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1. The 1999 Demonstrative Questionnaire: "THIS" and "THAT" in comparative perspective¹

David P. Wilkins

June 1999

Purpose: This 'questionnaire' is an elicitation tool which is meant to help a researcher begin to identify the (extensional) range of use of (some of the) basic spatial demonstrative terms in their research language. It attempts to correct some of the shortcomings of previous tools that we have developed for the exploration of demonstratives. Previous tools were both too narrow and too open-ended: they focused too narrowly on contrastive use of demonstratives for objects in table-top space, and they did not constrain situations sufficiently to allow for rigorous cross-language comparison. Prior trialing of the current elicitation tool suggests that it will allow us to design a similarity space for the extensional comparison of (some) demonstrative terms cross-linguistically, much in the same way that we were able to compare the application of "COME" and "GO" verbs across languages.

It is important to note, at the outset, that this elicitation tool has NOT been designed to cover all the relevant distinctions that are known to exist within the demonstrative systems of the world's languages. Instead, it has concentrated on those parameters within systems which, cross-linguistically, appear to be the most common. Thus, it has been designed to help differentiate and compare:

- (i) speaker-anchored vs. addressee-anchored vs. speaker&addressee-anchored vs. other-anchored terms
- (ii) distance distinctions (up to at least four degrees of distance distinction from speaker)
- (iii) distinctions of visibility versus non-visibility.

Further, if employed as intended, it should help the researcher assess the roles played by gesture, addressee knowledge and attention, and different domains of object access in guiding the selection and use of demonstrative terms.

Design and Use

This elicitation tool centers around a set of 25 diagrammed scenes in which a speaker is referring to a single object (non-contrastively) within the context depicted. These are NOT stimuli to be shown to language consultants. They are scenes to help you organize your own elicitation tasks and to help you keep track of relevant parameters and oppositions to test. You, as researcher, are meant to understand the intention of the diagrams, and then decide the best way to get descriptions of the depicted scene. It is most preferable if you recreate the scene at the appropriate scale. You are also advised to keep track of natural demonstrative usage and see which, if any, of the 25 scene types they appear to represent.

Next to each diagram is a description of the main features of the scene. Different manipulations of the same scene are also listed. Typical sentential frames in English are given as an example, but these are only intended as a guide to the intended distinctions.

To guarantee comparability:

- a) Remember that each scene deals with reference to a single unique object;
- b) Avoid contrastive reference.
- c) We are interested primarily in expressions which involve demonstrative pronouns or demonstrative adjectives. [You should record full utterances with these terms]

¹ Numerous people have contributed to the initial design and/or subsequent improvements of this questionnaire. These include: Felix Aneka, Michael Dunn, Jürgen Bohnemeyer, James Essegbey, Raquel Guirardello, Birgit Hellwig, Sotaro Kita, Steve Levinson, Anna Margetts, Asli Ozyurek, Angela Terrill, and Barbara Villanova.

(Note, while the same elicitation tool can also be used for demonstrative adverb usage, it would be preferred that you use it for elicitation of demonstrative pronouns/ adjectives first and later for demonstrative adverbs. Of course, in some languages it is common to use both demonstrative pronouns/adjectives and adverbs, but you should let that come naturally. Focus on object reference, not place reference.)

- d) You should be aware that in many of the scenes, the nature of the referent object is not specified. Since variations in size of an object can drastically affect demonstrative selection, you are asked to keep referent objects within a size range somewhere between a book at one extreme through to a chair at the other extreme. The object is preferably an inanimate object that could be picked up and held in two hands.
- e) The consultant's default or preferred description for a scenario may not in fact use a demonstrative. That's fine, we're interested to know this. However, the researcher should probe whether one or more of the demonstrative terms could be used.
- f) In many instances below, there are subsidiary questions dealing with pointing. Of course pointing conventions differ from culture to culture, and Discussion note #2 in the appendix to this chapter, as well as chapter 4 of this manual, may help you sort out the different details of this. Usually, however, cultures employ a more explicit convention beyond mere orienting - i.e. they use head pointing or lip pointing or manual pointing? A question like "Is pointing obligatory?" here means is a pointing convention beyond mere gaze orienting (or body stance) obligatory. Of course, where there's more than one convention it would be interesting to know which ones would typically be selected.

Method of recording:

There is no strict recommendation here. Although the elicitation can be done at one sitting, it may be best to do parts of it as specific contexts suggest themselves. While one would ideally like to get everything on videotape, especially given the importance of accompanying indexical gestures, it may sometimes be more practical to take pen and paper notes. However, make sure to be as explicit as possible as to context, response, and accompanying gestures.

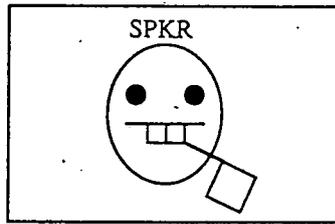
Number of Consultants:

Minimally three (3), preferably five (5), and ideally ten (10).

NOTE: It will help to read Discussion Notes #1 and #2 to understand the logic behind the choice of the following scenes, and subsidiary questions. These two discussion notes appear as an appendix to this task. It will also be worthwhile for researchers to read chapters 3 and 4 of this manual (i.e. Levinson's 'Dexis and Demonstratives: Field guide for 1998' and Wilkins & Kita's 'Ethnography of pointing Questionnaire')

THE 25 DEMONSTRATIVE SCENES

1.



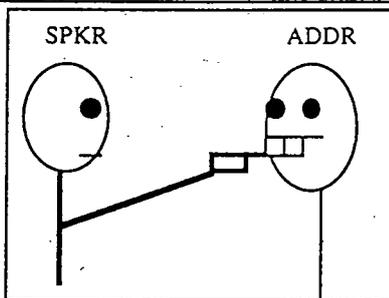
Speaker points to own body part. In this case one of his/her teeth.

“___ tooth hurts.” “The ball hit me on ___ tooth.”

- Does close pointing versus touching make a difference?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on tooth vs. attention being drawn?

[In some languages teeth are more alienable body parts, so you may also want to try fingers, hands, shoulders.]

2.



Spkr points to Addr's body part. In this case one of Addr's teeth.

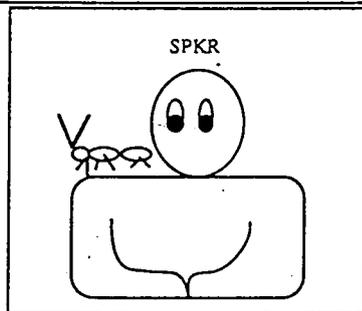
“Did you know ___ tooth is chipped?”

“Your right, ___ tooth is yellow.”

- Does close pointing versus touching make a difference?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on tooth vs. attention being drawn?

[In some cultures, index finger pointing at someone else is impolite. Check whether there is any natural form of indexical reference for this situation.]

3.

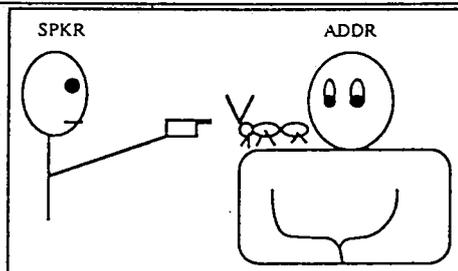


Spkr notices a movable object in contact with his/her body. In this case, a bug on his/her shoulder.

“___ bug is bothering me.”

- Does it make a difference if spkr's attention has just gone to bug, or has been on it for a while?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on bug vs. attention being drawn?

4.



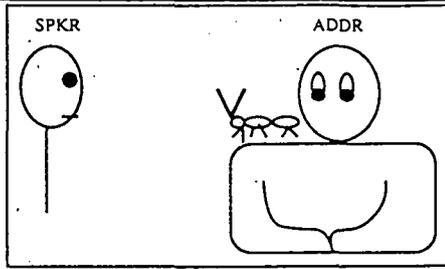
Spkr points to movable object in contact with addr's body. In this case a bug on Addr's shoulder.

“Look at ___ bug on your shoulder.”

“What kind of bug is ___?”

- Does degree of closeness of point to referent make a difference?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on bug vs. attention being drawn?

5.



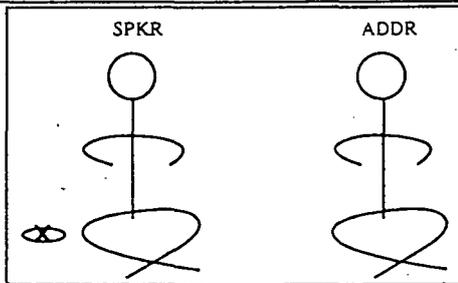
Spkr references movable object in contact with addr's body, but without using a manual point? [Might use gaze or head point or lip point.]

"Look at ___ bug on your shoulder."

"What kind of bug is ___?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on bug vs. attention being drawn?

6.



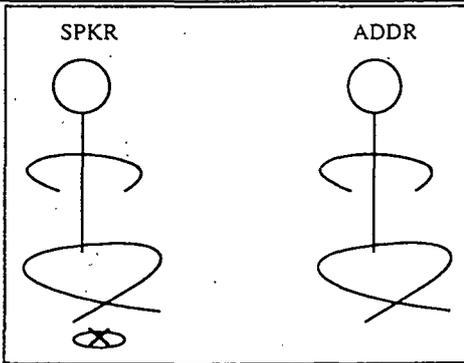
The referent is just beside Spkr (within easy reach), on side away from addressee. The object is difficult, if not impossible for Addr to see.

"I've just finished reading ___ book."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr knows the object is there vs. doesn't know?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before? Must Spkr point?
- What if object was more visible?

7.



The referent is just in front of Spkr, and visible to Addr (but not within Addr's reach).

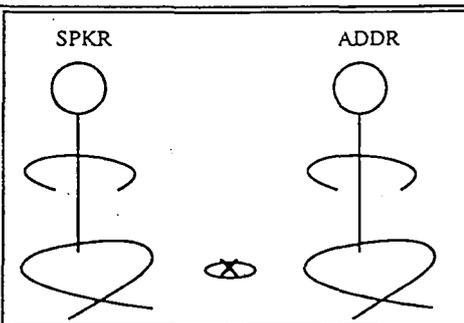
"I've just finished reading ___ book."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

"Have you read ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?

8.



The referent is in between Spkr and Addr and equidistant from both (and within arm's reach of both).

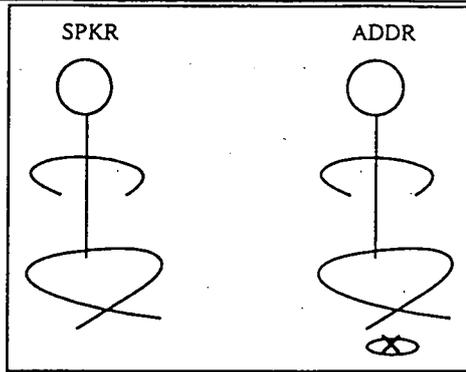
"Is ___ your book/radio?"

"I like ___ book/radio."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does ownership of object make a difference?

9.



The referent is just in front of Addr, and visible to Spkr (but not within Spkr's reach).

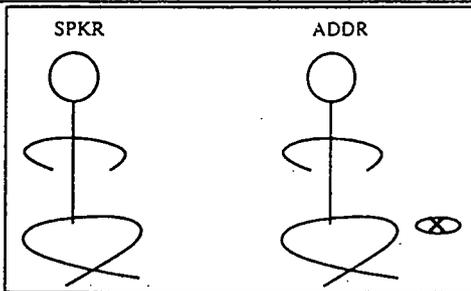
"Is ___ your book/radio?"

"I like ___ book/radio."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?

10.



The referent is just beside Addr (within easy reach), on side away from Spkr. The object is difficult, if not impossible for Spkr to see, but Spkr knows where object is.

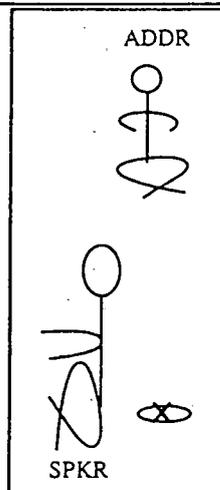
"Is ___ your book/radio?"

"I like ___ book/radio."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?
- What if object was more visible?

11.



Referent object is just behind the Spkr. The Addr is at some distance away, but can readily see object (although it is well out of arm's reach). The Spkr knows where the object is, even if she/he cannot see it. The Spkr never turns to look at the object.

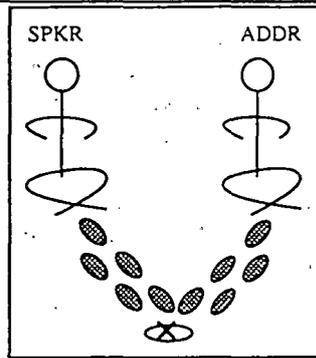
"Is ___ your book/radio?"

"I like ___ book/radio."

"Do you want to borrow ___ book?"

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

12.



Referent object is equidistant from Spkr and Addr, in front of (and between) them. It is easily visible to both. To get the object each would only have to walk about five paces.

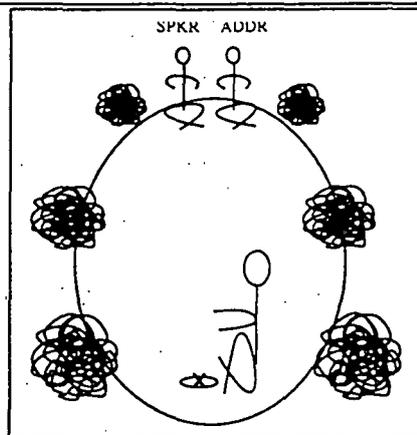
“Is ___ your book/radio?”

“I like ___ book/radio.”

“Do you want to borrow ___ book?”

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

13.



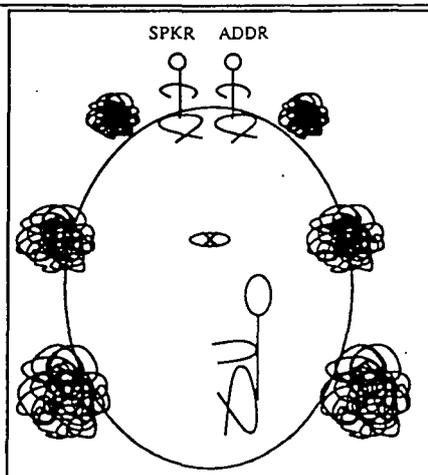
Spkr and Addr are sitting next to each other at one end of a large cleared space. The area of the space is about the size of a football field. There is another person at the other end of the space, and the referent is in front of this person, visible to both Spkr and Addr.

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

“I wonder where he got ___ ball/radio”

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

14.



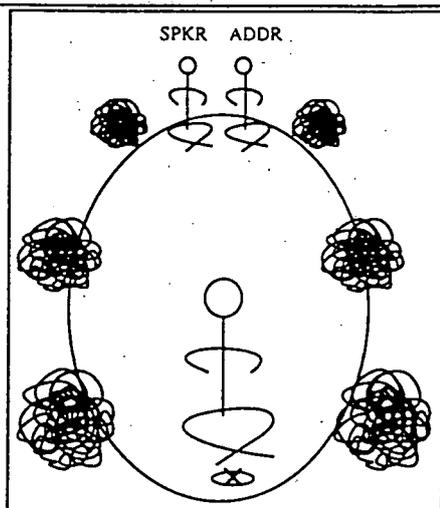
Spkr and Addr are sitting next to each other at one end of a large cleared space. The area of the space is about the size of a football field. There is another person at the other end of the space. The referent is right at the center of the space (equidistant from spkr/addr and other).

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

“I wonder if ___ ball/radio is his”

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

15.



Spkr and Addr are sitting next to each other at one end of a large cleared space. The area of the space is about the size of a football field. There is another person at the other end of the space facing away from spkr/addr and the referent is in front of him. The referent is not visible to Spkr/Addr, but the Spkr knows about object and its location.

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

“I wonder if ___ ball/radio is his”

“Did you see ___ ball/radio he has?”

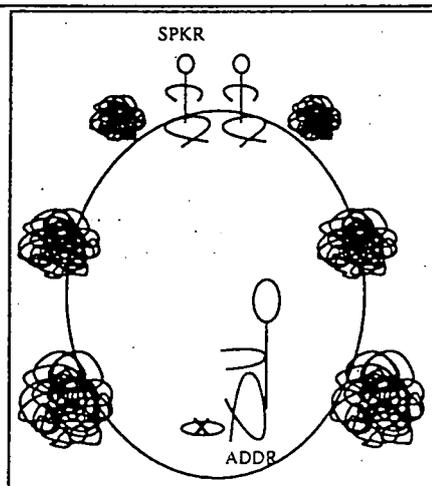
- Does it make a difference if Addr knows the object is there vs. doesn't know?

- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

- Does it make a difference if Spkr does not know of existence of specific object, but conjectures existence from action of other (“He's really getting stuck into ___ thing.”).

- Is pointing natural in this situation?

16.



Spkr is sitting at one end of a large cleared space, and Addr is sitting at the other. The space is about the size of a football field. The Spkr has to shout to the Addr. The referent is in front of the Addr, and visible to speaker.

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

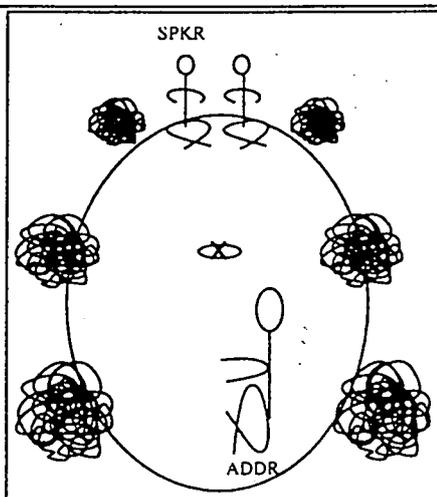
“Is ___ ball/radio yours?”

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

- Is pointing natural?

- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

17.



Spkr is sitting at one end of a large cleared space, and Addr is sitting at the other. The space is about the size of a football field. The Spkr has to shout to the Addr. The referent is in the center of the space, equidistant from Spkr and Addr.

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

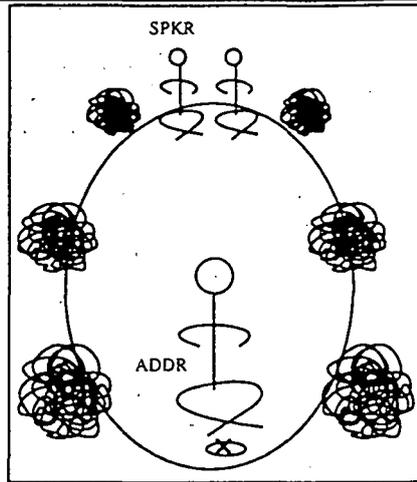
“Is ___ ball/radio yours?”

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

- Is pointing natural?

- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

18.



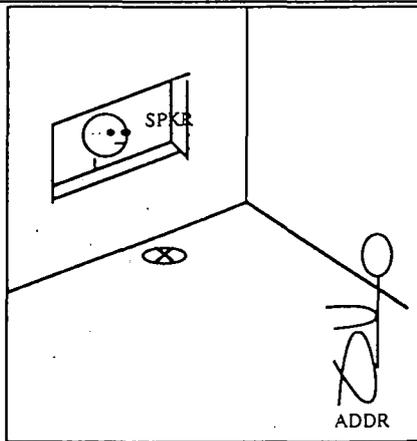
Spkr is sitting at one end of a large cleared space, and Addr is sitting at the other. The space is about the size of a football field. The Spkr has to shout to the Addr. The Addr is facing away from Spkr and the referent is in front of him. The referent is not visible to Spkr, but the Spkr knows about object and its location.

“___ ball/radio is a good one.”

“Is ___ ball/radio yours?”

- Is pointing still natural?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Spkr does not know of existence of specific object, but conjectures existence from action of Addr? (“What’s ___ thing your playing with?”).

19.



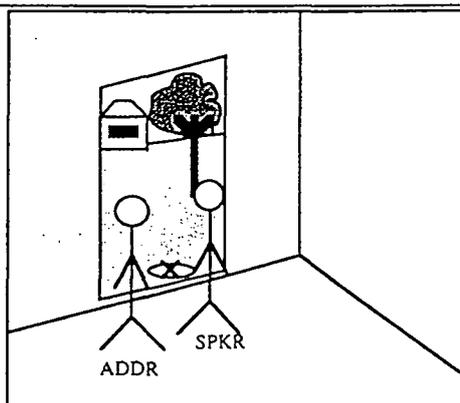
Spkr is standing outside a home looking in through window. Addr is at other end of room away from window. Referent is near window and visible to Spkr (and Addr). [So object is physically closer to Spkr than Addr.]

“Is ___ your book/radio?”

“I like ___ book/radio.”

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not? Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

20.



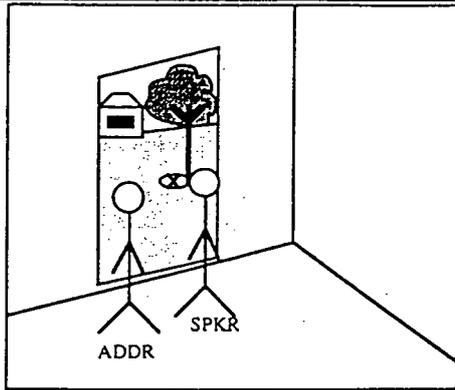
Spkr and Addr are inside a house looking out of (open) door. They are near the doorway. The referent is just outside of door (near it). The referent is easily reached by both Addr and speaker (and equidistant from both).

“I like ___ book/radio.”

“Who’s book/radio is ___?”

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not? Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Does term change with change in closeness of Spkr/Addr to door?
- Closeness of object to door?

21.



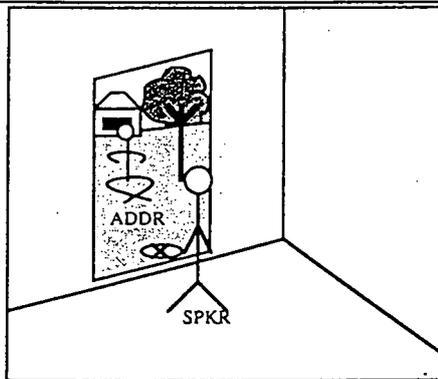
Spkr and Addr are inside a house looking out of (open) door. They are near the doorway. The referent is a few meters away (next to a large immovable object). The object is technically closer (and in line) with Spkr [i.e. "on the spkr's side of the house"]

"I like _____ book/radio."

"Who's book/radio is ___?"

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not?
- Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

22.



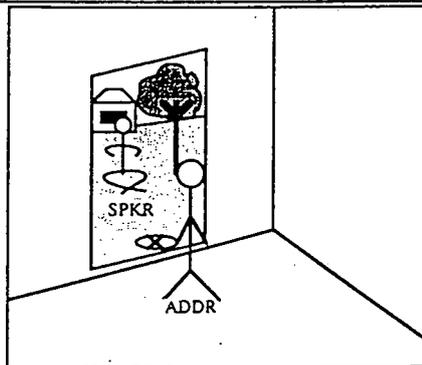
Spkr is inside a house looking out open door. Addr is sitting outside at a distance (a few meters away). Referent is just outside the door (outside, but physically closer to Spkr).

"Is _____ your book/radio?"

"I like _____ book/radio."

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not? Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

23.



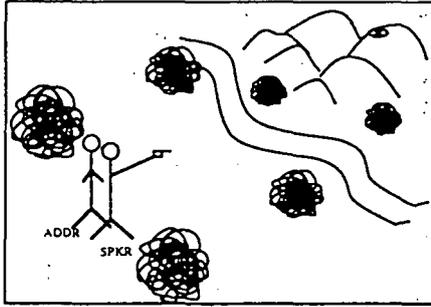
Addr is inside a house looking out open door. Spkr is sitting outside at a distance (a few meters away). Referent is just outside the door (outside, but physically closer to Addr).

"Is _____ your book/radio?"

"I like _____ book/radio."

- Does it make a difference if the Spkr points or not? Must Spkr point?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?

24.



Large-scale geographic space. Spkr and Addr next to one another looking out across a river into some hills (several kilometers away). Spkr is pointing to referent which is visible up in the hills.

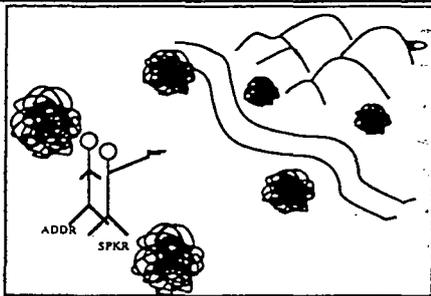
"I've climbed to ___ black rock."

"Have you been to ___ cave?"

"See ___ bicycle."

- Does it make a difference if Addr already has attention on object vs. attention being drawn?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?

25.



Large-scale geographic space. Spkr and Addr next to one another looking out across a river into some hills (several kilometers away). Spkr is pointing to referent which is not visible because it's in the hills on the other side.

"I've climbed over to ___ black rock."

"Have you been to ___ cave?"

"Your father made ___ statue."

- Does it make a difference if Addr knows the object is there vs. doesn't know?
- Does it make a difference if object has been mentioned before?
- Must Spkr point?

Some comments on intended parameters of distinction encoded in these scenes

It is impossible to present a simple grid of distinctions within which each of these scenes can be fitted. However, the following comments may help the researcher to better understand some of the parameters involved.

- Although there is no fixed order in which scenes should be presented, they have been ordered for the convenience of the researcher. Basically they pass through the various physically and socially determined "distance domains" that are given in Discussion Note #1 in the appendix to this section. That is, the scenes move from Personal Space through Interactional Space through Home Range Space through Large-Scale (Geographic) Space.
- If we only consider speaker-based distance then we can identify as many as seven distinct distances at which objects are located: object is body part (scene 1); object is in contact with body (scene 3); object is within arm's reach of speaker (scenes 6, 7, 8); object within easy access (a few steps from speaker) (scene 12, 9, 20, 22); object tens of meters away (scenes 14, 17, 21, 23), object 100+ meters away (scenes 13, 15, 16, 18), and object some kilometers away (scenes 24-25).
- A very similar scale also holds if we consider only addressee-based distance (i.e., as many as seven distinct distances obtain): object is body part (scene 2); object is in

contact with addressee's body (scene 4); object is within arm's reach of addressee (8, 9, 10, 16, 18); object is within easy access (a few steps from addressee) (scenes 12, 7, 20); object tens of meters away (scenes 14, 17), object 100+ meters away (scenes 13, 15), and object some kilometers away (scenes 24-25)

- Several scenes help test what happens when objects are equidistant from both speaker and addressee. These are scene 8 (object in arms reach of both); scenes 12 & 20 (object a few steps away from both); scenes 14 & 17 (object tens of meters from both); scenes 13 & 15 (object 100+ meters from both); and scenes 24 & 25 (object kilometers away from both). If a term is only anchored at addressee or at speaker then we might find some hesitation or variability in the employment of terms in some of these scenes. However, if a term is anchored at both speaker and addressee there may be no problems (unless another parameter gets in the way).

- The visibility parameters in these scenes can be tabulated as follows (+ = visible; - = not visible; and ± = this is a factor that should be manipulated):

	Visible to Speaker	Visible to Addressee
Scene #1	-	+
Scene #2	+	-
Scene #3	+	+
Scene #4	+	+
Scene #5	+	+
Scene #6	+	±
Scene #7	+	+
Scene #8	+	+
Scene #9	+	+
Scene #10	±	+
Scene #11	-	+
Scene #12	+	+
Scene #13	+	+
Scene #14	+	+
Scene #15	-	-
Scene #16	+	+
Scene #17	+	+
Scene #18	-	+
Scene #19	+	+
Scene #20	+	+
Scene #21	+	+
Scene #22	+	+
Scene #23	+	+
Scene #24	+	+
Scene #25	-	-

- The main intention of scenes 19 through 23, have more to do with established boundaries in lived space than they do with containment or buildings. That is, in some field sites walled rooms, doors, or windows may be odd but this need not preclude relevant investigation. It is often the case that sleeping areas or cooking areas or camping areas have understood "social" boundaries to them such that one person can be within the (social) confines of one area and someone else outside those bounds. These scenes are meant to test whether such boundaries make any difference to the application of demonstratives. Can they, for instance over-ride actual distance relations. That is to say, in a scene like 19, is it more relevant for demonstrative selection that the object is physically within the "social" living area of the addressee, or is it more important that it is physically closer to the speaker, who is outside that living area?

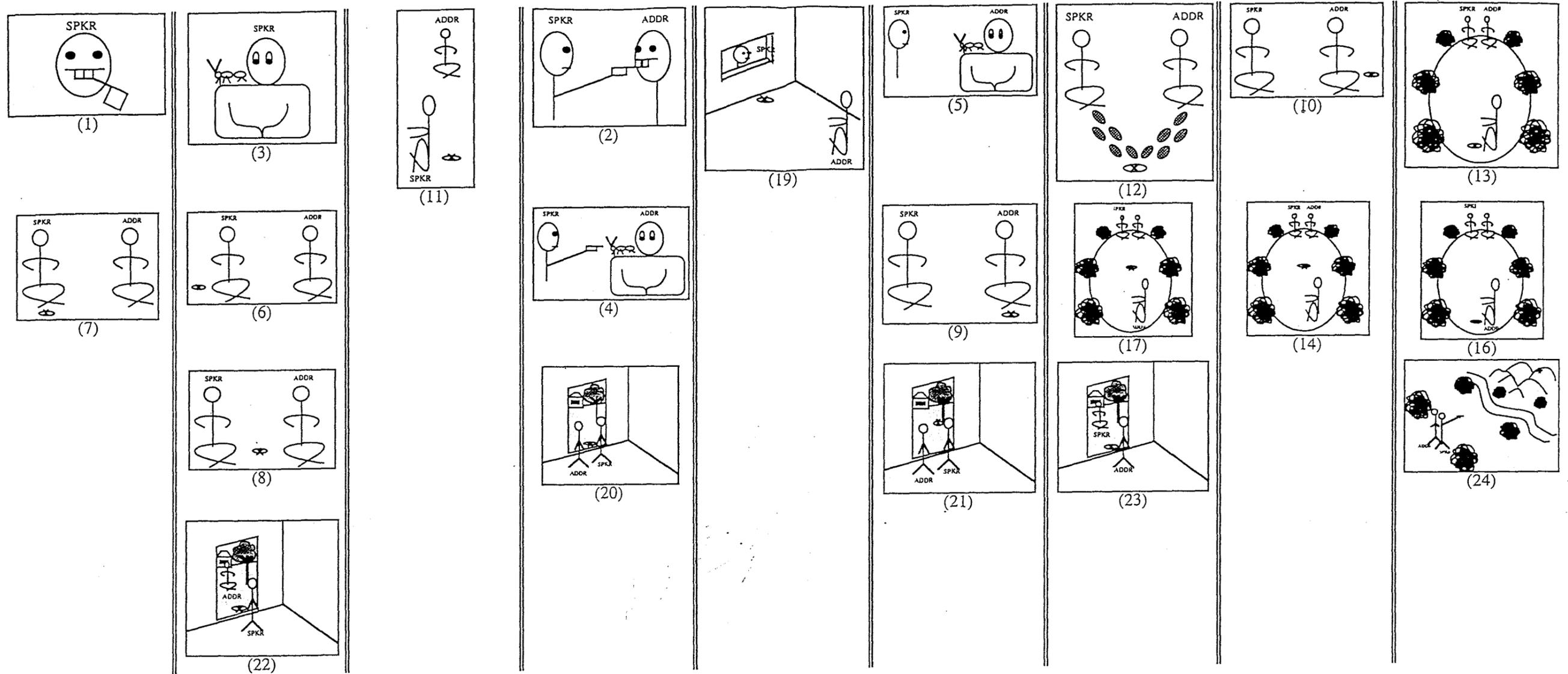
- Similar issues of accessibility are available with respect to scene 11, but in this case it is visual accessibility that is relevant. That is to say, will demonstrative selection be determined by the fact that the object is close to (but not visible) to the speaker, or by the fact that it is visibly accessible to the addressee although not close to the addressee, or ...?
- The issue of whether terms apply that mean “close to third person” are taken up in scenes 13 and 15. It is of interest to know if these contrast with scene 21, for instance, in which an object is located with respect to an inanimate entity (a tree), or scenes 24 and 25.
- We are working on the presumption that the application of demonstrative terms will manifest prototype effects. As such we suspect that various scenes will be considered central members for a term in one language but a peripheral member for a term in another language. Thus, for example, scene 17 is a perfect example of the use of the mid-distant (speaker-anchored) demonstrative in Arremte (*yanhe*), but is a problematic (peripheral) case of the use of the Brazilian Portuguese term which refers to an object proximal to Speaker and Addressee (*esse*). Similarly languages which do not have a ‘near addressee’ demonstrative, and only have speaker-anchored terms, appear to treat scenes 16 and 13 (and 15 and 18) in an identical manner, whereas languages which do have a ‘near addressee’ demonstrative, regularly apply this demonstrative to scene 16 (and 18) and use a different one for scene 13 (and 15). In short, the scenes have been selected to both test the boundaries between common systems, and to test for prototype effects within common systems.

Organizing the Data for Analysis

As a first guide to organizing the data for analysis and comparative purposes, we provide the four tables on the following pages. These are based on very preliminary data collection, but should give an idea how systems of different types will treat these scenes. Thus, the first table shows how three different languages (English, Ewe and Italian) with a “simple” speaker-based two-term system (proximal and distal) compare in their use of these terms. This table contrasts nicely with that for Brazilian Portuguese. In Brazilian Portuguese there is also a basic two-term system, but both terms are anchored on Speaker&Addressee. Thus we see a distinction in how “speaker-based” terms carve up the scenes as opposed to “speaker&addressee-based” terms. Also of interest in the Brazilian Portuguese data is the further specification which the deictic adverbials provide. These adverbials are differently anchored from the demonstratives, and we see an addressee-anchored proximal adverbial and an addressee anchored proximal adverbial as well as two adverbials which mean ‘away from speaker&addressee, but not far’ and ‘far away from speaker&addressee’. The third and fourth tables contrast two distinct three-term systems, Turkish and Japanese. These two systems have often been treated in identical descriptive terms, but these tables help confirm the results of Kita and Ozyurek which show these to be two very different systems. In particular, while Japanese has a true addressee-anchored proximal form, Turkish instead has a form which functions to draw addressee’s attention, but is not tied spatially to either addressee or speaker.

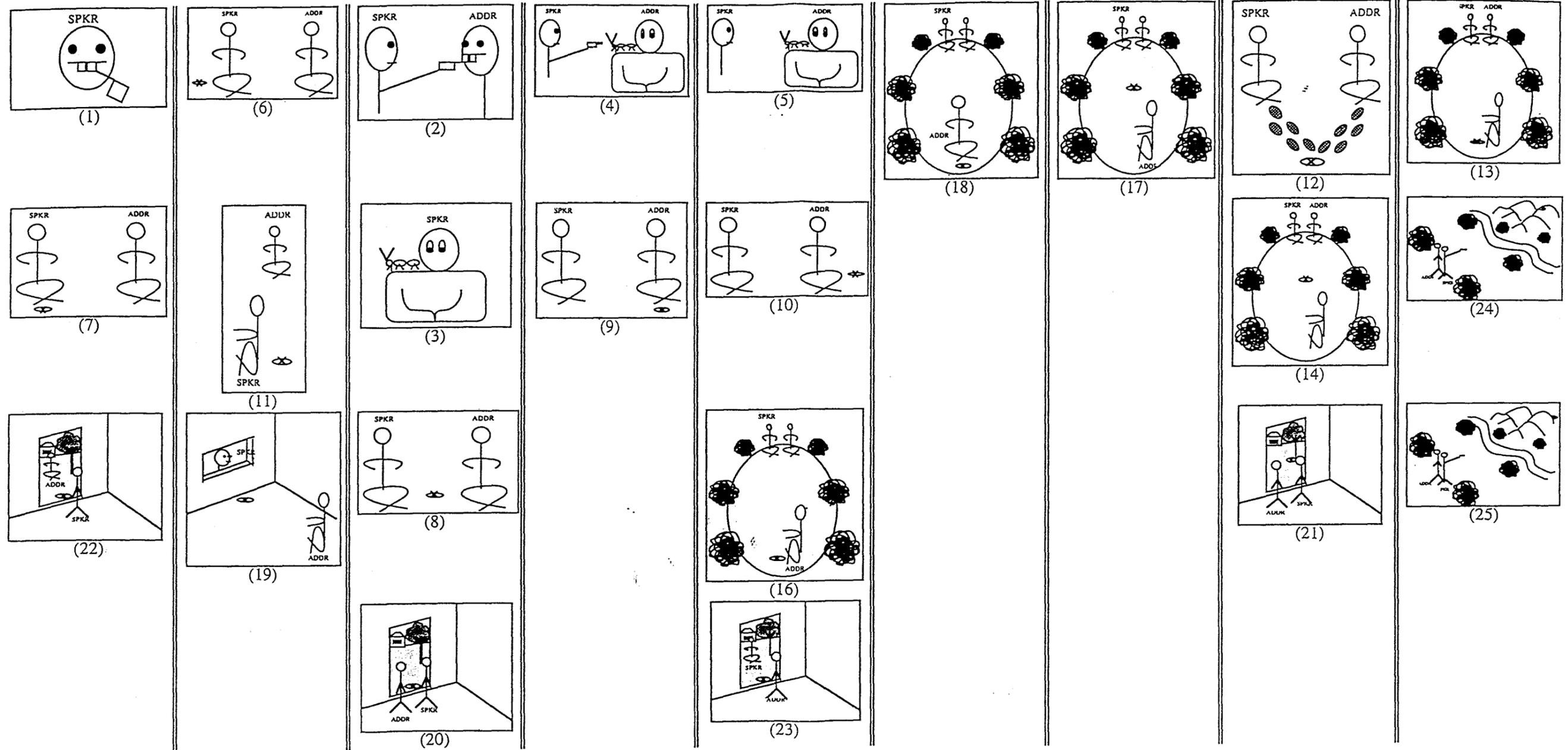
Examine these tables closely to give you an idea of the types of distinctions that are possible, and once you have your own data, try to similarly tabulate the scenes. Remember, since this task was NOT designed to capture all the distinctions possible within a system, you cannot expect to map all the terms you encounter onto this table. Moreover, there is a danger that for larger systems, this form of tabulation may give initially false generalisations over the use of a term (since the relevant parameters for very large systems are not systematically covered. As such, we would be obliged for suggestions as to future scenes you think we should include to improve this questionnaire.

TABLE 1 : Three two-term ("speaker-anchored") demonstrative systems compared - Proximal and Distal terms in English, Ewe and Italian



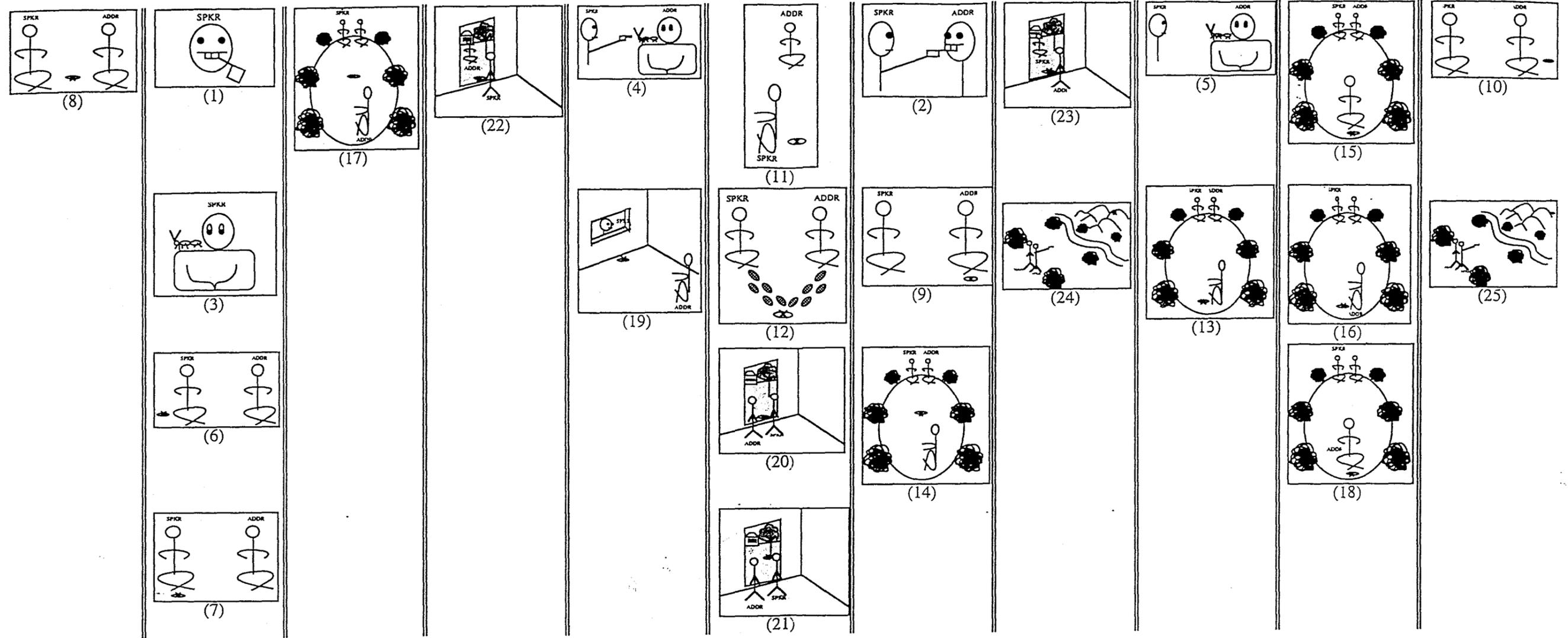
Centrally Proximal ←-----(proximal/distal cline)-----> Centrally Distal

English "prox" only	English: all speakers prefer 'prox' but some can also use 'dist'	English: 'prox' or 'dist' equally acceptable	English: all speakers prefer 'dist' but some can also use 'prox'	English "dist" only
Italian: "prox" only	Italian: "prox" preferred, but "dist" possible		Italian: "dist" preferred, but "prox" possible	Italian "dist" only
Ewe: "prox" only	Ewe: "prox" preferred "dist" possible	Ewe: "prox" or "dist" equally acceptable	Ewe: "dist" preferred, "prox" may be possible	Ewe: "dist" only



←-----ESSE----->						←-----AQUELE----->		
esse N (+ aqui) esse (+ aqui)	esse N aqui esse aqui	esse N esse	esse N (+aí) esse (+aí)	esse N aí esse aí	esse N aí + (?esse aí) (too distant and not visible)	esse N aí + esse aí + (?aquele N aí) [MOST DIFFICULT]	aquele N (+alí) aquele (+alí)	aquele N lá aquele lá

TABLE 2 : BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE



BU			SU				O			
BU	BU / SU	BU / SU	BU / SU	SU / ??BU	SU / BU / O	SU / O	SU / O	O	O	O
no pointing, so close it is in both spkr & addr attention space [?? su]	choice depends on attention bu = addr's att'n already on object (with or without pointing) su = addr's att'n drawn to obj.	role of attention less clear for use of bu ??? [su still used to draw addr's att'n]	state of addr's initial attention doesn't matter for choice of either form	[relevant that scene involves pointing] su = addr hasn't noticed obj before ?bu = maybe if already est'd in discourse	su, bu and o all with pointing; attention may or may not be relevant depending on scene (relevant for 12, and maybe 11)	Choice varies with attention and nature of point su = draw addr's att'n to obj o = shared att'n, & no point in 14, distant point in 2	attention does not affect choice [pointing used with both forms for all scenes]	no pointing and both spkr & addr have attention shared on object	no pointing and attention doesn't matter	with pointing, but addr's attention doesn't matter [non-visibility relevant: in both scenes spkr cannot see object]

TABLE 3 : TURKISH

<p>(1)</p>	<p>(2)</p>	<p>(19)</p>	<p>(9)</p>	<p>(4)</p>	<p>(16)</p>	<p>(12)</p>	<p>(13)</p>	<p>(25)</p>
<p>(3)</p>	<p>(8)</p>	<p>(20)</p>	<p>(5)</p>	<p>(17)</p>	<p>(10)</p>	<p>(21)</p>	<p>(14)</p>	
<p>(6)</p>	<p>(11)</p>	<p>(22)</p>			<p>(18)</p>		<p>(15)</p>	
<p>(7)</p>					<p>(23)</p>		<p>(24)</p>	
<p>KO</p>	<p>KO or SO different factors affect preference in each case (e.g. ±pointing; ± contact; ± ownership)</p>	<p>SO (??KO)</p>	<p>SO</p>	<p>A (or attention-drawing SO)</p>	<p>A</p>	<p>A (but with further specification and constraints on type of phrase that follows)</p>		

TABLE 4 : JAPANESE

APPENDIX (to chapter 1)

Demonstrative Discussion Notes #1

Subject: "Distance Scale"

[Domains of (tangible) accessibility in terms of what one would have to do to come in contact with an object that has been referred to. -- "experientially based".]

In the deixis literature, and in grammatical descriptions of demonstrative systems, explanations of how descriptive terms like *proximal*, *medial* and *distal* are realised in practice are often made either in terms of "experientially-based" notions of ease of (tangible) access, or in terms of rough (Western-based) measures. For instance, in discussing prototypical usage of the Proximate, Immediate and Distant demonstrative roots of Nunggubuyu, Heath (1984:269-270) writes:

The Immediate is also used for locations conceptualised as being within easy access (not necessarily closer to addressee than to speaker), for example when speaker and addressee are sitting together and speaker indicates an object a few metres away. ... Again, if speaker and addressee are sitting together, Immediate would be used for something a few feet away, but ordinarily the Distant would be used to refer to something more than about 20 metres away.

Similarly, for Korean, Ho-min Sohn (1994:295) writes:

The *i*-series [close to speaker] ... is used to refer to something close to or contacting with the speaker. Relativity is observed in the fact that the speaker must use the *i*-series to indicate something (e.g., a bug), say, on the addressee's shoulder, if he is touching it or closely pointing to it. The *ku*-series [close to addressee] is used to refer to something relatively close to or contacting with the addressee. The *ce*-series [away from speaker and addressee] is used to refer to something close to neither. If something is located equidistantly between the speaker and addressee, however, the speaker may use *i* if it is within a couple of meters from him, and *ku* or *ce* if it is over several meters away.

The purpose of this note is to present a systematization of the more common of the "explanatory" observations that are used to characterize abstract "distance distinctions". In particular, since many observations are in terms of both physically and socially-determined "distance domains" which describe what a speech act participant would have to do to gain tangible access to the referent, this short note will deal exclusively with such domains. A *critical assumption that has been made in this endeavour, is that such a "domain scale" may be orthogonal to features like visibility and referent size* (although, of course, these may all combine in a natural and typical way). These "domain scales" can be related to such commonly used scale notions as "small-scale" space, "medium-scale" space, and "large-scale geographic" space. A first approximation to a heuristically-useful "domain scale" is given in Table 1.

BODY parts	CONTACT with body	in arm's REACH	within REACH OF OTHER	within SOCIAL SPACE of conversation	IMMEDIATE LIVED SPACE [home base]	USED SPACE [space covered by daily travels]	DAY'S WALK minor journey [within horizon]	MANY DAYS WALK major journey [beyond horizon]
PERSONAL SPACE			INTERACTIONAL SPACE		HOME RANGE		GEOGRAPHIC (MAPPED) SPACE	
SMALL-SCALE SPACE					MEDIUM-SCALE SPACE		LARGE-SCALE SPACE	

TABLE 1: Domains of access which appear regularly, but in a non-systematic fashion, in explanations of how terms like *proximal*, *medial*, and *distal* are to be understood.

The “question-set” at the end of this document will give a clearer picture of what is intended by the nine basic distinctions in this table. For the moment, let’s assume they are self-explanatory and go on to discuss why such a systematization may be useful.

A frustrating thing about reading descriptions of demonstrative systems is that range of application is often poorly discussed, and more often than not left to characterizations like that presented for Nunggubuyu and Korean above. One of the most common things said about the application of terms is that they are “relative” [rather than absolute measures]. This is especially common when discussing distance-dimensions. However, what the nature of the relative application is is rarely spelled out -- are all demonstrative terms available in all access domains? or are they spread “relatively” across access domains? or ...? The problem seems to be most critical with “distal” or “not near” notions, which are often characterized as being ‘very far away’, ‘many meters away’, ‘hard to reach or unreachable’, and so suggesting that they are NOT usable for items within personal or interactional space. However, it is rarely clear whether such characterizations are of semantic features, prototype applications or stereotypical cases, and these must surely be distinguished.

An illustration from Arrernte may help. Here I will consider the application of four of the 7 spatial deictic demonstratives: *nhenhe* ‘proximal to speaker’, *yanhe* ‘medial from speaker’, *nhakwe* ‘distal from speaker’ and *alertakwenhe* ‘distal to both speaker and addressee’. I would also claim that the use of the proximal, medial and distal forms (i.e. the first three terms) is relative. However, while it appears that *nhenhe* ‘proximal’ can be used to refer to an object in all nine domains, in the first two domains (‘body parts’ and ‘contact’) the proximal form is the only demonstrative that is possible. Otherwise, it appears that three (relevant) objects within each of the other 7 domains can be contrastively described using all three terms, as long as (speaker-based) relative distance within the domain is met. Of course, the proximal, medial and distal (speaker-based) terms are regularly used to refer to objects distributed across domains. In fact, any time one asks an Arrernte consultant to choose things in the visible environment to exemplify how one would use *nhenhe* vs. *yanhe* vs. *nhakwe*, they regularly choose similar objects (say rocks or bushes or people), and then use *nhenhe* for an object within the interactional space, *yanhe* for an object much further away, but, within home-range and *nhakwe* for an object that is at the farthest end of visible space, typically just within the horizon. I myself have never encountered a consultant who chooses three objects that are all within interactional space, for instance, to contrast the “ideal” usage of the terms, even though all three terms can certainly be applied for objects within the local social interactional context that are arrayed at different distances from the speaker. [Of course, if the same question about exemplary usage was made within a confined windowless room, one may well get an array constrained to being within the one (interactional) domain chosen.] The point being, ‘idealized’ usages of demonstrative terms which emphasise their contrastive differences are, in Arrernte, arrayed across items located in different domains of ‘access’, but this says little about their relative nature or their actual semantic characterization. Finally, let’s consider the term *alertakwenhe* which is anchored at ‘speaker and addressee’. This term is only ever used with pointing, and refers to a visible object. Crucially, this term seems to be much more ‘domain-constrained’ than the other three terms discussed. The referent referred to must be at an absolutely far distance from both speaker and addressee -- not easy to reach, and often hard to see though visible. In examining its uses, it only appears to be used for objects that occur in the last three domains (if visible). These observations are diagrammed in Figure 1. As the figure should make abundantly clear, one needs to distinguish ranges of actual application from ranges of ideal application, as well as distinguishing the domains in which terms can actually be used contrastively, versus domains where only a subset of terms is available. We may be able to accomplish this, in part, by being clearer about “distance/domain scaling”

I should point out that speakers’ own folk definitions of demonstrative terms may make reference to similar experiential access domains, but in the absence of exemplification with ‘pointing’ may choose different domain “idealizations”. For instance, folk definitions given for the Warlpiri proximal form, *nyampu*, emphasise contact with speakers and translate as “Nyampu is for nearby --- like if you can touch it with your hand” or “Nyampu, that is close up, like what we hold in our hand.” I do not have similar data for Arrernte, but would not be surprised if the “decontextualized” idealizations of folk definitions focussed on different types of “domain access” than “contextualized” contrasts where object pointing is involved.

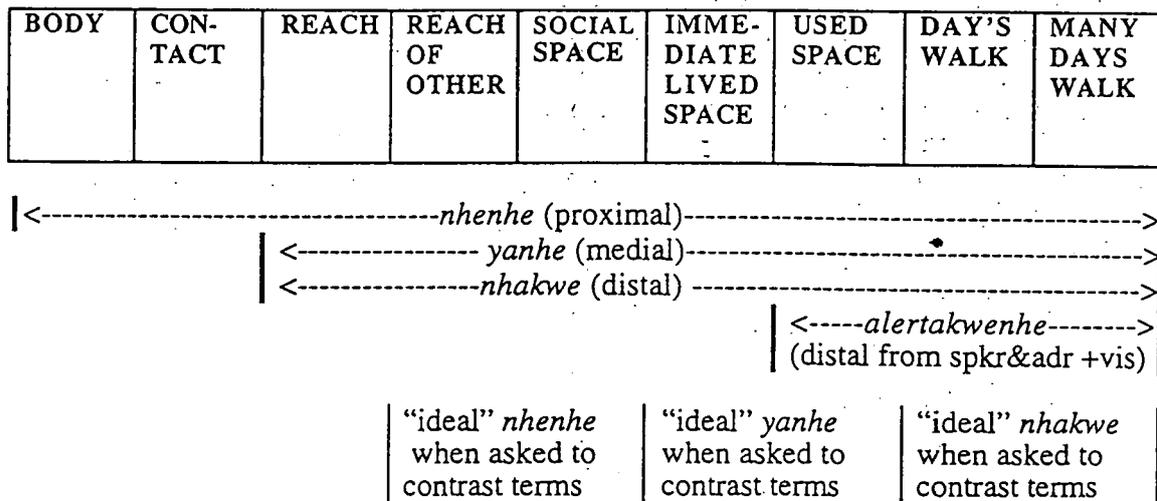


Figure 1: Distinguishing the ranges of application of Arremte demonstrative terms from “idealized” application [showing explicitly the regions in which terms enter into contrast]

Some Questions That Might Be Considered With Respect to the Distance/Domain Scale

- Body Parts and Places on Body: What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to one’s own body parts, or spots on the body
 - contrasting two similar body parts (eyes), or spots on the body
 - when referring again to a part touched/held and referred to by interlocutor [e.g. when a doctor holds arm and says “does it hurt on this spot” and one answers “yes; it hurts on ___ spot”]
 - when referring to movements of feeling from one part of body to another
 - when talking about body parts that one can visibly access versus ones that are not visually accessible
 - when talking about body-parts as visually accessed versus felt (proprioceptively) accessed
[Those feet of mine look so ugly; These feet of mine feel so painful.]
- Things in contact with the body: What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to objects in fixed contact with body: e.g. dirt on face; clothing; etc.
 - referring to movable/transferrable objects in contact with body:
 - bug (This beetle won’t leave me alone/ See this fly on my feet.)
 - something in one’s hand : just being held vs. being presented/offered
 - referring to something one is standing/sitting/lying on (this bed is uncomfortable)
 - referring to something on the interlocutor’s body which the speaker is touching with hand/finger (e.g. arm, clothing, bug) [i.e. contacting something also in contact with addressee]
 - referring to some independent object that part of the body is lightly up against or touching (or something touching the body) [This tree I just brushed past has rough bark]
- Things within easy arm reach (without getting up or taking any steps or turning significantly): What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to a movable vs. non-movable object in easy reach [of speaker as origo, addressee as origo]
 - contrasting more than one object within easy arm reach
 - where objects extend in away axis / across axis / upward / downward

- Things out of easy arm reach, but within easy arm reach of another participant in the interaction: What demonstratives are used when:
 - asking another person in the conversation to pass you something that is in their immediate reach
 - referring to something that you have to get up and walk a few steps to
 - referring to a non-movable object in the vicinity of another participant
 - contrasting an object in speaker's reachable space with an object in addressee's reachable space

- Things that fall within the shared social space set up by the interlocutors' positions. [Need to keep track of "shape" of shared space]: What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to objects within space of two interactants, 3 interactants, 10 spread interactants, etc.
 - referring to objects in social space that are not easily reached by any participant
 - referring to objects in a social space created by two participants side-by-side, two participants face-to-face, three participants in a triangle, five participants in a circle
 - referring to objects which are in between speaker and interlocutor and reachable by both
 - contrasting objects at various positions within shared social space

- Things within the immediate lived (home) space [The place where "family" gathers together on a daily basis - for eating / cooking / sleeping]: What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to objects at the distant periphery of "home" space
 - referring to objects each of which falls in a different subdomain of home space.
 - contrasting objects spread from speaker and addressee at center of home space to periphery of home space.
 - when speaking to people across divides of home space versus being within the same domain of home space (independent of actual distances involved)

- Things in the space which is used on a daily basis, including all the places usually traveled to from homebase and back within the day [village area/ larger camp / water source / toiletry spot/ agricultural or hunting area / market / workplace / etc.]. What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to objects (visible vs. non-visible) at a place within the daily home-range, but which is outside of the "home-base".
 - contrasting objects (of appropriate scale) arrayed from speaker at home center through to the periphery of the home range.

- Things that are just a day's journey (by foot) away, or which are considered to be minor journeys in the region, involving a night's stay somewhere else. [at the edge of visible accessible space / within the horizon space / next village or two over / part of the accessible network of paths outside of the home range / etc.]. What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to the destination place
 - referring to different resting spots or landmarks along the way
 - contrasting different spots / landmarks extended along the projected travel path
 - referring to the visible distant part versus the non-visible distant part of such a journey path

- Things in the space of a major journey which cannot be accomplished in one day, and requires two or more sleeps en route. Usually a journey where the traveller's will spend several days at the end point. [Visiting far flung family relations / exploring new regions / going to a major town for work or trade / etc.]. What demonstratives are used when:
 - referring to the destination place
 - referring to different resting spots or landmarks along the way; including places where one will sleep en route.
 - contrasting different spots / landmarks extended along the projected travel path
 - contrasting different spots / landmarks near the destination

Demonstrative Discussion Notes #2 (appendix to chapter 1 continued)

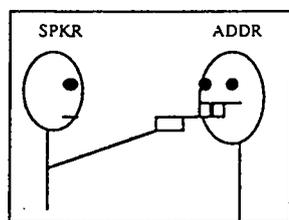
Subject: Pointing, touching, presenting - The relation of non-linguistic indexical accompaniment to demonstrative choice.

While authors like Bühler (1982 [1934]), Fillmore (1975, 1982), Kaplan (1989) and Hanks (1992, 1996) have acknowledged, and emphasised, the significance of accompanying gestures in “true” acts of spatial demonstrative deixis, there has been little systematic exploration of the role and nature of such accompaniments. It is now clear that one of the failings of our earlier questionnaires and tasks for exploring demonstrative reference is that they did not pay sufficient attention to variation in the types of indicative acts that accompany demonstrative terms. Bühler has called such acts “guidelines” and notes that “any deictic word without such guidelines is running blind to its meaning”.

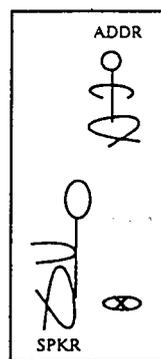
The purposes of this note is to highlight one important facet of this problem; one that has significant ramifications for intra- and inter-language comparability. Various elicitation tasks have now led me to the observation (which probably should have been obvious much earlier) that the linguistic choice of demonstrative is not fully independent of the choice of accompanying indexical act (i.e. the choice of “guideline”). That is to say, it often happens that in the same physical context, referring to the same object (at the same “proximity” and “scale”), different non-linguistic indexical acts correspond systematically with differences in demonstrative choice. Let’s consider several examples.

In elicitations with Arrernte speakers, where three objects (cups) were evenly spaced across the width of a table (0.7m) on the axis away from the speaker, there was variable treatment of the object furthest from the speaker. When speakers referred to the furthest object with NO accompanying manual point, but were gazing in that direction or were using a ‘lip point’ or a ‘head nod’ towards the object, they regularly used the distal demonstrative form *nhákwe*. However, when they used a fully extended, index finger point, the same speakers systematically used the medial demonstrative *yanhe* to refer to the same object. In very rough terms, the manual point occurs with a demonstrative term that suggests the object site is closer to the speaker, whereas the use of body orienting (without manual point) occurs with a demonstrative term which suggests the object site is further from the speaker.

Similarly, let’s consider one Japanese speaker’s view of the following two scenes:



(a)



(b)

In scene (a) the speaker is pointing to one of the addressee’s teeth. In scene (b), the speaker has her back to an object that she knows is right behind her, and the addressee, who is at a little distance from both speaker and object is looking at the object that is behind the speaker. For both scenes, a *ko*-series term (“speaker proximal”) or a *so*-series term (“addressee proximal”) can be used to refer to the object, but different factors relating to the accompanying indexical act correspond to the preference of one term or the other. With respect to scene (a), the closer the pointing finger of the speaker comes to the tooth of the addressee, the better the use of the *ko*-series, and the worse

the use of the *so*-series. At the point where the speaker's finger touches the tooth, the *ko*-series is the only possible choice (i.e., use of the *so*-series becomes impossible). Thus, although the tooth is clearly part of the addressee (although a relatively more alienable part than the ear, for instance), the addressee-based term becomes impossible if the speaker's point is touching it, and only the speaker-based term is possible. In contrast, the description of (b), changes according to whether the speaker is pointing or not pointing (in the situation under consideration, the speaker never turns towards the object). If the speaker does not point to the object, but merely refers to it [e.g. Do you want to borrow ___ book behind me?], then the *so*-series is considered the natural choice, and use of the *ko*-series is decidedly odd. The use of the addressee-based term suggests that the fact that the object is in the (gaze) attention of the addressee, rather than the speaker, is more important than the fact that it is significantly nearer the speaker than the addressee. However, if the speaker makes a manual point to the area behind himself, then it is the *ko*-series that is considered the natural choice, and the *so*-series is odd.

For the next example, we turn to an elicitation task in which two 'post-it notes' (with a different geometrical figure on each) are stuck face down onto a small note pad. The note pad is horizontal and essentially held within the lap of the speaker, and the two squares of paper on it are aligned on the away axis. So, while both 'objects' are well within the arm reach of the speaker, technically one square of paper is physically closer to the body of the speaker, and the other is physically further away. The purpose of the elicitation is to get a contrastive response in which both objects are referred to one after the other (e.g. "this is the circle and that is the square"), and the starting point for the contrast is varied by certain manipulations (i.e. speakers sometimes start by talking about the one closest to them first and the furthest second, and other times the order of description is the other way around). Whether they are simply pointing to each of the paper squares, or touching each of them, English speakers can freely say 'this is X' and 'that is Y' (largely independent of where they start, or technical distance). However, consultants from a number of other languages (e.g. Ewe, Italian, Persian), regularly show a different response pattern depending upon whether they are pointing without touching or pointing by touching. In Ewe for example, if the speaker is closely pointing, but not touching, the closer piece of paper can be referred to with the proximal form *ke* (or *sia*), and the further piece of paper can be referred to by the distal term *kemi* (or *má*). However, as soon as the speaker touches the paper (no matter how many contrasts are involved, or how far the stretch is), it must be referred to by using the proximal form, and any contrast is made in other ways (i.e. you must say the equivalent of 'this is X and this is Y' when touching each object in turn). Thus, indication by touching seems to have a special status in demonstrative reference, such that if something is touched it is brought into the proximal/personal sphere of the speaker. Technically, the non-touching point is no further (in the horizontal dimension) from the object of reference than the indication by touch, but touch versus non-touch certainly affects demonstrative choice.

Finally, let's consider an example from Dutch. Kirsner (1993) has observed that a speaker's references to clothing they are wearing are more natural using the proximal form *deze* rather than the distal form *die*. He gives the following example (1):

- (1) *Vind je dat deze / ?die trui bij het jasje past?*
Do you think that this / ?that sweater goes with the jacket?

The one exception he noted to this generalization has to do with shoes, which can be referred to proximally or distally, as in example (2).

- (2) *Vind je dat deze / die schoenen bij het jasje passen?*
'Do you think that these / those shoes go with the jacket?'

Follow up elicitation with Dutch speakers confirms these observations. However, what Kirsner failed to note is that in a sentence like (2) the choice of *deze* versus *die* appears

to be consistently associated with different indexical acts (different "guidelining"). In modeling imagined uses of each of the two variants of example (2), Dutch consultants (apparently unconsciously) selected distinct non-linguistic acts to accompany the difference in demonstrative selection. When using the proximal form, speakers will either simply look down at their shoes, or lift one of their feet up a little (but there is no manual pointing). By contrast, when using the distal form of the sentence, speakers regularly chose to point to their shoes. In this case then (within the personal sphere), it appears that non-manual orienting acts are associated with a demonstrative term that suggests the object site is "closer" to the speaker, whereas the manual point is associated with a demonstrative term that suggests an object site that is "further" from the speaker. In other words, we have a pattern of usage that is somewhat the reverse of the Arrernte example we began with. (I suspect, however, this is less a difference between languages and referential practice, than a difference between reference to objects within personal space, as opposed to reference to objects within a more extended interactional space).

These examples should be sufficient to justify my main point, which is that choice of demonstrative and choice of accompanying indicative act often vary with respect to one another in a systematic fashion, and this variation is regularly independent of any of the physical determinants of the context itself. That is, the same extralinguistic context can be described by different utterances, each of which combines a different lexical demonstrative with a different non-linguistic act. [I am not, of course, intending to imply that each communicative act is under the same construal of the situation. Quite to the contrary, I presume each communicative act suggests a different construal, but not one that is going to be obvious from the mere physical aspects of the extralinguistic context. -- A point which Asli has regularly stressed.]

In a very real sense, we are talking about differences in "referential practice", to borrow a term from Hanks (although with slightly different implications). Hanks (1996) himself, in talking about the Mayan terminal deictics *a?* 'immediate (proximity)' and *o?* 'non-immediate (proximity)' has noted that they regularly cooccur with different gesture patterns. He writes (1996:250):

All *a?* forms are associated with high-focus gestures, such as extending the referent in the hand, touching or pointing to it with directed gaze, all of which imply that the Spkr. is in a relation of contiguity with the object.

...
All *o?* forms are associated with relatively less focal gestures, such as a vague toss of the hand or a less ostentatiously directed point. In many cases, there is no gesture at all. these are forms used to make references to objects in the Adr.'s zone or in the common ground.

Such observations are critical to helping us understand the use and semantics of the linguistic forms. However, Hanks goes on to show how these combinations of gesture and linguistic form regularly apply to quite distinct contexts (prototypical contexts of use), but he does not indicate whether they may both apply within the one physical context, referring to the same object, in order to convey distinct construals of the situation. This is not meant to be a criticism, but an observation which may help to clarify distinct aims and questions. What are the cooccurrence patterns of demonstrative form and indexical act? Are different pairings of linguistic and non-linguistic demonstrative associated with demonstrably distinct contexts? Can different pairings be used to make reference to the same object within the one context? If so, does the selection of one pairing versus another entail a different construal of the situation? If so, how can we demonstrate that?

To conclude, if we don't pay attention to the pairing of different linguistic forms with different non-linguistic indexical accompaniments, we run the risk of a false or confused analysis of the use and semantics of the linguistic forms. At the very least, a continuing catalogue of examples like the one I've started above would be useful. Ideally, researchers will be more sensitive to such variations, and will start to identify

and describe the nature, semantics and use of the different forms of indexical accompaniment. Already we have seen that relevant dimensions of variation appear to be: (a) manual pointing versus no pointing; (b) manual pointing versus other means of orienting; (c) pointing without touching versus pointing with touching; (d) distance at which the point is held in relation to the object; and (e) whether object is in the visual attention of the addressee but not of the speaker. What other means and distinctions are available to prevent “deictic terms running blind to their meaning”?