DEMONSTRATIVES AND THE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE OF DISCOURSE

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Resum. **Els demostratius i l'estructura retòrica del discurs**. A més d'un ús deíctic canònic i àmpliament estudiat, els demostratius contribueixen a la cohesió del discurs de maneres diverses. Per aquesta raó, aquests elements es poden definir com a mecanismes multifuncionals de cohesió discursiva. Com a elements pronominals, els demostratius estableixen xarxes referencials que transcendeixen l'àmbit oracional. D'aquesta manera, serveixen per referir a entitats discursives tan diverses com els individus, esdeveniments o fragments sencers del discurs. En aquests casos d'anàfora i dixi discursiva, els demostratius no serveixen només per identificar elements previs al discurs, sinó també de manera catafòrica tenen un ús clarament presentacional. Per acabar direm que existeixen tota una sèrie d'usos dels demostratius com a partícules del discurs que, possiblement derivats del seu contingut bàsic de naturalesa procedimental, serveixen per establir relacions retòriques entre el contingut proposicional del discurs.

Paraules clau: demostratius, cohesió, SDRT, partícules discursives, relacions retòriques.

Abstract. **Demonstratives and the rhetorical structure of discourse**. Besides a canonical and extensively studied deictic use, demonstratives contribute to discourse cohesion in various ways. As a consequence of that these elements can be defined as multifunctional cohesion making devices. As pronominal elements, demonstratives help establish referential networks that go beyond the sentence. Thus, they serve to refer to diverse discourse entities such as individuals, events, or even entire fragments of discourse. As discourse deictic and anaphoric elements, demonstratives are not only used to identify entities previously introduced in the discourse, but also cataphorically in a clear presentational use. Last but not least, demonstratives show a wide range of uses as discourse particles that, derived of their basic semantic procedural content, serve to establish various rhetorical relations among the propositional content of discourse.

Key words: demonstratives, cohesion, SDRT, discourse particles, rhetorical relations.

1. Introduction

Since the seminal work by Halliday and Hasan (1976), the study of the text as a cohered semantic unit has been one of the primary goals of many disciplines in linguistics over the years. While much of the efforts of researchers have focused on the issue of the semantic wholeness of discourse they inevitably had to center their attention on the range and nature of linguistic devices that natural languages offer to attain the unity of discourse[1]. Thus, to name only a few, Centering Theory (Grosz *et al.* 1995) provides a coreference resolution algorithm for the chain of mentions for an entity in the discourse. Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thomson 1987, 1988) attributes text coherence principally to the presence of a set of central constructs, i.e., relations that hold between parts of a text. Finally, Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (henceforth SDRT) (Asher and Lascarides 2003) relies on rhetorical relations (e.g. ELABORATION, NARRATION, CONTRAST, etc.) plus a variety of other cohesive devices (commonsense reasoning and speech act theory) to develop a logic-based, dynamic semantic framework of discourse generation and interpretation. Essentially, this theory postulates the existence of a complex rhetorical structure underlying discourse. Thus, the whole propositional content of a given bit of discourse results in a cohered whole thanks to the intervention of a series of implicit[2] and explicit linguistic devices that contribute to "glue" adjacent contentful units together.

As in any other scientific discipline the study of some specific phenomenon needs to follow a well pre-defined path from the micro to the macrostructure. For this reason the individual study of cohesion-building mechanisms and particles of natural language is of capital import to attain a better understanding of human discourse construction. In this line, some individual multifunctional words are of crucial importance in natural languages for they appear to embody a range of key functionalities while being able to play various significant roles for the production and maintenance of discourse cohesion and coherence. Thus, for example, different word classes like conjunctions (*but*, *as*, *because*, etc.), adverbs (*now*, *then*, *well*, etc.) and other discourse particles (*oh*, *I mean*, *you know*, etc.) are commonly assumed to contribute various functions at the discourse level (i.e. by establishing relations among parts of utterances, relationships between the speaker and the message, or between the speaker and the hearer). They have been labelled *discourse markers* (Schiffrin 1988) in the literature on English or Spanish *partículas discursivas* or

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, I'll be deliberately using the words text and discourse synonymously thus ignoring whichever conceptual differences may exist between these two linguistic notions.

[2] By non-overt mechanisms that contribute to discourse coherence, I am referring here to implicit devices like the one that arises from discourses like *John fell. Mary pushed him.*, where the causal relation *the reason why John fell is Mary's pushing him* is easily inferred by language users without the need of overt linguistic markers and even though the *pushing* precedes the *falling* in the linear (left to right) structure of discourse. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

marcadores del discurso in the sense given to these elements by, for example, Briz (1998) and Portolés-Lázaro (1998), respectively. To date, different theories have been proposed with an aim at explaining how discourse particles contribute to the global structure of meaning underlying discourse and to the discourse participants' communicative goals. For Blakemore (2002), for example, the principal role of English discourse markers is to facilitate the inferential processes involved in utterance understanding along the lines of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 2004). Martín-Zorraquino and Portolés-Lázaro (1999) present a thorough study and comprehensive taxonomy of Spanish discourse markers. Generally speaking, for these authors, Spanish discourse markers play the role of directors of the argumentative activity by guiding the inferences that arise in human communication.

Demonstratives appear to belong in this category as they appear to contribute to discourse cohesion and coherence in various ways. In some specific constructions, some Spanish demonstratives have developed a clear discourse particle nature. This has very likely occurred through a process of grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003) over time and the anaphoric nature of demonstratives may have well contributed to their new linguistic function as discourse particles. In fact, demonstratives seem to constitute a productive source of discourse particles in Spanish. Some of these particles have already been recognized as such and have been included in the *Diccionario de Partículas Discursivas del Español* (henceforth DPDE): *eso sí* /*esto sí*, *con eso y todo* (*con todo y con eso*, *con todo y eso*); see also Casado (1991) on the particle *esto es*.[3]

The primary goal of this paper is to present a novel account of certain Spanish expressions featuring demonstratives as elements that contribute to a great degree to the local –and global thereof– cohesion and coherence of discourse by establishing (or helping the addressee to infer) specific rhetorical relations among the propositional and temporal structure of discourse. Following the theoretical postulates of SDRT, I will characterize these demonstrative discourse particles as elements that help the hearer infer some rhetorical relation between propositions and events. In this paper, the emphasis will be put on the use of several constructions that combine a demonstrative along with some other element, namely: *eso de* ('that of'), *en eso/ en esto* ('in that/in this'), *eso sí* ('that yes') and *eso que* ('that that-CONJ'). The originality of this paper comes from two different sources. To the best of my knowledge, no other SDRT-based or rhetoric-based accounts on constructions featuring demonstratives have been so far attempted in Spanish. Thus, from a theoretical point of view, the paper contributes a novel perspective on discourse particles as elements that, beyond other modal or argumentative meanings, help interlocutors infer specific rhetorical relations among discourse segments. An

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[3] The particle *eso sí*/*esto sí* is characterized in the DPDE as a particle whose main function is to weaken a conclusion that may be inferred from a previous discourse segment. On the other hand, the role of the particle *con eso y todo* (and its variants *con todo y con eso* and *con todo y eso*) would be to present a contrary conclusion to one that may be inferred from the previous discourse. Finally, the particle *esto es* ('this is') is characterized by Casado as having a meaning akin to the particle *o sea* ('that is to say').

additional advantage of my proposal lies in that SDRT allows for a high degree of formalization and systematisation, which other current proposals on discourse particles lack. From a descriptive point of view, some of the constructions here investigated (*eso de*, *en eso/en esto* and *eso que*) have not so far been provided a characterization as discourse particles *de facto*[4]. In this respect, I suggest that these constructions containing demonstratives should be henceforth analyzed as discourse particles in Spanish linguistic studies regardless of the theoretical framework adopted for their analysis. Examples (1)-(4) illustrate the use of these constructions containing demonstratives as discourse particles playing a rhetorical role in discourse. In (1), the particle *eso sí* ('that yes') helps the addressee infer a relation of CONTRAST between the two propositions similar to the adversative and/or concessive meaning conveyed by the English connectors "but" and "although". Similarly, the particle *eso que* ('that that-CONJ') in (2) also seems to indicate a relation of CONTRAST between the two propositions involved. Regarding example (3), I will propose that the particle *eso de* ('that of') indicates a relation of ELABORATION between two discourse segments. Finally, the particle *en eso/esto* ('in that') conveys a relation of NARRATION between two events in the discourse. How these specific rhetorical relations are triggered by these particles will be explained in the following sections.

(1) Lo que todavía no tienen   claro
    It that still   not have.PRES   clear
    es   el precio; *eso sí*,   prometen
    be.PRES   the price; *that yes*,   promise.PRES
    que será   asequible.
    that be.FUT   affordable
    'They don't know the price yet, *but/although* they promise it'll be affordable.'
    [Source: CREA. Year: 2004. *20 Minutos*. Spain.]

(2) Porque en este país   las mujeres no venden   discos. Y   *eso que*   la
    Because in this country the women not sell.PRES records. And *that that*-CONJ   the
    mujer,   de siempre, ha   cantado   mucho mejor que el hombre.
    woman, of always, have.AUX   sing.PART   much   better that the man.
    'Because women don't sell any records in this county, *even though* women, as always, have been much better singers than men.'
    [Source: CREA. Year: 1990. *Tiempo*. Spain.]

(3) A: "El ejercito   está   para ayudarles, para trabajar   con ustedes…"
       The army   be.PRES   for help.INF. for   work.INF with you…
       'The army is here to help you, to work with you…'

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[4] Thus, for example, the construction *en eso* is grammatically characterized as an adverbial phrase by the *Diccionario de la Real Academia*, although no mention to its discourse role is made there.

B: No sé   a qué   se   refiere   *eso de* la militarización del   estado.
    Not know.PRES to what rflxv refer.PRES *that of* the militarisation of-the state
    'I don't know what you mean by (*that of*) the militarisation of the state.'
    [Source: CREA Year: 1996. México]

(4) Entonces *en eso* iba   pasando el otro   y   le   dijo…
    Then   *in that* go.PAST passing   the other and to-him say.PAST…
    'Then, as the other was passing by, he told him…'
    [Source: CREA. Oral. Venezuela]

2. SDRT and the Underlying Rhetorical Structure of Discourse

SDRT (Asher and Lascarides 2003) constitutes a holistic approach to discourse. According to this theory, discourse interpretation exploits pragmatics, word meaning and compositional semantics: SDRT tries to account for how those knowledge sources interact. The key concept about the propositional content of discourse is that it crucially depends on a discourse structure consisting of rhetorical relations that link together the utterances – or, more accurately, the meanings or "contents" these utterances convey. Rhetorical relations (hence RRs), also called discourse relations, describe the rhetorical roles propositions play in the global discourse content. The segmented paragraph in (5a-d) illustrates the basic idea underlying SDRT.

(5) a. A uno de los empleados se   le   negó   el ascenso tres veces (π_a).
      To one of the employees rflxv to-him deny.PAST the raise   three times
      'One of the employees was denied a promotion three times.'

    b. A otro   no se   le   subió   el sueldo durante cinco años (π_b).
      To other not rflxv to-him raise.PAST the salary during five   years
      'Another one wasn't given a raise for five years.'

    c. A un tercero se   le   pagaba menos sueldo que   al   resto de sus
      To a   third rflxv to-him pay.PAST less   salary that.CONJ to-the rest of his
      compañeros de departamento (π_c).
      colleagues of department
      'A third one was paid fewer salary than the rest of his colleagues of department.'

    d. *Pero* el magistrado no vió   en aquello   suficiente prueba de delito (π_d).
      But the judge   not see.PAST in that-yonder enough   proof of crime
      '*But* the judge did not see enough evidence of crime in that.'

Note the four clauses that constitute the paragraph have been single out and labelled a-d. Also, the symbol π_x is given to indicate the proposition denoted by each clause. This is particularly important for it indicates that rhetorical relations obtain at the propositional (semantic) level. Clause (5d) includes the adversative conjunction *pero* ('but') and an occurrence of the Spanish distal demonstrative pronoun *aquello* ('that yonder'). The word *pero* ('but') indicates that the contentful unit (5d) establishes a contrast with something (a claim). We might refine the notion of contrast as in Blakemore (2002, p. 33), for whom the function of *pero* in (5d) should be better conceived of as having the cognitive effect of contradiction and elimination. Under this assumption, the relevance of segment (5d) would lie in the fact that it contradicts and eliminates an assumption inferred by the hearer from some piece of previous discourse. This is what Blakemore called *backtracking*, namely, when the adversative particle *pero* forces the hearer to go back or backtrack in discourse to contradict and eliminate an inferred assumption. We are now left with the task of deciding which proposition out of the set (5a-d) triggers the assumption that *pero* is supposed to contrast with (or contradict and eliminate). Does clause (5d) form a contrast with a single proposition –any of those preceding (5d)– or with the sum of (5a-c)? In any case the short discourse in (5) is coherent although ambiguous. On the other hand, the reference of the demonstrative pronoun *aquello* in (5d) is also a source of ambiguity. Is the demonstrative anaphor referring back to (5a), (5b), (5c) or to a single proposition that results from combining all three clauses (5a-c)? Initially, it seems that the intended referent of the demonstrative and the assumption inferred by the hearer and subject to contrast (by means of the discourse particle *pero*) would coincide. Now the question arises as to what is a possible way of resolving the underspecificity conveyed by the discourse in (5). Following the postulates of SDRT, the rhetorical structure of (5) is unveiled in (6). Note that singular propositions are represented with the symbol π_n and RR stands for the rhetorical relation that arises between propositions. Thus, for example, a relation of CONTINUATION (RR1) obtains between clauses (5a) and (5b), but also between clause (5c) and the segment π_{ab}. The incremental continuation of clauses (5a-c) establishes this set as the common topic of discourse. A relation of CONTRAST (RR3) obtains between the proposition denoted by clause (5d) and the common topic of discourse. This goes in line with our intuitions regarding the assumptions to be contrasted with *pero* and the reference of the demonstrative pronoun. Upon processing the discourse, the hearer/addressee conceives clauses (5a-c) as a single thematic unit (e.g. evidence presented against a company on a trial), hence resolving the demonstrative anaphor and inferring the assumption that will be later contrasted upon processing the adversative particle in clause (5d).

(6) RR1: π_b CONTINUATION π_a
RR2: π_c CONTINUATION $\pi_{abContinuation}$
RR3: π_d CONTRAST π_{abc} = common topic of discourse

We could have proposed an alternative rhetorical relation RR3 π_d CONTRAST π_c instead of the one given in (6). That is to say, an RR where the proposition in (5d) contrasts with an assumption inferred by the hearer upon processing (5c) and where the demonstrative anaphor would refer to that particular proposition[5]. We believe, though, that the most salient reading of this piece of discourse is the one in which the propositions (5a-c) integrate into a single thematic unit.

SDRT features a high degree of formal complexity. For reasons of space, we won't enter here into technical details regarding the logic that accompanies the theory. Suffice to say that SDRT is a theory of discourse representation that extends dynamic semantics by introducing rhetorical relations into the logical forms of discourse. In SDRT the logical forms of discourse feature rhetorical relations. These relations have truth conditional effects, which SDRT exploits to predict how compositional semantic content gets augmented as discourse progresses. Rhetorical relations capture important generalizations on various discourse phenomena. For many researchers discourse segmentation has a hierarchical structure (Grosz and Sidner 1986, Mann and Thompson 1987, Asher 1993). Let us consider the discourse fragment in (7) to illustrate this point. The paragraph has been segmented into its main constituent propositions π_a-π_f in for illustration purposes.

(7) π_a: Ambos tipos de causas pueden rastrearse sin dificultad cuando se analizan las razones de la pérdida de biodiversidad.
'Both types of causes can be tracked down with no difficulty when analyzing the reasons for biodiversity loss.'

π_b: Muchos naturalistas, y una parte de la sociedad, suelen tenerlo muy claro pero se quedan en las causas próximas:
'Many naturalists, and a part of society, have clear ideas in this respect, but they only take into consideration the proximal causes:'

π_c: Desaparecen los grandes animales porque se cazan,
'Big animals disappear because they are chased down,'

π_d: desaparecen los bosques porque se talan o se queman los árboles,
'forests disappear because trees are fell or burned down,'

π_e: desaparecen los insectos porque se envenenan …
'insects disappear because they are poisoned...'

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[5] There is evidence in favor of demonstrative anaphors in English (Gundel *et al.* 2003) and Spanish (Zulaica-Hernández 2009) as showing a strong preference for their antecedents to be found in the clause immediately prior to the one containing the anaphor.

π_f: en un plano personal, ese razonamiento es tranquilizador: "como yo no hago nada de *eso*, no tengo culpa"

'from a personal perspective, that line of reasoning is calming: since I don't do anything of *that* I'm not to blame'

[Source: Crea. Delibes de Castro, Miguel. 2001. *Vida. La naturaleza en Peligro*.]

The rhetorical structure of this piece of discourse, and the corresponding hierarchical configuration are depicted in (8). Simplifying a bit, the graph can be explained as follows. In SDRT, hierarchical structure emerges from certain relations like ELABORATION or EXPLANATION or ↓ (where the complex expression ↓ (α, β) stands for *a is a topic for β*) which are subordinating relations, while other relations are coordinating relations. In (8), a subordinating relation obtains between π_b and the three next propositions (π_y: π_c, π_d, π_e) which elaborate it further. In turn, these three propositions are all connected via CONTINUATION, which is, essentially, a coordinating relation.

(8) π_b CONTINUATION π_a

↓

ELABORATION
π_y

π_c CONTINUA. π_d CONTINUA. π_e
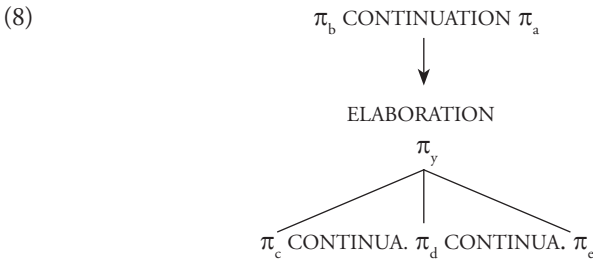
3. Demonstratives and the rhetorical structure of discourse

Over decades, a substantial amount of research has been done on demonstrative expressions from virtually every linguistic perspective. As deictic elements, demonstratives are used by language users to point at objects in the surrounding visual field with the communicative intention of making the (possibly pointed) object salient or focused enough for the addressee in the speech situation[6]. But over time, demonstratives seem to have developed additional grammatical and/or pragmatic functions. For example, in his comprehensive cross-linguistic study on demonstratives, Diessel (1999) distinguished between anaphoric and discourse deictic uses of demonstratives. For him, three main distinctive features characterize discourse deictic demonstratives, namely, they make reference to propositions or speech acts; they link two propositions and their referents do

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[6] This notion of a *Joint Focus of Attention* between the speech participants as a direct consequence of the deictic character of demonstrative expressions is further elaborated in Diessel (2006).

not commonly persist in discourse. According to Diessel, all anaphoric and deictic uses of demonstratives are derived from the primary deictic use through grammaticalization processes. In turn, grammaticalized discourse deictic demonstratives evolved into sentence connectives in many languages (e.g. English *so that* or German series *damit/darüber/dabei/*etc.) These connectives are frequently formed from a pronominal demonstrative and some other element (e.g. an adverb or adposition). Himmelmann (1996) studied several unrelated languages and established a universal typology of demonstrative uses, namely, situational (purely deictic), non-situational (anaphoric, cataphoric, discourse deixis and a new recognitional type proposed by the author whereby the intended referent of the demonstrative is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or preceding discourse segments).

Some of these derived uses of demonstrative elements contribute to discourse cohesion in various ways. Thus, demonstrative determiners and pronouns enter in coreferential links with varied discourse entities (NPs and clausal entities of various types such as infinitival clauses, subordinate clauses, entire sentences and even chunks of discourse made up of more than one sentence). From a purely semantic point of view, these syntactic antecedents may denote a wide range of objects, namely, individuals, events, accomplishments, facts, or even discourse topics[7]. Consider example (9), where the demonstrative pronoun *aquello* ('that further') in the second sentence has the first entire sentence as its syntactic antecedent (the intended referent being the event denoted by the first sentence). The subscript indicates coreference between antecedent and anaphor.

(9) [Mi abuela   pasó   como siete días muriéndose]$_k$.
    [My grandmother pass.PAST   like   seven days die.PROG].
    Aquello$_k$ fue   horrible.
    That$_k$ be.PAST   horrible.
    'My grandmother took seven days to die. That was horrible.'
    [Source: CREA. Año: ----. CSHC-87 Entrevista 101. Venezuela, Oral.]

In anaphoric uses, demonstratives prevent repetition of full syntactic constructions while acting as the joints of the referential network underlying discourse. First time mention of discourse entities is commonly accomplished via full expressions. Subsequent mention of discourse entities is commonly accomplished via pronominal expressions. Thus, demonstratives not only contribute to linguistic economy but also help interlocutors rank the set of entities under discussion according to a scale of informativeness as

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[7] As of today, there is no conclusive definition for the notion of *Discourse Topic*. Different scholars have characterized it differently in the literature: the Question Under Discussion (Büring 2003, Roberts 1996), a Discourse Referent (Bosch and Umbach 2007, Bosch *et al.* 2007), a Subordinating Relation (Asher and Lascarides 2003), etc. In this paper, I'll take the discourse topic to be a discourse referent (abstract or concrete) in the sense of Kartunnen (1976), which would trigger a subordinating relation as depicted in example (8).

argued, for example, in Prince (1981). In a series of papers, Bosch *et al.* (2003), Bosch and Umbach (2007) and Bosch *et al.* (2007) comparatively studied the referential/discourse anaphoric properties of German and Dutch demonstratives and personal pronouns from an experimental, psycholinguistic perspective. Based on their findings, they conclude that demonstratives choose their referents in contrast to the currently most expectable referent and thus avoid discourse referents as topics. Regarding Spanish, see Zulaica-Hernández (2008) for a comprehensive semantic and pragmatic study on demonstrative pronouns with a focus on their discourse deictic/anaphoric uses.

The demonstrative particles under scrutiny in this paper (*eso sí*, *eso que*, *eso de*, *en esto*/ *eso*) add some additional rhetorical meaning to the strictly anaphoric, discourse deictic or referential one. Thus, our demonstrative particles serve to establish some rhetorical relations or help the hearer infer a (possibly salient) rhetorical relation between propositions. In some cases, the particle does not need to be necessarily present for the rhetorical relation to be inferred by the hearer. In these cases, a specific rhetorical relation may be salient enough (via lexical meaning or world knowledge) so that the particle, if present, acts just as a 'facilitator". In other cases though, the discourse particle seems to be absolutely necessary for the right rhetorical relation among propositions to be inferred. Otherwise, the relation would be unspecified and the propositions would simply remain rhetorically "unconnected". This point is illustrated with examples (10a-d). In (10a), the particle *eso sí* can co-occur with the adversative particle *pero* ('but'). In (10b), the demonstrative particle is not present yet the sentence is still perfectly grammatical. The same applies to (10c) where the particle *pero* is absent. Finally, in (10d), no particle connects the two sentences.

(10) a. No tiene   dinero para pagar   el alquiler *pero*, *eso sí*, conduce   un BMW.
          Not have.PRES money for   pay.INF the rent   *but*, *that yes*, drive.PRES a BMW

    b. No tiene   dinero para pagar   el   alquiler *pero* conduce   un BMW.
          Not have.PRES   money for pay.INF the rent   *but* drive.PRES a   BMW

    c. No tiene   dinero para pagar   el alquiler. *Eso sí*, conduce   un BMW.
       Not have.PRES money for   pay.INF the rent.   *That yes*, drive.PRES a BMW

    d. No tiene   dinero para pagar   el alquiler. Conduce   un BMW.
          Not have.PRES money for   pay.INF the rent.   Drive.PRES a   BMW
          'He doesn't have the money to pay the rent but he drives   a   BMW'

Generally speaking, I will here characterize the construction *eso sí* as a demonstrative particle that triggers or helps the hearer infer a CONTRAST rhetorical relation between two propositions (RR: π_x CONTRAST π_y). In view of example (10d), it may be argued that demonstrative particles are not responsible for rhetorical relations to arise in discourse. In fact, it appears that some kind of contrast or contradiction between the two proposi-

tions involved is salient enough (e.g. not being able to pay one's rent CONTRASTS driving a BMW) in (10d)[8]. Nevertheless, in many cases, the (CONTRAST) relation is not so evident when no particle is present. This is the case of (1) repeated here as (11) and featuring no demonstrative particle. Here, no contrast relation is necessarily inferred from the two propositions involved. In fact, other competing relations may be inferred by a potential hearer like, for example, ELABORATION via a particle like *además* ('moreover') or even CONSEQUENCE via an inferred particle like *por eso* ('because of that'). When no particle is present, as in (11), the propositions remain rhetorically unspecified. In consequence, some demonstrative particles seem to be strictly necessary in Spanish so that the addressee is able to process the proper rhetorical relation originally intended by the speaker.

(11) Lo que todavía no tienen claro es el precio. *Pro* prometen que será asequible.
'They don't know the price yet. They promise it'll be affordable.'

On the other hand, the Spanish construction *eso de* ('that of') appears to have developed some sort of hybrid anaphoric-cataphoric nature[9]. In (12), it appears to be referring to an element in the previous clause *la cirugía estética* (anaphoric use) and referring forward or introducing into discourse the NP *la anestesia* (cataphoric use). In this particular use, the demonstrative appears to act as a facilitator in cases of associative anaphora (Löbner 1998) illustrated by the lexical items *cirugía estética-anestesia* ('plastic surgery-anaesthesia'). Thus, the demonstrative introduces into discourse the new topic *la anestesia* that is directly related to having plastic surgery by virtue of the common knowledge that the interlocutors share about the world or by virtue of the direct relation topic-subtopic marked by the two lexical items under consideration. It is in this respect that the discourse function of this demonstrative construction may well be that of signalling a relation of ELABORATION (RR: π_2 ELABORATION π_1) between the propositions involved.

(12) Muchas veces pienso   que debería hacerme   la cirugía   estética,
Many   times think.PRES that I-should make.INF-rflxv the surgery aesthetic
que sería   el momento justo, pero me   da
that be.COND the moment right   but rflxv give.PRES
mucho miedo *eso de* la   anestesia.
much   fear   *that of* the anaesthesia

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[8] In my opinion other additional rhetorical relations can be inferred from (10d) besides CONTRAST. For example, a relation of ELABORATION or even CAUSE are possible in Spanish. Thus, driving a BMW might the cause for x not being able to pay his rent.

[9] In purely discourse cataphoric uses, demonstratives appear to have a presentational use that not only contributes to discourse cohesion via coreference but it may also contribute a rhetorical effect (technically, not a rhetorical relation in SDRT's sense), namely, that of creating suspense or uncertainty via utterance of the demonstrative and subsequent introduction of the relevant presuppositional material.

'Many times, I think about having plastic surgery, that this would be the right time, but that of anaesthesia really scares me.'
[Source: CREA. Año: 1990. *Tiempo*. España, prensa.]

The particle *en esto/eso* is made up of the preposition *en* (in/at) plus the proximal or medial demonstrative pronouns *esto* ('this') and *eso* ('that'). The *Diccionario de la Real Academia* classifies this construction as an adverbial phrase. In this particle, the demonstrative expression appears to have lost all trace of its primary deictic nature but not its anaphoric character. Clearly, the demonstrative refers back to the event denoted by the previous sentence and connects it with the event immediately following the demonstrative thus marking a relation of concurrence or simultaneity among events and contributing to the optimal interpretation of the temporal structure of discourse. Thus, the demonstrative construction in (4) and (13) can be argued to establish a NARRATION relation between the events involved (RR: π_x NARRATION π_y).

(13) Iba   yo a comprar el pan   y   *en esto*
     go.PAST I   to buy.INF the bread   and *in this*
     que me   encuentro   a Margot Cottens.
     that rflxv find.PRES   to Margot Cottens
     'As I was going to buy some bread, I came across Margot Cottens.'
     [Source: CREA. Año: 1997. *El País*. España, prensa.]

Finally, the construction *eso que* shown in examples (2) and (14) appears to have evolved into a discourse particle encoding a concessive meaning that helps to direct the hearer to contradicting an assumption presumed to have been made manifest by the first conjunct (Blakemore 2002). In this respect, the Spanish construction *eso que* may establish a CONTRAST rhetorical relation (RR: π_2 CONTRAST π_1) between the two propositions involved. Thus, upon processing the first conjunct of (14), the hearer would normally infer that the president must be a smart person. The content of the second conjunct with the help of the demonstrative construction serve to establish the counterevidence required for a proper understanding of the whole utterance.

(14) El presidente de estados unidos se   ha   marcado
     the president of states   united rflxv AUX score.PART
     otro   nuevo éxito. Y   *eso que*
     other   new   success. And *that that*-CONJ
     el ex gobernador americano fue   calificado de paleto sin   ideas.
     the ex governor   american   be.PAST described   of redneck without ideas

'The president of the United States has achieved a new success, *in spite of the fact that* the American ex-governor was described as a mindless redneck.'
[Source: CREA. Año: 1995. *El mundo*. España, prensa.]

Likewise, upon processing the first conjunct of (2), the hearer would normally infer that women are not good singers since they are not able to sell any records. The counter-evidence to that inference comes from the content of the second conjunct (that women are better singers than men) and the CONTRAST relation conveyed by the demonstrative particle. A summary of all the demonstrative particles dealt with in this paper and the proposed rhetorical relations they signal are given in Table 1 at the end of the Section 5.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented a novel characterization of a set of Spanish discourse particles containing demonstratives as constructions that contribute to the underlying rhetorical structure of discourse by making accessible to the addressee various rhetorical relations in the sense given to this term in SDRT's theoretical framework. All the constructions analyzed in this paper feature a demonstrative plus some additional material (prepositions, conjunctions or adverbs). The discourse particles thus formed appear to embody some specific meaning in addition to the purely discourse anaphoric, namely, helping the addressee inferring some particular rhetorical relation between propositions (or events). In some cases, the rhetorical relation is simply compatible with an already accessible relation. In other cases though, the particle appears strictly necessary so that a rhetorical relation is fully specified. Compositionally, the demonstrative anaphor would contribute the "join" or "connection" procedure among propositions, as this is the basic mechanism of discourse anaphors. The overall resulting particle (*eso que*, *eso sí*, *en esto*, etc.) would feature some specific rhetorical relation (e.g. COUNTEREVIDENCE, CORRECTION, CONSEQUENCE, etc.). I believe that the ideas presented here may contribute to the general understanding of Spanish discourse particles, rhetorical relations and the cohesive and coherence mechanisms that govern Spanish discourse. The inventory of rhetorical relations that I have suggested is surely not exhaustive and, very likely, not limited to "demonstrative discourse particles". Thus, other relations may be proposed as new uses are described. In any case, the issue deserves further research so that more light is shed on the genesis of these discourse particles (e.g. grammaticalization processes), their non-obligatoriness in certain cases and the semantic contribution of the other linguistic elements (prepositions, etc.) to the particle's global meaning.

Demonstrative Particle	Rhetorical Relation	Explanation
Eso de ('that of')	ELABORATION	This particle indicates that the discourse segment that the particle introduces elaborates on a previous discourse segment.
Eso sí ('that yes')	CONTRAST	The segment that this particle introduces presents countervidence to a conclusion that may be inferred from a previous segment thus indicating a relation of contrast among the propositions involved.
(y) eso que ('(and) that that-CONJ')	CONTRAST	The segment that this particle introduces presents countervidence to a conclusion that may be inferred from a previous segment thus indicating a relation of contrast among the propositions involved.
En esto/eso ('in this/that')	NARRATION	This particle indicates a concurrence of the two events involved thus contributing to the narrative structure of discourse.

Table 1. An overview of demonstrative particles and the relations they contribute to the rhetorical structure of discourse.

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