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REGULATIONS ON USE**Stephen C. Levinson and Asifa Majid**

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Background

The field manuals were originally intended as working documents for internal use only. They were supplemented by verbal instructions and additional guidelines in many cases. If you have questions about using the materials, or comments on the viability in various field situations, feel free to get in touch with the authors.

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1. Motion Elicitation: "Moving 'IN(TO)'" and "Moving 'OUT (OF)'"

David Wilkins in consultation with members of the Space Project (especially Sotaro Kita, Eric Pederson, Eve Danziger and Melissa Bowerman)

AIMS

General aims:

- (a) To explore the linguistic encoding of events that have typically (and pretheoretically) been identified as "motion" events.
- (b) To allow for crosslinguistic comparison of "motion" descriptions, by utilising the same elicitation task across a number of field sites.
- (c) To investigate crosslinguistic variations in the event parameters that are identified by speakers of different languages as relevant (and irrelevant) in the encoding of particular "motion" events.

Specific aims:

- (a) To explore the linguistic encoding of events that involve what may roughly be considered "motion in(to)" and "motion out (of)".
- (b) To compare the expression of dynamic events in space with the expression of comparable static spatial relations. More particularly, to compare the linguistic encoding of events of "motion in(to)" and "motion out (of)" with the linguistic encoding of scenes of "being in(side of)" and "being out(side of)".
- (c) To investigate the notions of "boundary" and "boundary crossing", by varying the nature and type of grounds "moved in(to)" and "moved out (of)", and by varying the degree of event "realisation".
- (d) To examine whether, and how, the following further parameters of variation in the constructed event scenes gain and/or affect linguistic encoding:
 - (i) animacy of the figure
 - (ii) intentional versus accidental
 - (iii) shape and/or consistency of the figure
 - (iv) dimensionality of container (as ground)
 - (v) shape and consistency of container (as ground)
 - (vi) degree of occlusion and/or exposure of figure in relation to ground
 - (vii) manner of motion
 - (viii) point of view on the event
 - (ix) orientation in space (i.e. upward, downward, across, away, etc.)
 - (x) bounding (definite source; definite goal; unbounded; past a point; etc.)
- (e) To attempt to collect linguistic data which may help to shed light on the question of whether certain events of "moving in(to)" and "moving out (of)" are treated linguistically (at the semantic level) as: (i) changes of state, without an entailment of either motion or continuity; (ii) true motion events involving a path in space, and continuity across points in space; or (iii) an event that involves dynamic change of state, with continuity, but does not entail a spatially conceptualised path.
- (f) To explore how a complex "motion" event \tilde{N} which may be considered to consist (again, pretheoretically) of a number of important subparts \tilde{N} is given expression. [i.e. How is a macroevent encoded?, and How is each subpart given expression?]. Complexity of an event is varied in a number of ways: e.g. "motion" with respect to multiple grounds; combining manner and/or point of view and/or specified goal; etc.
- (g) To use the linguistic data as a preliminary guide as to which scenarios may be seen to belong together in the same general category (*a la* research by Bowerman and Pederson, and Bowerman and Choi).

NOTE 1: In considering what scenarios to include, and what materials to use, I was heavily influenced by discussions in the Space Meetings concerning preliminary descriptions of the linguistic encoding of "entering" and "exiting" scenarios in various languages. Those discussions already successfully hinted at a number of cross-linguistic distinctions in the types of parameters given linguistic expression in the description of such scenarios. These discussions covered Tzeltal (Penny Brown and Steve Levinson); Yucatec (Christel Stolz); Kilivila (Gunter Senft); Arrernte (David Wilkins); German (Heike Behrens); Tamil (Eric Pederson); Japanese (Sotaro Kita); Inuktitut (Shanley Allen) and Mopan Maya (Eve Danziger).

NOTE 2: This elicitation design is purposefully intended to dovetail with four other projects, and their associated elicitation designs: (1) Bowerman and Pederson's project concerning the crosslinguistic comparison of "IN" and "ON" static spatial expressions, which utilizes the Bowerman Picture Book; (2) Bowerman and Choi's crosslinguistic developmental project concerning the linguistic encoding of events of "attachment/insertion" and "separation/extraction", which utilizes a series of demonstrated events designed by Bowerman and Choi; (3) The Space Project's crosslinguistic investigation of motion encoding and path construction in route description, which utilizes the route description task designed by David Wilkins, and (4) The Space Projects crosslinguistic investigation of "COME" and "GO" expressions, which uses the "COME" and "GO" questionnaire designed by David Wilkins. Researchers are advised to familiarise themselves with these other tasks, and the results that have currently been attained from them.

MATERIALS

- 1 x small rubber ball
- 1 x small plastic car
- 1 x small plastic truck
- 1 x windup toy animal
- 1 x small Duplo child
- 1 x small Duplo adult
- 1 x Duplo farm animal
- 1 x leaping frog (with heavy spring and suction cup)
- 1x small marble
- 1 x small penknife with a pointed blade
- 8 x Duplo fence links
- 1 x shoe box, with door cut into end (to function as a building)
- 1 x 28 cm long heavy cardboard tube, with 8 cm diameter, and replaceable lid for each end
- 1 x small "pool" or "basin" (approx 9cm in diameter, 4-5 cm high)
- 1 x laminated, stiff cardboard strip approx 20 cm long and 5 cm wide
- 4 x plastic bushy trees (as used in Men and Tree photos)
- 1 x Duplo block (small) arch (as used in Route Direction kit)
- 1 x small duplo block square
- 1 x trough from farm animals kit
- 1 x small chair (as used in intrinsic elicitation)
- 1 x small water pistol (as used in intrinsic elicitation) - (to be filled with water for the task).
- 1 x tiny cup (as used in intrinsic elicitation)
- 1 x normal sized transparent cup/glass
- 1 x "party favour" air pipe, with small ball (which allows one to float the ball up on an air stream)
- 1 x bottle of bubble liquid with bubble wand inside
- 1 x small container of play dough
- 1 x box of matches
- 1 x paper clip (or other fastener)

1/3 to 1/2 cup of (small grain) white rice
 1/3 to 1/2 cup of dry (large) dark red kidney beans [or other dark beans]
 3 x light dry (large) beans [approx. same size as the dark beans, and of noticeably different colour]
 1 x straight length of stick (used as a "pole")
 1 x solid circular "ring" or "hoop"
 [you'll also need some water]

METHOD

This elicitation task has two parts: (1) free elicitation of linguistic descriptions of the scenes outlined below, (2) presentation of linguistic descriptions elicited in part 1 to a new consultant and asking this consultant to perform the event that has been described (with the same materials as used in part 1).

During the first part, the researcher first wants to elicit the most natural description for the scene, then any possible alternatives. The researcher should feel free to suggest alternatives, to see if certain forms of expression are acceptable or not. In most instances the dynamic event should be demonstrated before testing corresponding static descriptions. Where the materials allow, one should attempt to perform different degrees of realisation of an event. For example, getting a car to roll through an arch, getting it to roll and stop inside the arch, getting it to roll and stop with its nose just inside the arch, etc. The consultant should be seated next to and facing the same direction as the researcher (to help keep point of view straight). Please attempt to do this elicitation task with at least three (3) consultants.

Although it is difficult to identify a particular elicitation formula or set of formulas that can be guaranteed to work across all fieldsites, to enable us to get the greatest comparability of crosslinguistic data try *to attend to the following parameters for eliciting.*

(i) Initially attempt to use a very neutral question so that you do not bias the view of the scenario (especially so that you don't bias it with respect to various event realisation possibilities, in particular the distinction between continuous occurrence and final state). A question like "Tell me about the car", is a general nonbiasing question which gets the focus on the object we're interested in (in most cases this is the figure or moving object). In some sites a question like "Tell me what you see" would work, but in other sites it might not reliably take in the active event (because what you see by the time you've asked the question is often the final state). This kind of question also doesn't reliably focus specifically on the object we are interested in.

(ii) Then you should try to get a "now point" description of the scenario (if you haven't already). That is, a view of the event in progress. In English you might do this by saying something like "What's the car doing (now)" as the event is being realised. In other sites you might be able to say "Tell me what you see now", but remember, such a formulation might have similar problems to those mentioned in (i) above.

(iii) You should also try to get a "completive description" of the scenario (if you haven't already). That is, a description of the event from the point of view of it being over (and completed). In English you might do this by saying something like "What did the car do?", in other sites a question like "Tell me what you saw" or "Tell me what happened" might be appropriate.

[We know that for some of the scenarios speakers will find it odd and/or difficult to focus on the entity you want them to focus on as the "performer" of the activity. Indeed, it might be odd to ask "What is X doing?" in those situations. In such cases you might want to frame the question, if you can, as "What happened to X?", or "I want to know about X, tell me about what happened". If the consultant is having trouble, don't spend long over trying to get it from the perspective we're hoping for, just get what they would want to say for that situation (from the perspective they're comfortable with. If there are real problems, just pass on to a new scenario.)]

The purpose of the second part is to help judge whether a description actually succeeds in capturing the event, and all the given parameters, as it was originally performed. In a sense, we are trying to find the 'prototypical scene' which matches the description (and we are not assuming that a

description of the scene as performed by the researcher is necessarily "ideally suited" to the scene). Where a consultant produces a radically different reproduction of the scene, the researcher may wish to redo the scene as originally constructed, and ask what the consultant would say for that scene (i.e. is the description that she was presented with also appropriate for this "new" scene). It is likely that, due to the nature of some of the scenarios, that one would want to be selective about the particular descriptions that are given back to the new consultant for re-enactment. The researcher is asked to use their good judgement here.

Both parts should be both video taped and audio taped. The video should be taken from the front, looking down on the scenes. Try to capture the whole of the scenario and the complete body and face of the consultant (cutting yourself out of the scene if you have to). The disadvantage of this view is that you will not always be able to see what the consultant sees. (This is especially true in cases where something enters into a 3-D enclosure like a "garage" or "closed tube"). [If you video from behind, you would have the advantage of having the consultant's view on the event, but the disadvantage of not being able to see the consultant and what they are doing when examining the event and describing it. We have decided that it is more important to see the consultant.]

The task is conceived of as primarily being used with adult consultants. In trials with three non-naive consultants, the run through part 1 took between one and half and two hours for each consultant. I have tried to keep many of the scenarios quite simple, so that there is some opportunity to do developmental follow up (with kids of about 5 and up), but certain scenarios would be far too complex.

SCENARIOS

Note that numbers refer roughly to general scenario types, within which there will be some variations of figure, manner, and/or path orientation, but where the ground remains constant. Dotted lines have been used to indicate groupings of scenes, and these groupings are based primarily on materials used, although they sometimes also refer to groupings of scenes pursuing a particular thematic concern. Knowing these divisions may help you to plan how to organise your sessions. **The scenarios marked with a double asterisk (**) are considered to be the core set of scenes for you to make sure to collect. The scenes that are not marked in this way are considered to be more peripheral either because they do not relate centrally to the issues we are addressing, or because there is some concern as to whether the materials can be used effectively in the way described in certain fieldsites. If you feel you can do all the scenarios, please do, as this gives you more information and gives us all the best chance for accurate comparison. Please gather data from at least 3 consultants.**

****1.** car / ball / kangaroo move into/out of fence enclosure (through an open gate).

- [- with car you may wish to seat a person in front, to get some sense of intentional driving, rather than just rolling.
- To get degrees of event realisation roll the car all the way into the enclosure, then roll the car so that it stops just at the gate, then roll it so that it stops with the front of the car part way into the enclosure, then roll the car so that it moves outside of the enclosure, then roll it so that it comes out stopping part way out of the enclosure, then roll it so that it exits, stopping just outside the entrance.
- For static descriptions place the car or kangaroo inside the enclosure and ask where the car is. See if having the gate opened or closed makes any difference to the description. With the gate open, place car outside, with nose just in the entrance, and ask where it is. Then place car inside, with nose just out the entrance. Then place car with nose half way in, and rear half way out. Then place ball half way in and half way out.]

****2.** car / ball / kangaroo move into/out of "door" of box (you may wish to call this a building or a garage) - [with door facing in the direction of researcher and consultant]

- **3.** on the side of the box (building) which is away from the consultant (and towards the researcher), have the kangaroo hop along the side of the box, starting from out of the consultant's view and moving into view beyond the box, towards the researcher. Then reverse this so that the kangaroo moves from being in view, to being obscured by the box (but moving along outside).
- **4.** car/ ball/ kangaroo move through the arch - first away from the researcher and consultant, and then towards the researcher and consultant.
5. car / ball move into/out of the tube which is closed at one end (you may wish to call this a cave)
 [- to facilitate the car moving into and out of the tube, you may wish to use the flat laminated, rectangular strip as a kind of ramp.
 - as one scene for elicitation, the ball can be rolled in with such force that it rolls back out again, and you can ask how this complex event is to be described.
 - as another scene for elicitation, you can distinguish between the car rolling out of the 'cave' backwards, as opposed to it rolling out forwards.]
- **6.** car / ball move through open tube (which you may wish to call a tunnel) [i.e. starts moving from outside tunnel, into tunnel, along tunnel, and out the other end.] Initially move it away from researcher/consultant, then reverse it and move it towards the researcher/consultant.
7. put kangaroo or car in the tube and have it go only part way along inside the tube, without emerging.
- **8.** place two fences of four links each parallel to one another, creating a path away from researcher/consultant and then roll a car from outside the fenced path through along the way demarcated by the fences and beyond. As a variation have the car move but stop inside on the path between the fences (about midway). Again, point of view can be altered.
- **9.** using one of the fences from the prior scenario, have the kangaroo hop along the side of the fence that is away from the consultant, with the kangaroo emerging beyond the end of the fence (preferably in a direction that is not directly towards the consultant). Then have the kangaroo move from full view, to being partially occluded, and moving along the fence (in the opposite direction than previously). [You may find it easier to use the car here.]
-
10. using the bubble mix, and bubble wand, blow a partial bubble and then let it deflate (asking for both cases what the bubble did, or what happened to the bubble).
11. blow several bubbles (and ask what the bubbles did: did they 'come out', 'emerge', 'form', etc.).
12. blow the bubbles so that they (i) go through the arch, (ii) go into the open box through the 'door', and (iii) go up into a clear cup/glass. [Asking what the bubbles have done.]
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- **13.** using small Duplo child, pretend that he is moving towards the car and then getting in and seating himself in the front.
- **14.** using Duplo child and Adult have them get into the back of the truck (both standing up) and then move the truck slowly off.

15. move the truck with the Duplo child (i) standing in the back; (ii) lying in the back; and (iii) sitting in the back. (You may wish to also try a series of other positions, like lying belly up, lying belly down, lying on the side, etc.)

****16.** with the Duplo child standing back of the truck (right towards the back), have the truck take off with enough speed that the child falls out.

17. have the Duplo adult sitting down and (i) moving the Duplo child towards the adult, have it appear as if the child is climbing into the adult's lap, (ii) then have the Duplo child "climb out of" the adult's lap.

****18.** car / marble move into a cluster of four trees/bushes so that it stops amongst the bushes. [Have car roll back out again.]

19. (i) roll the marble so that it goes between one pair of legs of the small chair, and then out through another pair.

(ii) roll the marble so that it stops under the chair. [N.B. This is difficult to do.]

****20.** [form a scene where the laminated rectangular strip is fixed with a clip to the top of the box, like a diving board or plank, and with the small plastic "pool" under it filled with water. Place the small Duplo boy on the edge of the 'board'.]

Flick the board so that the boy comes off into the water in the "pool". [you can ask what would be said if he did it on purpose, versus if he fell by accident..]

****21.** [use the same objects as in 19, but treat the plank as a slide from the top of the box into the pool with water in it.]

(i) Have the boy slide on his back, feet first into the pool. [Then you can change it to head first.]

(ii) Have the boy slide into the water in the pool while in a seated position.

(of course, you can try other orientations if you want to)

- with the boy floating in the water, ask where the boy is, and what he is doing

- ask about the distinction between going into/ out of the "pool" versus the "water"

22. repeat 19 and 20, but with the pool empty (so that he is moving into a dry container).

****23.** pour the water from the pool slowly into a glass, and ask what the water is doing.

****24.** place the farm animal down, then have the Duplo adult build a 'fence' (using all 8 lengths of fencing) around the animal, and ask about the animal. (This may raise a difficulty for your consultant and you may want to ask "what did the animal do?", and if that's problematic, Did the animal do anything?, or Did something happen to the animal or as a more specific attempt, Did the animal "become inside the pen"? did it "enter" the pen? etc.)

[With the pig inside the pen, ask where the pig is.]

****25.** starting from the scene in 22, have the Duplo adult rebuild the 'fence' so that it no longer contains the pig. [It is best to keep the pig in one place and make minor adjustments to the

fence so that it is reshaped, but doesn't move substantially. It should still be a 'pen' (i.e. a containing area.)). As in 24, ask about the pig.

[With the pig outside the pen, ask where the pig is.]

- **26.** rather surreptitiously, place a big ball of play dough so that it is concealed in your fist, and then, so that the consultant can see, squeeze the play dough so that it squishes (or extrudes) out between the fingers (particularly the thumb and forefinger).
- **27.** using the play dough, roll up a short thin piece, and ask the consultant to think of the piece as a worm or a snake (flatten one end and call it the head). Ask the consultant also to think of the hole in your cupped fist as the worm's/snake's hole.
- (i) move the worm so that it comes part way out of its hole head first
 - (ii) move the worm so that it comes all the way out of its hole
 - (iii) with the worm half way of its hole, move it so that it "retracts" (or moves backwards) back into its hole.
 - (iv) have the worm move head first into its hole and stop half way.
 - (v) have the worm move all the way into its hole.
- [with the worm half way out of its hole (i.e. with head out), ask whether one can say, using a complete construction, that it has "appeared", "come out", "emerged from the hole. - similarly, with the worm half way into its hole, ask whether one can say using a complete construction, that it has "entered", "gone into", "disappeared into" its hole.]
- **28.** (i) take the knife and a large ball of play dough, and insert the point of the knife into the dough (not the whole blade) and ask what the point of the knife did (did it "enter" the dough?)
- (ii) insert the knife blade and move it slowly into a large ball of play dough (but don't push it through), and ask what the knife blade is doing.
 - (iii) with the knife blade part way into the ball of dough, push it further, so that it emerges from the other side, and ask what the blade is doing
 - (iv) retract the knife so that its tip moves back into the middle of the play dough.
 - (v) just have the tip of the knife emerge from the play dough.
 - (vi) hold the knife blade still (and horizontal) and move the ball of play dough towards it, so that the play dough makes contact with the knife and the knife blade is becoming surrounded by the ball of dough. Then ask about the knifeblade (and the point of the knife)? What did the knife blade do? [Although it wasn't moving.] (You can vary this scenario in parallel with those for (i) to (v).)
- [for static questions, with the blade inserted part way into the dough, ask where the blade is, and ask where the point of the knife is. Then with the blade emerging through the other side of the play dough, ask where the blade is, and ask where the point of the knife is.]
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- **29.** flatten out of piece of dough, and show it to the consultant, and then out of view of the consultant, make a little circular impression (using the circular part on the back of the Duplo farm animal), and then show it to the consultant and ask what has happened, and what it is that they see. Then, again out of sight of the consultant, use the back of a small Duplo square and make a square impression that surrounds the round impression. Show this to the consultant again, and ask what has happened to the 'circle' (or what the circle has done). [For instance, can one say that the circle has "become inside of" the square; or entered the square.]
30. once again flatten a piece of dough and surreptitiously impress a small circle in it, and show it to the consultant again, then (out of sight of the consultant) take the very small cup, and place

the flattened dough (circle up) on the cup, and press so that the lip of the cup is just emerging around the impressed circle. Show this to the consultant (so that they view it from the top, with most of the cup concealed), and as in 28 ask what happened to the small circle (or what the small circle has done). [Has it "gone into the big circle"? etc.]

31. (i) flatten out a piece of dough, and using the green cup, cut a circular impression in the dough and ask about what has happened (from the point of view of the "circle" as topic/subject).
 (ii) putting the cup back into the impression, cut harder and squeeze the cup slightly so that the circle comes out of its hole, and ask what has happened (with respect to both the circle and the hole).
 (iii) take the circle of dough and replace it in the hole (and ask what has happened with respect to both the circle and the hole).
 (iv) having taken the circle of dough out of the hole, drop it from some height so that it lands back in the hole.
 (v) pick up the dough hole, with dough circle in it, and then have the dough circle fall down out of the hole.
-

32. (i) hold small plastic 'pool' up, having surreptitiously placed the leaping frog inside, and then release the frog so that it hops up and out of the pool
 (ii) have the leaping frog jump out of a fence enclosure (a square of four links)
 [you may want to try to have the leaping frog jump into the open shoe box, but this is difficult to orchestrate; you may also wish to try a scenario in which the frog leaps up, and you try to catch it so that it lands in the "pool" - Since this last case will involve you moving the container so that the frog goes into it, it will be interesting to know if one can still say "the frog 'went into'/'entered' the pool".]
-

****33.** hide the filled water gun in fist, and shoot spurts of water up through the fist (between thumb and index finger) and ask about the water.

****34.** shoot spurts of water into the trough, and ask about the water.

35. with the "party favour" blow pipe, (i) suspend the small ball floating on a column of air, and ask about the ball; and (ii) have it so that the ball goes up out of the cup and then falls back in, and ask about the ball; and (iii) blow the ball up with such force that it comes up and fails to land in the cup.
 [Also, for static descriptions, ask where the ball is when its in the cup, and then when it is suspended floating above the cup]
-

- ** 36.** (i) strike a match, and ask about the flame (attempting to focus on its coming into being)
 (ii) blow a match out, and ask about the smoke
 (iii) blow out a match, and have the smoke rise into the upturned transparent cup/glass and ask about the smoke.
 [you may also want to try to slightly wet the end of the match (out of sight of the consultant), and then light it (it should sputter for a while and take a while to fully flame up)]
-

37. put rice in the (normal-sized) transparent cup/glass, and then put a dark bean on top of the rice and ask where the bean is. Then (lightly) shake the glass so that the bean disappears in amongst the rice grains, and ask what the bean has done (or what has happened to the bean). Then ask where the bean is.

38. put dark kidney beans in the (normal-sized) transparent cup/glass, and then put a light- coloured bean on top of the other dark beans, and ask where the light bean is. Then (lightly) shake the glass so that the light bean disappears in amongst the dark beans, and ask what the light bean has done) or what has happened to the bean. Then ask where the bean is. [You may want to repeat the above by putting three light beans in the dark beans; or by having rice grains disappear into amongst the dark beans.]

39. with the stick ("pole") and the "ring" (or "hoop"), (i) move the "pole" through the middle of the "ring" so that the "ring" surrounds the "pole", and ask about the "pole" (in both the action event scenario, and in a static relation); (ii) move the "ring" towards the statically held "pole" so that the ring goes around the "pole", and again ask about the "pole" (later ask about the ring).

40. a) With the stick ("pole") and the transparent glass (cup), (i) move the pole so that it goes into the cup, and ask about the "pole"; (ii) hold the "pole" static, and move the cup over it (around it) and again ask about the "pole" (later ask about the cup)

b) Put the ball down, and put the transparent glass (cup) over it, and ask about the ball. (Is it true that the ball went into the cup?, Is it true that the ball is inside the cup?, Is it true that the ball became inside the cup). [Later, ask about the cup]

COMPLEX PATHS

[a number of more complex paths can be built, and you should experiment, but here are two to try out]

41. have the opening of the fence enclosure directly across from the opening of the 'door' into the box (with some space between the two) and have the ball / car / kangaroo move from one enclosure into the other. Then reverse the trajectory.

42. use the trough to support the tube tunnel up at one end, and have the lower opening of the tunnel feed out just across from the opening of the arch and have the archway open into the 'door' of the box (or the open gate of the fence enclosure), and roll the ball / car down so that it goes through the tunnel, through the archway and into the enclosed space. [With luck, the ball can be made to follow the reverse trajectory]

FREELY GO ON TO EXPERIMENT AND CHANGE AS SEEMS APPROPRIATE!!!!!!
(once you've collected the comparative data)

[NOTE: A 2 hour video tape demonstrating the use of this kit is available. It is in English and shows a researcher working with a speaker of Australian English-speaking consultant. The video focuses primarily on the demonstration of each event, and so is shot from behind with the consultant largely out of the shot. This is NOT how you should film your elicitation sessions. You should probably look at this video before doing the elicitation task.]