

OTÍLIA DA COSTA E SOUSA
Higher School of Education, Lisbon
New University of Lisbon

CONSTRUCTING REFERENCE IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES*

In this paper we are concerned with the role played by adverbials in the construction of reference in children's narratives. We shall present a characterization of temporal adverbials and their role as aspectual-temporal locators in narratives within Culioli's theoretical framework. Twenty-four stories of children of 6 and 6;6 years old were analyzed. From the data, two kinds of problems arise:

- a) problems concerned with the localization of the text relative to the situation of enunciation¹,
- b) and those concerned with intra-textual organization.

This study shows that the role played by different adverbials is essential to the construction of the narrative. The status of the latter as an autonomous text depends a great deal upon the role of autonomous adverbials. Moreover, many of the operations of temporal linkage are expressed by anaphoric adverbials. Our observations have lead us to conclude that the detaching operation underlying autonomous adverbials is a prerequisite of the narrative text. Furthermore, identification and differentiation, the complex operation underlying anaphoric adverbials, plays an important role in the construction of temporal connectivity.

Introduction

There is a common assumption that children have mastered the basic structures of their native tongue around the age of four. Between four and six years of age an important process of reorganization takes place in language development consisting in the switch from an "utterance grammar" to a "textual grammar"². After age five, there is a change in the function of linguistic categories from the sentence level to the inter-sentence level (discourse cohesion/coherence). This is the most important feature of later language development (Karmiloff-Smith, 1986; Batoréo 1998).

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¹ From Culioli's "situation d'énonciation".

² The former concerns the utterance's organization, government schemes, agreement features, the last mentioned concerning the acquisition of logical relations, connective relations and co-referential-anaphoric mechanisms.

Localization

The operation of localization is a primitive elementary operation. The concept of localization is central in A. Culioli's theoretical framework and is linked to the idea of locating one term in relation to another. To say that a term *x* is located in relation to *y* is to say that *x* is situated with reference to *y*, and *y* is located relative to another locator. The origin of the location may be *y* and can be located in relation to itself. «The basic idea is that an object only acquires a form and a value by means of a dynamic scheme of localization» (Culioli, 1990, p. 180).

When one locates a term with respect to a locator, one **identifies, differentiates** or posits that **no relationship** exists between them (Culioli, 1995, p. 5). Each of these values indicates the locatum position in relation to the origin of the localization. To locate is to situate with reference to, which means to construct determination (Campos, 1994, p. 142). The theoretical framework, briefly presented above, enables us to study the markers *quando...* (when), *então* (then), *depois* (after) as temporal localization operators in children's narrative texts.

The purpose of the study

The following sections focus on these features as they appear in narratives of children aged six to seven. More specifically, they assess the role played by adverbials in children's narratives. The primary purpose was to investigate the underlying operations of time adverbials. According to A. Culioli (1990, p. 72), language «is a meaningful representational activity, only accessible through texts, that is, through patterns of markers which are themselves traces of underlying operations». In this paper we have carried out a detailed analysis of the textual functions of some temporal adverbials, and show how these functions derive from the language operations that underlie all the uses of the markers *quando... então, depois*. In the present text, the term "marker" stands for "marker of operations", our main goal being to find the invariants which regulate the uses of such markers.

Methodological aspects

Our data were obtained in a private school in central Lisbon. The children were from middle-class families and all attended the same school. We obtained our *corpus* by using as stimulus two videotaped fairy tales. After the children had seen the videotapes, they were asked to retell the story. The responses were audiotaped and later transcribed. Twelve children participated: 6 girls and 6 boys. Each child produced a narrative twice with a time interval of six months. At the moment of the first recording, they were 6 years old and the second 6;6 years.

Temporal localization

To build a text is to construct a coherent and unified universe (Halliday & Hasan, 1984). The values marked by tense and aspect operators contribute to the construction of the text as a universe where all the elements are connected in a coherent way.

The acquisition of temporal relations and markers presupposes a complex learning process which is language specific. The development of routines and strategies is a prerequisite for the correct use of temporal markers (tense and adverbials, amongst others). In the case of the acquisition of temporal markers, the linguistic and grammatical complexity

and difficulty increases. To the difficulty associated with inflection and with absolute and relative values, a specific problem is added: that of the role played by temporal markers in the textual operations. After learning the temporal markers, the child must acquire the notion of their functioning as textual markers. Let us consider, for instance, the values of the present tense when it is used in a narrative, descriptive or procedural text.

According to Culioli's localization principle, there are two major types of text: texts in situation – where the locator is the situation of enunciation (Sit_0) – and autonomous texts – where the locator is Sit_0^1 , which are constructed on a detached plane. In the first case, the origin temporal locator is the time of enunciation and the subsequent locations are deictic. In the second, the locator is constructed with no relation to the time of enunciation, and the subsequent locations are anaphoric.

One of the most important transitions in early children's language is to move from the exclusive focus on "I, here and now" to the ability to talk about the "it, there and then" (Ferreiro, 1971; Hickmann, 1995). This capacity goes beyond that of building a simple representation of the past and concerns the construction of a translated reference point in the past, from which one can represent events situated with reference to this point. This linguistic ability requires, from a cognitive point of view, the capacity for seriation and reversibility. These are properties of conceptual development around the age of 4-4;6 (Weist, 1986).

Localization with break value

The locator of narrative origin is a fictitious one (Culioli, 1980, p. 185; 1995, p. 125; Desclès, 1995, p. 19). This locator must occur in the text and marks a null relationship to Sit_0 . To construct original reference in narratives is to utilize a complex pragmatic skill which involves the cognitive ability to monitor discourse, and allows the listener to recognize the type of text and share the context representation.

The subjects of this study evidenced various strategies for the construction of the origin locator. The fictitious origin locator was constructed in 11 of the 24 texts while 13 had Sit_0 as the origin locator. The subjects who constructed the origin locator used autonomous temporal adverbials. This sub-type of adverbials also appears within the narrative text:

	text 1 opening/within the narrative	text 2 opening/with the narrative
one day	1/9	2/5
when	–/12	2/14
once	3/1	2/–
a long time ago	1/–	–/–

Opening the narrative: localization on a detached plane

The autonomous adverbials mark the construction of temporal reference detached from the time-based locating system, i.e., in the reference calculus there is an hiatus between Sit_0 and Sit_0^1 , the fictitious locator (Borillo, 1983, 1997; Campos & Xavier, 1991). Autonomous adverbials can be subdivided into:

- a) generally known dates (in the Middle Ages, in 1775),
- b) independent, but undetermined localizations (one day, when I grow up).

As far as the narrative text is concerned it is, generally, the second sub-type that locates it.

Autonomous adverbials are the traces of the process of construction of a locator that breaks the relationship to *Sit₀* and that is self-located. This independent time is a linguistic construct; it establishes an undetermined time that enables the construction of a time "out of time", which is the origin of the universe to be constructed. Indetermination, the characteristic of the fictitious locator, is essential and plays a central role due to the fact that it allows a great liberty of creation, signalling *ab initio* that there is no continuity between the narrative universe and either the communication universe or the "habitual" world of listener.

Quando...

Let us now direct our attention to the most frequent autonomous adverbial in the data. *Quando...* is the first purely temporal adverbial to emerge in child language (Silva, 1991: 643). In the subjects' texts, *quando...* plays a dominant role both in the constitution of the narrative itself and in its intra-textual organization.

When *quando...* opens a text it operates a detached localization between the time of the linguistic event and the time of enunciation³. Given the referential autonomy of *quando...*, its basic operation marks the construction of another time, independent of any other. Two of the subjects began their texts using *when* clauses:

- (1) *quando começou foi assim: um senhor ia sempre matar ...*
(when it began it was like this: a man always went to kill...)
- (2) *começou e então quando começou tudo estava branco*
([The story] started and when it started everything was white)

It must be noted that *quando* occurs with the inceptive verb *começar* (to begin) which is a marker of entry in a domain: it signals the first point of the domain to be constructed. *Quando começou* corresponds to the construction of the occurrence, i.e., to its manifestation in time (Franckel, 1989:154). The co-occurrence of *quando* and *começar* operates a first localization, independent of any other. The semantics of *começar* combined with *quando...* makes this expression equivalent to *once upon a time* or *a long time ago*. *Quando...* is thus a fictitious first locator that works as the origin of the universe to be created in the story. This is shown in (2) when the subject reformulates the utterance: he opens his text with *começou* which, as we have noted, corresponds to an operation of entry into the domain. *Começou* is located in relation to *Sit₀*, reformulation brings *quando...* into use, thus signalling the necessity of locating the utterance on a plane dissociated from *Sit₀*. The aoristic value of *quando...* (Culioli, 1980; Franckel, 1989) becomes apparent when it occurs at the beginning of the narrative text.

In this context, *quando...* corresponds to the ritual formula that introduces us into the tale world, building another time which ruptures the time of everyday life. According to Weinrich (1973, p. 46) the ritual formula "ne figure pas un autre temps", but another universe, a universe governed by its own time. *Quando...*, in the opening of narrative, is

³ A lot of oral tales in Portuguese begin with *quando...* (*when*) clauses "quando os animais falavam" (when animals used to talk), "quando Jesus andava a pé pelo mundo" (when Jesus walked in the world).

the very marker of the specific narrative time. This detaching operation is what enables the otherness of narrative time.

In text construction, the origin localization must be followed by new information; this has to be connected to the information previously given and must not contradict it (Charolles, 1978). In other words, all the terms are located in relation to this first localization. A temporal locator is functional until another one, of the same category, takes its place and establishes new temporal coordinates (Weinrich, 1973). The use of operators of localization with break value within the narrative text leads to the construction of a discontinuous time, i.e., of a hiatus.

Let us now examine some examples of autonomous adverbials used within the narrative (see table above). These adverbials mark distinct story sequences and are essentially markers of the progress of narrative:

- (3) ...esse irmão tentou descobrir o segredo, mas nada. Então um dia o irmão ouviu-o a dizer as palavras mágicas no pote, então quando ele foi à venda o irmão pegou no pote...
 (...That brother tried to discover the secret, unsuccessfully. Then one day this brother heard him saying the magic words into the pot, then when he went out to the market his brother took the pot...)

One day and *when*... introduce another time that breaks with the previous situations, and allow the introduction of new narrative sequences: the discovery of the magic words, the robbery of the magic pot. The presence of break operators throughout the text enables the subjects to express the specific character of narrative time, which is by nature discontinuous.

We have defined *quando*... as a break operator. When it occurs in the narrative opening, it processes the break in relation to the enunciation plane and builds a new plane of localization. When it occurs within the narrative text, it also processes a break operation, but, in this case, the rupture takes place relative to the preceding discursive context. As it processes a break with the preceding time, it establishes a new localization that will work as a locator for the subsequent utterances. That is, it discontinues the story's temporal plane and establishes a new reference point for the sequence of events which are to come⁴.

Closing the story, the break value once again

Starting a story presupposes finishing it; just as children signal the beginning of the story, they also inform the listener that the story is about to end. They construct a bridge that brings us back to the "habitual" world. Similarly to the opening of the story, its closing must also be constructed as detached. The detachment in this case will be in relation to the narrative plane. Detaching enables the subjects to come back to the situation of enunciation, to the "I, here and now".

The above mentioned operation may be represented by various markers. In eight texts the verb *acabar* was used – "e acabou a história" (and the story is over), "e acabou" (and

⁴ One must stress the point that, among 28 examples, there is but a single example of postposed *quando*... clause. Therefore, we find that the adverbial clause is mainly preposed. As we have said, the function of *quando*... clauses is to provide temporal information by signalling a new reference point in order to locate the upcoming main clause. Thus the adverbial clause serves as a kind of "guidepost" to information flow. "Guideposts" must guide. That's why *when* clauses come before the information to which they serve as guides (Silva, 1991, p. 649).

it's over), in eight the moral point of the story was constructed, in two texts the story was finished by "não me lembro de mais" (I can't remember anything else), and in the other texts the end was marked with silence. While the verb *começar* signals the opening of the narrative, the occurrence of the verb *acabar* is important in pointing out the end of the story. The verb *acabar*, in virtue of its meaning (Campos, 1997), is the marker of the domain exit, i.e., it marks the closure of the narrative domain.

Subjects showed a greater concern with the closing of the story (sixteen texts were closed in a formal way) than with the opening (eleven texts had the orientation constructed). Following Hatch (1992, p. 198), it is more difficult for the child to mark the orientation (time, spatial setting and characters) than to set up the story line and, we would add, than to close the story.

Localization: identification and differentiation value

In the construction of text, one must combine progress and continuity. We have seen one of the devices that allow narrative progress – the use of autonomous adverbials. Another kind of adverbial, the anaphoric adverbials, is of some importance in the construction of narrative continuity, for they act as devices of narrative cohesion.

Among the anaphoric adverbials, we must highlight, in virtue of their overmarked occurrence⁵ in the *corpus*, *então* and *depois*⁶ (Sousa, 1995, 1996). Overmarking is a specific feature of child's language (Karmiloff-Smith, 1979, p. 236). It appears to us that overmarking is, in the present case, linked to an incipient textual organization (Schneuwly, Rosat & Dolz, 1989), to a preponderance of paratactic organization, and to a constant concern with the marking of continuity.

Anaphoric adverbials reference back to a previous localization (of the antecedent term), from which a calculus can be performed in terms of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. These markers operate a global back-referencing of the antecedent term and then establish another reference, thus processing identification and differentiation simultaneously. On the one hand, the anaphoric adverbial refers back to the coordinates of the antecedent term (locator), but on the other hand, it throws off that localization and establishes different coordinates which locate the anaphoric term. Thus, the anaphoric adverbials operate simultaneously a connection and a disjunction of the terms that are being related. The anaphoric adverbial, through the processing of global back-referencing of the antecedent term, marks the antecedent term's boundaries. Thus, in what concerns the construction of aspectual values, the anaphoric adverbial has an important role: if the situation is unbounded, imperfective, the adverbial bounds it. Once the situation is globally back-referenced, the anaphoric adverbial will construct new coordinates.

⁵ In Weinrich's terms "recurrence obstiné" (Weinrich, 1973).

⁶ The emergence of *then* and *after* (as subordinate conjunctions) represents one important signal which indicates that children are capable of time decentration and are able to relate three different moments (the Reichenbach's speech time, event time and reference time) (Ferreiro, 1971; Weist, 1988). *Então* and *depois* are important stages of the temporal system development, since they will be the trace of the change from deictic reference to anaphoric reference.

Então

*Então*⁷ has been classified in Portuguese grammars as a time adverb. However, recent studies outline its discursive/persuasive value (Sousa, 1995, 1997; Afonso, 1996; Lopes, 1996; Risso, 1996). Following Campos & Xavier (1991), we have considered *então* as an anaphoric temporal adverbial. In the data, *então* is a marker of an interpropositional relationship. The interpropositional relation marked by *então* is a composite one: it supposes identification and differentiation. Therefore this marker acts simultaneously as a connective/disjunctive form.

Let's see some examples:

- (4) quando acordou, o trenó nem se via e o cavalo estava morto, desde então João puxou o trenó
(when he woke up we couldn't even see the sled and the horse was dead, since then João pulled the sled)

In this example *então* refers back to the coordinates of the preceding utterance *o cavalo estava morto*, which in turn is located in relation to the autonomous adverbial *quando...*, in order to locate the utterance *João puxou o trenó*. The utterance locating *então* is imperfective (the "imperfecto" (imperfect) generally marks imperfectivity). When *então* refers back to the utterance coordinates, it bounds the situation, i.e., it marks the closing boundary of the situation and, at the same time, marks the transition to a new event.

- (5) Há muito tempo o sal não existia depois uma família estava pobre, então um senhor morreu
(A long time ago salt didn't exist, a family was poor, then a man died)

In the above utterance, *então* relates an unbounded imperfective situation to a perfective situation ("pretérito perfeito simples" (simple past) is marker of perfectivity (Campos, 1997)). *Então* refers back to the coordinates of *uma família estava pobre* and, from this point, it locates *um senhor morreu*. This marker combines temporal localization with the role of narrative organizer. It signals the transition between two constituent parts of the narrative template: orientation and plot. We verify that *então* combines its function as an interpropositional conjunctive marker with its textual functions, where it participates in text constitution and articulation. Notice that the elimination of *então* doesn't interfere with the temporal relationship, but with the articulation between the two moments of the story.

Interpropositional *então* marks an interlocking of two propositions: let the first be denoted by *p* and the second denoted by *q*. The narrative function of *então* is clear when it appears in utterances where *q* has an autonomous temporal localization:

- (6) um homem trocou as redes do outro e o outro não conseguiu pescar nada e ficou pobrezinho. Então um dia ele estava tão apavorado que...
(a man switched the fishing-nets of the other man [with his one] and the other man wasn't able to fish anything and became poor. Then one day he was so frightened that...)

Since *q* is referentially autonomous, *então* cannot act as a temporal locator. *Então* refers back, not to the temporal coordinates, but to the discursive ones. Since it refers back to the discursive coordinates of *p*, *então* is a marker of discourse sequence.

If we eliminate *então* from the sentence above, the constructed intervals are closed, disjointed and, owing to the nature of the text (narrative), they are in a relationship of

⁷ The etymology of *então* can be traced back to the Latin: *in* and *tunc*. The temporal value of the Latin expression has been kept in Portuguese "então" and in Castilian "entonces", but not in other Romance languages.

anteriority/posteriority. Could we then consider *então* to be redundant? It participates in texture, since it marks the discursive connection between two temporally disjointed intervals; it operates a transitional move to a new sequence of narrative, and triggers expectations on the part of the listener. Notice that, besides the discursive relation, *então* also establishes a notional relation, as it refers back to *p*'s notional frame to validate *q*: *ele estava apavorado* is constructed with relation to *ficou pobrezinho*. The causal relationship is intra-textually constructed.

Depois

In Portuguese grammars, *depois* is referred to as a time adverb. According to the classification mentioned above, I define it as an anaphoric adverbial, i.e., a linguistic form whose function is to refer back to the coordinates of the preceding term *p*, in order to locate the anaphoric term *q*. The localization of *q* is produced as linked but dissociated with *p*. *Depois*⁸ is a connective/disjunctive marker. In the data, it has proven to be a rather plastic form, referring back to temporal coordinates or to the notional frame, or to the discursive coordinates of *p*.

In the data, the discursive location is the most salient function of *depois*. Consider the following:

- (7) o outro senhor roubou e depois quando estava longe da aldeia ele fez a magia
(the other man stole and then when he was far way from the village he made the magic trick)

In this context, *depois* occurs with the autonomous adverbial *quando...* that establishes a new temporal reference and signals a new phase in the development of the narrative. If *q* has a temporal locator, *depois* cannot be such. Thus, *depois* signals that two propositions are subsequent in the linearity of discourse. *Depois* doesn't mark the event chronology (first *p* happens, then *q*) but signals that two utterances follow each other in the text, highlighting in this way the sequence of events.

Depois also co-occurs with other anaphoric adverbials:

- (8) procurou uma coisa para viver e depois no dia seguinte o cavalo estava morto e ele puxou
(he searched for something where to live and then the following day the horse was dead and he pulled)

"No dia seguinte" (the following day) establishes the temporal reference, referring back to the temporal coordinates of the antecedent utterance, and so it establishes a new reference point. While temporal reference is established by *the following day*, *depois* marks the relation between linguistic events: since it refers back to the discursive coordinates of the antecedent utterance, it signals the location, from a discursive point of view, of the subsequent utterance.

In these utterances, we can eliminate *depois* without changing the temporal meaning. Considering the nature of the text, the presence of bounded, perfective, juxtaposed utterances mark the temporal sequence (Dowty, 1982, p. 38, 1986, p. 47). The relation of chronological order is, above all, marked by the textual sequence (Beaugrande & Dressler, 1986, p. 72).

- (9) o menino foi tratar deles e depois acabou
(the boy went to look after them and then it was over)

⁸ The etymology of *depois* is revealing: it involves two Latin constituents *de* (the origin) and *post* (the subsequent).

The occurrence of *depois* in (9) illustrates once more what has been said above regarding its functioning as a marker of the linearity of discourse. It marks the linkage between an event "foi tratar deles" (he went to look after them) and the formal marker of narrative closure "acabou" (it's over). *Acabou* marks the closing of the story and the exit of the speaker to an exterior space, i.e., it marks the closure of the narrative plane and simultaneously marks the boundary crossing to the enunciative plane. Since it connects the last event of the story to the closing marker, it ends the narrative plane constructed at the opening. *Depois*, in (9), marks a time that is no longer a time, because the narrative time is over – *foi tratar deles* represents the last time of the story. The form *e* (and) marks, precisely, the introduction of the last term of a set (Franckel, 1989), the closure term.

The child's constant concern with cohesion between the linguistic events is shown in:

- (10) *puseram-no no trenó e depois, antes do trenó, os lobos estavam a correr muito depressa*
(they put him in the sled and then, before the sled, wolves were running quickly)

The chronological order of events is:

1° *os lobos estavam a correr* (wolves were running)

2° *puseram-no no trenó* (they put him in the sled)

Thus the marker of event chronology is *antes de* (before that). *Depois* connects two events that are in a relation of subsequent/preceding (it seems contradictory with its etymology). *Depois* doesn't mark the succession of external events. The anaphoric nature of *depois* enables it to refer back to the discursive coordinates of *p* in order to locate *q* discursively. One can gloss *depois*, in this context with 'first I say *p* and then I say *q*'.

In (11) *depois* also participates in the narrative organization:

- (11) *João é caçador e depois ele vai à caça*
(João is a hunter and then he goes hunting)

Depois relates two imperfective situations (the former is stative, imperfective and the latter is habitual imperfective). Between *p* and *q*, there is no chronology: *q* is simultaneous with *p*. The situation of *p* is represented by an open interval in whose interior *q* habitually occurs.

What is the value of *depois* when it connects two simultaneous situations? The temporal relation between utterances, simultaneity, is marked by the co-occurrence of two homogeneous predicates that combine with the present tense to signal ongoing parallel situations. Thus *depois* cannot carry a temporal value, because no chronology can be established between simultaneous events. *Depois* marks a sequence relation between internal relations in the process of text construction. It also signals a change: the copula sentence (João is a hunter) establishes the main character and his role, *depois* signals the beginning of the story line and gives way to successive action clauses that show the steps of the hero (João) to resolve the problem.

As can be seen, in children's narratives the temporal adverbial does not have a clear referential function; rather its function is to encode relationships between linguistic events. It should be emphasized that telling a story is in itself a process that occurs in time. The temporal sequence of events is encoded in the inherent temporal sequence of the discourse. In other words, external events and linguistic events have in common a temporal sequence. It is clear why temporal adverbials are able to encode both. The anaphoric nature of *então* and *depois* allows them to carry the localization of the antecedent term to the anaphoric term. This operation enables them to operate in the temporal, discursive or notional coordinates.

In children's narratives *então* and *depois* seem to be stripped of their referential properties. Insofar as they are connective forms, *então* and *depois* are used to link linguistic events coherently; they also establish transitions between events or different constituent parts of the narrative, as well as mark conclusions and focusing moves within the narrative. The fact that these markers tend to lose their referential properties when they are used connectively strongly indicates that time reference and connectivity have something in common. *Depois* and *então* display stable properties that could be traced back to formal operations, i.e., they are viewed as markers of traces of mental operations.

Então and *depois* are markers of a complex localization operation with an identification/differentiation value; they identify, and at the same time, they differentiate. This is the underlying operation that enables them to operate on two levels: the narrative level and the discursive level⁹.

In conclusion, we may say that the different uses, the various values of a linguistic form, are built into the formal system as potentialities. Language, by virtue of its plastic nature, makes pragmatic adjustments possible.

Quando, então, depois as text organizers

In the narrative, *quando...*, *então*, *depois* contribute towards texture by specifying the way that the preceding elements are linked to subsequent elements (Halliday & Hasan, 1984, p. 227).

Two of the principles of text construction are progress and continuity (new and given information) (Halliday & Hasan, 1984: 27). The former introduces a dynamic which opposes that of the latter; but it is the antagonistic tension between the new and the given information that constitutes the text. Chronology is one of the features that relates progress and cohesion. The adverbials we have studied here participate in the constitution of narrative texture: *quando...*, as a marker of aspectual-temporal reference, marks progress by introducing breaks, hiatus in narrative time; *então* and *depois*, as connective and disjunctive forms, contribute to cohesion and progress.

Então and *depois* are frequently redundant, i.e., they carry little information. Given that the propositional order is iconic in relation to the order of events, there is no need for *então* and *depois* to express interpropositional connection. In our view, the presence at times excessive of such markers is owed, on the one hand, to the necessity of counterbalancing the lack of thematic and semantic coherence, and on the other to an inadequate perception of the role of juxtaposed perfective, punctual situations in the expression of temporal succession.

Conclusion

Detaching is essential in the constitution of a narrative text. The construction of the origin locator detached from Sit₀ enables the speaker to take off from the "habitual" world, place it in suspension, in order to be free to create the world of the story. In the story world, everything is possible: the negation of the basic laws of physics, of biology, of logic, etc. The localization operation of the ending term corresponds also to a detaching operation. This operation enables the storyteller to end the world of the story and return to

⁹ These markers are able to operate at other levels as shown in Sousa (1995).

the habitual world, located with respect to Sit₀. This enables one to confine the wolf, the devil, the dead, all the fears, to the world of the story. In our view, it is the initial and final detaching operations that allow the creation of another world. It is the otherness of the story world that enables children to face frightful experiences, and to exit from the story in safety. When the story ends, all the bad things stay there, in the story world, and children meet again their own world.

The detaching operation also has an essential role within the text. Since time is continuous (Aristotle *Organon*: 61), the storyteller cannot actually narrate time itself, but he slices it, chooses some instants and highlights them. The localization operation with break value enables us to deal with the discontinuous nature of narrative time.

The anaphoric relationship combines two fundamental values of the primitive operation of localization: identification and differentiation. Identification produces a symmetrical relationship, whereas differentiation has the property of non-symmetry (Culioli, 1982, 1990). Identification and differentiation¹⁰ are essential in language activity: in the constitution of the notional domain, in the construction of the predicative relation, in the assignment of enunciative values. The localization operations with identification and differentiation values are salient in children's construction of narratives. The overmarking of such operations shows children's concern with cohesion and coherence.

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¹⁰ Cabrejo Parra (1988: 131) outlines the role played by identification and differentiation operations «c'est grâce à l'activité de liaison propre au langage que le sujet peut mettre en relation des représentations. Cette opération de mise en relation joue un rôle essentiel dans la structuration du langage, de même que dans le développement des fonctions cognitives et dans l'acquisition des connaissances».

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