sentence [2] is in direct opposition to the content of sentence [1]. This is indicated most clearly by the adverb *non* 'no' (cf. Egetenmeyer 2021a, 1092). According to Egetenmeyer (2021a, 1092), this is a clear indication of a temporal update, because the protagonist to whom the speech or thought representation is attributed is the same in both sentences. A set of two opposing propositions cannot be expected to be uttered by one person at the same time. Even more fundamentally, it is an important property of argumentative discourse to develop an argument step by step (cf. the definition in van Eemeren et al. 2014, 7).⁸ Therefore, the order of sentences [1] and [2] needs to be a reflection of some non-linguistic (fictional) reality.

In order to arrive at a more general conception of argumentative update, we also need to take into account non-FID cases, as shown in example (12).

⁸ The definition in van Eemeren et al. (2014, 7) reads as follows: "Argumentation is a communicative and interactional act complex aimed at resolving a difference of opinion with the addressee by putting forward a constellation of propositions the arguer can be held accountable for to make the standpoint at issue acceptable to a rational judge who judges reasonably".

- (12) [1] *Pocas novedades, por no decir ninguna, aportó_{ps} ayer la sesión bursátil.* [2] *El mercado más bien se dedicó_{ps} a vegetar, a la espera de noticias que lo puedan sacar del marasmo en que se debatió_{ps}.* (CREA: *La Vanguardia*, 16.06.1995: Joan Jordi Cliville)

‘[1] Yesterday’s trading session produced little, if any, news. [2] The market was rather vegetating, waiting for news that could bring it out of the morass against which it was fighting.’

Example (12) features two main verbs marked by the *indefinido*, the simple past form marked for perfective aspect (*aportó* ‘contributed’, and *se dedicó* ‘dedicated itself’).⁹ According to traditional accounts of temporal discourse structure, we would expect a temporally sequential relation (cf. Kamp/Rohrer 1983, 253ss.), but that is not the case here. The assertions concern the same time; more concretely, the corresponding location times share one reference time. Despite this “stativity”, we encounter a kind of textual development parallel to the one in (11). The second sentence corrects the evaluation asserted in the first sentence. Due to their opposition and the fact that they share an uttering source, they cannot hold true at the same time. More precisely, they are not part of the same stage, that is, the same informative unit (see Section 4.1). Thus, as the example shows, the argumentative update does not depend on temporal development. Finally, we may note that self-correction (cf. Martín Zorraquino/Portolés Lázaro 1999, 4165) is a textual function which exhibits a strong correlation with the argumentative update.

Egetenmeyer (in prep.) discusses summarising statements and makes use of anchoring relations to show that there are different degrees of textual development. According to this analysis, it is only in cases which lack textual development that a following proposition may be equally anchored to the summarised statement or the summarising statement. The anchoring will also play a major role in Section 5.

We are now ready to formulate a tentative definition.

Definition of the argumentative update

An argumentative update is a kind of textual development which comes about through an argumentative relation between propositions. The second proposition in this relationship is opposed to the first one, or modifies the content at stake in such a way that the two propositions cannot be asserted simultaneously in the text. This may correlate with, but does not depend on, an update of the reference time (*R*).

⁹ In the example, *aportó* is translated as ‘produced’, and *se dedicó* is left without a translation except for the progressive mark on *was vegetating*.

In the present and preceding subsections we have presented two different kinds of non-typical textual development. As we have argued, they are both non-narrative (in terms of rhetorical relations, cf. Asher/Lascarides 2003). They represent two degrees of textual development, where the first one, the furnishing update, is located at the very pole of stativity, while the second one (argumentative update) is not restricted to stativity and may even correlate with an update of the reference time. Because of this correlation and because of the mutual exclusion of the stages involved, the argumentative update is taken to be located between the stative and the narrative poles of the textual development scale. This classification contradicts Smith's (2003, 13) assessment that argumentation is atemporal in nature. In the following section, we present an analysis of corpus data to further motivate the characterisation as a scale. We show that there are more than just the three discrete points we have considered so far, and that the scale is, in fact, further diversified.

5 Refining the scale of textual development with an analysis of *pero* + *indefinido*

So far, we have determined three steps on the scale of textual development: the typical narrative update, the argumentative update and, at the stative pole, the furnishing update. However, we have abstracted away from further textual properties of the propositions involved. One of them is prominence, a concept which articulates the hierarchical structuring of a text. As we will see, it allows us to distinguish a further sub-type of textual development.

In what follows, we present an exemplary analysis of structures featuring the connector *pero* 'but' (cf. Fuentes Rodríguez/Alcaide Lara 2007, 26, for the argumentative function of the connector in terms of orientation, and Maričić/Đurić 2011 for a differentiation of meanings) and the perfective past tense-aspect form (*indefinido*). The examples we will analyse are taken from Ruiz Zafón's *La sombra del viento* ([2001] 2004, 'The Shadow of the Wind'). The aim of this section is three-fold. Apart from refining the scale of textual development, we seek to show how argumentative effects and textual development interact. Furthermore, we intend to highlight the utility of the account, which is able to explain "non-updating" uses of perfective tense-aspect forms.

Example (13) belongs at the narrative pole, although it may even be located beyond the typical narrative update, which we exemplified in Section 1.

- (13) – [1] *Mi tío me ha dicho*_{pc} [2] *que te ofreció*_{ps} *una buena suma por el libro de Carax*, [3] **pero** *que tú la rechazaste*_{ps} [. . .]. [4] *Te has ganado*_{pc} *su respeto*. (Ruiz Zafón, *La sombra del viento*, 2004, 26)
- “‘[1] My uncle said [2] he offered you a good sum of money for the Carax, [3] but you refused it [. . .]. [4] You have earned his respect’” (Ruiz Zafón, *The Shadow of the Wind*, 2004, part 1, chapter 2).

The passage in (13) is an instance of direct discourse, within which we find two clauses of indirect discourse ([2] and [3]) embedded under a speech verb (from sentence [1]). The temporal sequence between [2] and [3] is indisputable because it is determined lexically that [3] is a reaction to [2]. This constellation is independent of the connector *pero* ‘but’. However, as *pero* specifically expresses the adversative relation, it strengthens the temporal update even further.

We have mentioned the role of anchoring when it comes to determining prominence relations (see Section 3). This can be shown in sentence [4], which expresses a consequence of the oppositive point made in [3] (cf. Fuentes Rodríguez/Alcaide Lara 2007, 33). This is especially interesting as [3] is syntactically (and contextually) embedded, which is not the case with the main clause [4]. The anchoring of the proposition expressed in [4] to that in [3], despite [3] being embedded, is a clear indication of the elevated prominence of the proposition [3].

Example (14) is another example of an argumentative update. It contains a remnant of temporality, but we cannot argue for a temporal update on the grounds of a traditional conception of the reference time (*R*).

- (14) [1] *Me tendí*_{ps} *en la penumbra azulada del alba con el libro sobre el pecho* [2] *y escuché*_{ps} *el rumor de la ciudad dormida goteando sobre los tejados salpicados de púrpura*. [3] *El sueño y la fatiga llamaban*_{lmp} *a mi puerta*, [4] **pero** *me resistí*_{ps} *a rendirme*. [5] *No quería*_{lmp} *perder el hechizo de la historia ni todavía decir adiós a sus personajes*. (Ruiz Zafón, *La sombra del viento*, 2004, 13)
- ‘[1] I lay in the bluish half-light with the book on my chest [2] and listened to the murmur of the sleeping city. [3] My eyes began to close [*literally*: tiredness and exhaustion knocked on my door], [4] but I resisted [*literally*: resisted surrendering]. [5] I did not want to lose the story’s spell or bid farewell to its characters just yet’ (Ruiz Zafón, *The Shadow of the Wind*, 2004, part 1, chapter *Julian Carax*).

In Section 4.2, we saw a case which lacked temporal updates despite the use of perfective tense-aspect forms. Example (14) presents an interesting constellation

in clauses [3] and [4]. Between the two, there is an argumentative update. The verb *llamaban* ‘knocked’/‘were knocking’ is semelfactive (or iterative, see below) and has an imperfective tense-aspect marking. The verb *resistí* ‘resisted’ expresses an ingressive state, though, importantly, it is marked as perfective. Therefore, it could refer to an eventuality posterior to [3], but the semantic properties seem to preclude such an interpretation. Instead, [3] may be interpreted as still holding true at the time of [4]. The clash between a sequential and an inclusion relation is resolved through an iterative reading of [3], which also allows for a reinterpretation of [4] as potentially iterative. Again, the following sentence [5] is anchored to [4] as it presents an explanation of it. This is a subordinating rhetorical relation (cf. Asher/Lascarides 2003; Jasinskaja/Karagiosova 2020, 14), which is expected to correlate with low prominence. However, the availability of the proposition as an anchor presupposes a certain amount of prominence (cf. Egetenmeyer 2020). To complete the picture, this only locally relevant prominence value (cf. Egetenmeyer submitted) is lower than the value exemplified in the preceding example.

Our last example (15) shows a further kind of argumentative update.

- (15) [1] *Satisfecho con mi elección, rehíce_{PS} mis pasos en el laberinto portando mi libro bajo el brazo con una sonrisa impresa en los labios.* [2] *Tal vez la atmósfera hechicera de aquel lugar había podido_{POP} conmigo,* [3] ***pero tuve***_{PS} *la seguridad de que aquel libro había estado*_{POP} *allí esperándome durante años, probablemente desde antes de que yo naciese*_{IMP.SUBJ}. (Ruiz Zafón, *La sombra del viento*, 2004, 12)

‘[1] Pleased with my choice, I tucked it under my arm and retraced my steps through the labyrinth, a smile on my lips. [2] Perhaps the bewitching atmosphere of the place had got the better of me, [3] but I felt sure that The Shadow of the Wind had been waiting there for me for years, probably since before I was born’ (Ruiz Zafón, *The Shadow of the Wind*, 2004, part 1, chapter Julian Carax).

In (15), sentence [1] presents an event as part of a narrative relation and introduces a proper reference time (R_t). With respect to [1], [2] presents a background relation (cf. Apothéloz/Combettes 2016, 53), which makes an inference explicit. Finally, [3] does not express a temporal update, in so far as there is at least an overlap with R_t . Instead, [3] expresses a prominent property, namely, the protagonist’s state of mind. Still, as in the preceding example, there is textual development as the content is altered with argumentative means.

6 Conclusions: A scale of textual development

As we have seen, the temporal distinction between updating events and non-updating descriptions is too simplistic. Our investigation combines insights into temporal structuring and the relationships between propositions. Its contribution is two-fold. On the one hand, we have shown that textual development cannot be reduced to temporal development and that it is, in fact, scalar in nature. The text does not only develop in narrative contexts, but may also develop in stative descriptions and “atemporal” (according to Smith 2003, 13) argumentations. On the other hand, we have collected evidence that the understanding of the argumentative update has explanatory power with respect to non-temporally updating uses of perfective tense-aspect forms. In what follows, we sum up the discussion of both topics.

In Sections 1, 4 and 5, we discussed four different steps on the scale of textual development. These are visualised in Figure 4.

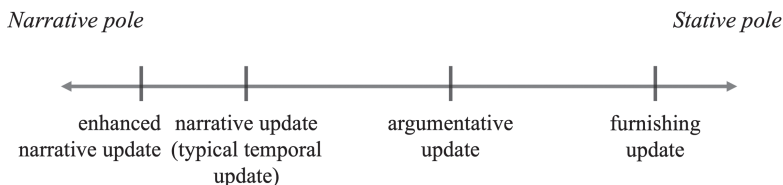


Figure 4: Scale of textual development.

The prototypical updating type is the narrative update. As expected, it is located at the narrative pole. Importantly, it involves a shift in the reference time (cf. Becker/Egetenmeyer 2018 with reference to Reichenbach 1956 and following Kamp/Rohrer 1983). Still, this kind of update may be strengthened with argumentative means, or, more specifically, with a temporal update combined with an opposition between the two propositions involved. This type sets the leftmost position on the scale, beyond even the standard narrative update. On the far right of the scale, at the stative pole, is the furnishing update. In this case, the reference time is not updated. Still, the order of the textual stages (propositions or sets of propositions, see Section 4.1) is motivated as it sets out the details of a situation step by step. The text develops in an irreversible and necessary fashion. At the point on the scale between the two poles is the argumentative update. An update of the reference time may co-occur, but not always. Central to this kind of textual development is a mutual exclusion of two textual stages. Although the scale in Figure 4 is displayed as having discrete points, there are interactions and overlaps between these points (cf. the relationship between the enhanced narrative update and the typical tempo-

ral update, and also the discussion of the examples in Section 5). Thus, the figure is to be understood as an abstraction of a more continuous scale.

Finally, we discussed a set of examples where our concept of the argumentative update may explain the use of a perfective tense-aspect form, despite the lack of a narrative update. In these cases, the adversative connector *pero* 'but' is combined with verbs marked by the Spanish *indefinido* form. Still, the eventualities which *pero* is used to oppose may be asserted for the same reference time, which is not to be expected from a traditional discourse structural perspective on tense use. In the examples, perfectivity is licensed by the assertion of completed eventualities (cf. Comrie 1976, 3) in combination with an opposition in content, which is the argumentative update.

The account thus offers insights into the relationships between different kinds of discursive structuring. As we have seen, non-narrative kinds of discursive structuring take the textual structuring produced by temporal development as a model and may also develop texts further. In Section 5, we illustrated how the account can be taken as a basis for further integration of different modes of discourse (in the sense of Smith 2003), thereby going beyond the interaction between narrative and argumentative clauses discussed by Lo Cascio (1999). As we have shown, the integrative view on discourse modes has explanatory value with respect to the linguistic means involved. However, future work should test other classes of connectors and their interaction with tense-aspect forms. An example of such a study is Egetenmeyer (in prep.), where the role of summarising connectors is analysed.

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