PART V

–

DEIXIS

'Although we can perform indexing acts with our index finger, with a lifted chin or puckered lips (see Fillmore 1982: 46) [one could add various parts of the body, such as feet, cf. the fact that pointing at someone with one's foot is considered offensive in some asian countries], we usually, and more effectively, use language for spatial reference, thus transferring information about the three-dimensional space into the one-dimensional format of language' (Senft 1997: 5).

INTRODUCTION

Deixis has a special place in language. Deictic elements, unlike (or more yet than) all other elements of language, are rooted in the utterance, in the here-and-now, and change along with speaker and addressee. Bühler (1934) and similar approaches tend to see language as a continuation of the gesture of pointing, i.e. of deixis; from this point of view, the importance of deixis in language is clear. On the view that language has a gestural origin (Condillac, 18th c.; Corballis 2010, Vauclair 2004), deixis is of prime importance for understanding the evolution of language, cf. Fonseca's claim (1989/1992) that 'pointing was the direct ancestor of spoken language' (quoted in Jakubowicz Batoréo 2000).

Without saying that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, we must note the very clear link between pointing and language in the development of the child:

> One important point for this link between pointing and language in children is their 'temporal' relation. At the stage of babbling, at around 6 months of age, there is an increase in the activity of the right hand (Ramsay 1985). Later, gestures in general, and pointing in particular appear for communicative purposes before language (Bates, Camaioni & Volterra 1975) and accompany words when language appears (Iverson & Goldin-Meadow 2005). Pointing appears around 11 months of age (Butterworth & Morissette 1996) and is clearly related to language, being used only when a social partner is in the room (Franco & Butterworth 1996). Besides, protodeclarative pointing seems to be a specificity of human apes (Tomasello, Carpenter & Lizkowski 2007).
>
> Another important point is the fact that communicative pointing is generally done with the right hand – and thus governed by the left hemisphere of the brain, like language (even in deaf people, cf. Emmorey, Mehta & Grabowski 2007). The frequency of right-handed pointing is independent of handedness. It is already present in infants: Esseily, Jacquet & Fagard (in press) thus show a significant difference between handedness for reaching and for pointing in children aged 14 months, while Vauclair & Imbault (in press) show in their study of infants and toddlers (10-40 months) that even left-handers and ambidextrous children tend to use their right hand for pointing (in a book; to toys placed 1.5 m away), as shown for adults by Kimura (1973). The fact that autistic children (Bonvillian, Gershoff, Seal & Richards 2001) do not display the same tendency is also quite revealing.

Table 1: Pointing and language: ontogenetic and phylogenetic considerations[1].
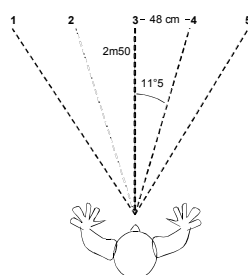

Figure 1: Diagram of targets used in the pointing task (Esseily, Jacquet & Fagard In press).

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[1] Based mainly on Esseily, Jacquet & Fagard (in press) and Vauclair & Imbault (in press).

From the point of view of diachrony, too, deictic elements are special: they do not seem to arise from a process of grammaticalization, although they generally comply with the characteristics of highly grammaticalized elements (high frequency, reduced paradigm, shortness); their origin is generally opaque.

The *locus* of deixis varies across languages: 'the human conceptualizer must create a number of deictic pointers to trajectors in space which may be framed in collaboration with demonstratives (the prototypical device), but also in totally unexpected ways, e.g. as verb suffixes or prosodic markers.' (Pütz 1996: xii)

The *distinctions* encoded by deictics also vary. Though 'Universally, the primary deictic contrast is based on an opposition of the speaker-proximal and the speaker-distal forms', according to Pajusalu (2006:241), languages not only encode different features (e.g. *distance, direction, visibility*, etc.) but have different degrees of contrast. Thus, in many languages, deictics encode two-way or three-way contrasts (Kryk-Kastovsky 1996):

> - 2-way contrast, between proximal and distal: English, Danish, Dutch, Polish;

> - 3-way contrast, between proximal, neutral (hearer-related or otherwise) and distal: Latin, Romance, Greek, German, most Slavic languages, Nunggubuyu (Northern Territory, Australia), Tagalog, Swahili.

However, the distinction is not always that clear, cf. English *here/there* but also *over there* and *yonder*; Polish *tam dalej* (lit. 'there further'); French *là-bas* (distal, lit. 'there-down'): why consider that *là-bas* qualifies French as having 3-way deixis and not *yonder*, *over there* or *tam dalej* for English and Polish?

Besides, more complex systems are found, particularly in non-Indo-European languages:

> - 4-way contrast between proximal, less proximal, distal and invisible: Tlingit (Northwest coast of Canada), Papuan languages;

> - 5-way contrast: Ronga (Bantu);

> - 6-way contrast: Kikuyu (Bantu);

> - 11-way contrast: Tolai (Austronesian, Papua New Guinea)…

and even 88 spatial distinctions in East Eskimo (Western Hudson Bay and Balfin Island, cf. Denny 1985: 113, 117-120).

This variation is also found for demonstratives, with all languages having at least 2 terms (Anderson & Keenan 1985:308), as in English (*this/that*) or Estonian (*see/too*, see Table 2 below), while some have 3 (Latin *hic/iste/ille*), 4 (Sre, Vietnam), 6 (Sami Nesseby, a Finnic dialect), 14 (Daga, Papua New Guinea) or even more than 30 (Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo) (Senft 1997:8, Pajusalu 2006: 242). According to Pajusalu, however, Livonian (a Finnic language) has only one demonstrative (Pajusalu 2006: 242, cf. Laanest 1982: 197-199).

Besides, this type of contrast seems highly open to diatopical variation. Estonian is a good illustration of this:

	Proximal		Distal
South Estonian	*see ~ sjoo*	*taa*	*tuu*
South Estonian with strong North Estonian influence	*see*	*too*	
Standard Estonian and common spoken Estonian	*see*	*(too)*	
North Estonian	*see*		

Table 2: Estonian demonstratives (adapted from Pajusalu 2006: 244)

V.1. NON-VERBAL DEIXIS

V.1.1. NON-VERBAL DEICTICS: USES AND CATEGORIES

V.1.1.1 USES

Deixis is the act of referring to the context of an utterance. Deictic markers are devices which point to elements of the context of an utterance. These elements include the speech act participants and their social status (social deixis), as well as space / time coordinates (in reality or in the imagination), pointed at entities that are not necessarily spatio-temporally individuated objects (ostensive deixis in general). Another function of deictics is the tracking of a previously introduced referent (anaphoric deixis), of a proposition (discourse deixis), of a text (pure text deixis).

Deictic uses can be grouped in **exophoric** and **endophoric** functions:

Exophoric deixis (i.e. reference to an element that is external to the text)

1. **Speech act participants**: *I / you;* social deixis: *du / Sie*, or Japanese honorifics, for ex. the verbal affix *-mas* (Levinson 1983).

2. **Space / time**: *here / now / yesterday* etc. Latin *hic / iste / ille* (near speaker / near hearer / away from both) etc.

3. **Extended ostensive deixis**: *this is a nice feeling* (non visible). 'Notional' deixis (ap. Pottier 1992): *sic, so*.

4. **Pure text deixis** (Lyons 1977): *I'm sorry. I didn't hear you. Could you repeat that?* (Diessel 1999: 101).

Endophoric deixis (text-internal reference)

5. **Reference tracking**: *Der Anwalt$_i$ sprach mit einem Klienten$_j$. Da er$_i$ / der$_j$ nicht viel Zeit hatte, vereinbarten sie ein weiteres Gespräch nächste Woche* ('the lawyer talked to a client. Since he$_i$ / this one$_j$ didn't have much time, they agreed to have another meeting next week'; Diessel 1999: 96).

6. **Discourse deixis**: *that's a lie* (bears on the content of an utterance, not on its wording, unlike pure text deixis).

7. To this list, Himmelmann (1996) suggests to add the ***recognitional* uses** of deictic markers: 'recognitional use involves reference to entities assumed by the speaker to be established in the universe of discourse and serves to signal to the hearer that the speaker is referring to is specific, but presumably shared knowledge' (ibid.: 240). In other words, the speaker assumes that a newly introduced referent is known or can be identified by the hearer in spite of the fact it was not mentioned before. Ex.: *that earthquake was scary, wasn't it?*

For this **exophoric** *vs* **endophoric** distinction, see Diessel (1999):
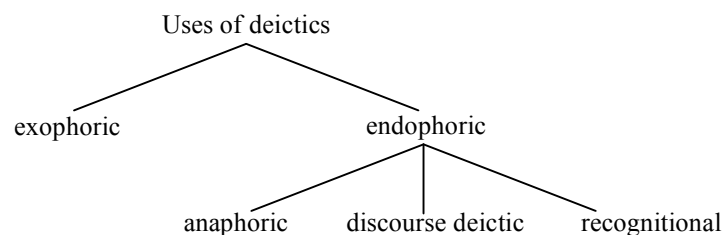
The focus of this part will be on exophoric spatial uses.

V.1.1.2. LEXICAL CATEGORIES

Diessel (1999) lists 4 distributions (i.e. possible *loci* of expression for these features): pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and identificational demonstratives (or demonstrative identifiers). When the corresponding markers are formally distinguished, they constitute distinct categories.

We can thus distinguish pronominal deixis, as in Polish:

(1) *nie*   *wiem*   *czy*   *tamten*   *coś*   *robi*
     NEG   know.PRES.1SG   whether   there-this.M.N.SG   something.N.A.SG   do.PRES.3SG

na   *2*   *monitorach*
on   2   monitor.G.PL

'I don't know if this guy does something on two monitors [at once].' (Internet)

Adnominal deixis, as we see below (also in Polish, same morpheme):

(2) *nie*   *wiem*   *czy*   *tamten*   *autor*   *czytał*
     NEG   know.PRES.1SG   whether   there-this.M.N.SG   author.M.SG   read.PST.M.SG

ale   *ja*   *czytalem* (sic)
but   I   read.PAST.M.SG

'I don't know whether this author read [it] but I did.' (Internet)

Adverbial deixis (also in Polish; notice the morpheme *tam* is actually used in the formation of the demonstrative and pronoun *tamten* in the two examples above):

(3) *Uwielbiam*   **tam**   *chodzić.*
     love.PRES.1SG   there   go.INF

'I love going there.'

Adverbial deixis includes not only free adverbs like *here / there* but also bound deictics (some of them separable) like German *hin / her* or Jakaltek *-toj / -tij* (itive / venitive and suffixed to verbs; Craig 1993):

(4) aha   da   kommt   sie   wieder   aus   dem   Busch   **her**aus[2]
     ha   there   come.PRES.3SG   she.N.SG   again   out_of   the.D.SG   bush   hither-out

'Ah, here she comes again out of the bush.' (Data from the *Trajectoire* experiments, cf. the website)

And finally identificational demonstrative deixis (= demonstrative identifiers), which are formally distinct in some languages and even form paradigms. It is the case for instance in Ponapean (Diessel 1999: 83), where the demonstrative *met* is clearly distinct from the identificational demonstrative *iet*:

(5) <u>*met*</u>   *pahn*   *mengila.*   (6) <u>*iet*</u>   *noumw*   *naipen.*
     this   will   wither   this/here   your   knife
     'This will wither.'   'Here is your knife.'

---

[2] Note that the deictic ~~dimension of *hin/her* seems to have lost some strength, at least in some parts of Germany. This is~~ particularly true when *her* appears in combination with other preverbs: *her + aus > heraus > raus*, etc.

	SG	PL	SG	PL
Near S	*me(t)*	*metakan*	*ie(t)*	*ietakan*
Near H	*men*	*menakan*	*ien*	*ienakan*
Away from S+H	*mwo*	*mwokhan*	*io*	*iohkan*

Table 3: Paradigm of identificational demontratives in Panapean (Diessel 1999: 83).

However, identificational demonstratives occur in nonverbal and copular contexts and are close to, if not identical with 'sentential demonstratives' like French *voilà* or Russian *vot*, as in the following example:

(7)　Вот –　апперкот,　я　на　полу　и　мне　нехорожшо!
　　there　uppercut　I.N.SG　on　ground.P.SG　and　me.D.SG　no-good

'There, an uppercut and I'm down on the floor, not feeling well at all.' (Vladimir Vissotski, Боксер)

As the original name given by Diessel to identificational demonstrative, predicative demonstratives (Diessel 1997a), well reflects, the specificity of these morphemes is their predicative nature (although they are 'not restricted to nonverbal clauses', Diessel 1999: 58). However, insofar as French *voilà* and Russiant *vot* can be included in this class of deictics, they represent very different instances of predicative nature. On the one hand, French predication is prototypically verbal, and *voilà*'s predicativity is a remnant of its verbal origin: in Old French, *vez ci / vez la* (see.IMPV.2PL here/there) was still a relatively free construction meaning 'see here / see there'. On the other hand, Russian predication is probably less prototypically verbal, given the existence of averbal constructions for possession, existence and so on (*èto xarasho* this good 'this is good'): the predicativity of *vot* could thus be rather a function of the general predicativity of adverbial constructions in Russian.

Note the possibility of predicative deixis in FSL (French Sign Language), cf. *there is a bird in the tree* signed 'tree bird there.MED' ((very!) rough gloss).

Some languages lack one (or more) of these formally lexical categories in the sense that the 'missing' category is formally derived from another category, or sees its function taken over by another category. An example of the first case is provided by Korean: pronom. demonstratives are formed from a demonstrative determiner followed by a generic noun (Diessel 1999: 20):

(8)　*i*　*kes*.
　　this　thing/fact

'This one (thing/fact).'

(9)　*ku*　*i*
　　that　person

 'That one (person).'

Guugu Yimidhirr, which 'uses demonstratives with certain (locative) case endings as locational deictics' (Diessel 1999: 74-75), seems to be another example.

Tuscarora illustrates the second case: Mithun (1987) argues that it has no dem. determiners: dem. pronouns fulfill their pronominal function by being juxtaposed to a noun (in a kind of appositive construction); the same situation seems to hold for Estonian (Pajusalu 2006: 244).

Other overlaps are possible; for instance, in Ponapean and Finnish, there is overlap between adverbial deictics and demonstrative pronouns (Diessel 1999: 75).

In diachrony, a language can see the appearance of a new category through a process of grammaticalization (and paradigmaticization, see Lehmann 2002). This is what happened in French, with the appearance of a paradigm of demonstrative pronouns and one of determiners, whereas Latin

and Romance (except French) have a common paradigm for the two functions (Marchello-Nizia 2003):

(10) *Ancora*   *non*   *ho*   *visto*   *questa*   *macchina.*
      again   NEG   have.PRES.1SG   see.PARTP.M.SG   this.F.SG   car.SG

'I haven't seen this car yet.'

(11) *Questa*   *ancora*   *non*   *l'ho*   *vista.*
      this.F.SG   again   NEG   have.PRES.1SG   see.PARTP.F.SG

'I haven't seen this one yet.'

vs

(12) *Je*   *n'ai*   *pas*   *encore*   *vu*   *cette*   *voiture.*
      I.S   NEG-have.PRES.1SG   NEG   again   see.PARTP.M.SG   this.F.SG   car.SG

(id)

(13) **Je*   *n'ai*   *pas*   *encore*   *vu*   *cette*
      I.S   NEG-have.PRES.1SG   NEG   again   see.PARTP.M.SG   this.F.SG

(id)

Old French still used the same paradigm for both functions, with *cist* as a marked proximal and *cil* as an unmarked distal. We illustrate below the use of *cist* with pronominal (*cist*) and demonstrative (*cist cas*) functions:

(14) *Car*   *la*   *vertus*   *de*   *la*   *procuracion*   *dure*
      for   the.F.SG   virtue.N   of   the.F.SG   procuration   last.PRES.3SG

tant   *comme*   *cist*   *est*   *hors*   *du*   *païs*
so_long   as   this.M.N.SG   be.PRES.3SG   out   of-the.M.A.SG   country

'For the virtue of the procuration lasts only as long as this person is out of the country.'

(15) *et*   *cist*   *cas*   *si*   *soufist*   *assés*
      and   this.M.N.SG   case   AFF   suffice.PRES.3SG   enough

'And this case is quite sufficient [to prove my point].' (both examples from Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes du Beauvaisis*, 1283)

V.1.1.3 SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC LINKS BETWEEN DIFFERENT TYPES OF DEIXIS

The links between different types of deixis, from a morphological point of view, indicate that 'local' deictics form the core of the paradigm. Spatial deictics are typically used as demonstratives, for ex. in French *ci/là*, Polish *tam*ten, or Afrikaans *hier* 'here' / *daar* 'there' → *hierdie* 'this' / *daardie* 'that', *hiérvan/daarvan* (in the stead of [*van dit hier* 'from this here', *van dit daar* 'from this there']), etc.:

(16) *Die*   *lekkers*   *is*   *lekker.*   *Ek*   *hou*   *daarvan.*
      the   sweet.PL   be.PRES.3SG   nice   I.SUBJ   hold.PRES.1SG   there.from

'The sweets are nice. I like *it*'

(Botha 1996: 214, 217; cf. also Raidt 1993).

Diessel (1999: 74) points out that such uses are found also in English (*this guy here*) or German, but it seems clear that the degree of grammaticalization of such forms is lower than Afrikaans *hierdie* or French *celui-ci*:

(17) *das*   *Haus*   *da*
       this.N.SG   house   there.MED

'This/that house there.'

However, this link can also be opaque, as shows the comparison between Latin deictic adverbs *hic/ibi/illic* ('here', 'there', 'over there') and pronouns/determiners *is, iste, ille* ('this (one)', 'that (one)', 'that (one) over there').

The uses of spatial deixis also extend to other types of deixis, such as text deixis: 'Textual deixis is based on markers taken from other types of deixis, mainly spatial and temporal deixis [namely: demonstratives, locatives, directionals, temporal adpositions and verbal tenses]. More seldom it has its specific markers, which are missing in certain languages.' (Mondada 1996: 572).

In this part, deictic systems will not be considered for their formal properties and categorial status but for their meaning insofar as this meaning involves spatial relations. The following is therefore a presentation of spatial parameters encoded in deictics. Some pragmatic functions and semantic features coexpressed with spatial parameters will be discussed as well.

V.1.1.4. SEMANTIC PARAMETERS: RELATIVE DISTANCE

The major semantic parameter encoded in deictics is distance from a Deictic Centre (*par excellence* the speaker, but the DC can be shifted to another speech act participant or even to an object; see below). According to Imai (2009: 52) some languages do not specify more than one degree of distance for adn. and pron. demonstratives (i.e. they have only distance-neutral deictic det. / pro. of the type of German *da* and French *là*). All languages, however, seem to have forms (at least adverbs) that encode two degrees of distance or more.

e.g. Croatian (Žic Fuchs 1996: 52).

ovdje   'where I am' / 'proximal to the Speaker'

tu   'where you are' / 'proximal to the Hearer'

ondje   'where he is' / 'remote or non-proximat both to the Speaker or Hearer'

However, standard (grammar) descriptions can be misleading, and an experimental setup produced unexpected results, with *tu* used to encode Speaker-proximal elements:

(18) *Tu*   je,   kod   mene,   u   sobi
       there   be.PRES.3SG   near   me.G   in   room.L

'He's here, next to me, in the room.' [describing a child 'left standing next to the informant, while the interviewer called from the next room *Where is the child?*'] (Žic Fuchs 1996: 54); id. *Dođi tu (> ovamo)* lit. come there (> here) 'Come here'.

Apparently, no system has been observed yet that would encode metric distance. For ex., *this / that* are not sensitive to absolute magnitude (ex. from Talmy 1988 [2000]: 25]):

(19) *This speck is smaller than that speck.*

(20) *This planet is smaller than that planet.*

In other words, deictic systems specify relative distance, not absolute distance. For Talmy (1988 [2000]), this fact supports the general view that closed-class items and grammatical morphemes are always **magnitude-neutral**. Note that this is true for verbal deixis as well.

A word of caution is in order. Saying that deictics encode relative distance does not mean that relative distance is the only spatial parameter specified by deictics nor that deictics have an exclusively spatial meaning. Relative distance itself is not only a matter of *physical* relative proximity. More abstract notions related to the involvement of speech act participants, their respective personal spheres or dominions are relevant too. As Marchello-Nizia (2004:81-82) puts it, 'the 'speaker's sphere' can include his social, family or political circles, his possessions – whether recognized, claimed or asserted – or anything he states as being to his liking; in a word, anything the speaker claims, constructs as belonging to him or interesting him'. The use of a distal demonstrative can thus be the result of the speaker's lack of implication, as in the following example, where *celle* (distal demonstrative) is used to emphasize the fact that *Eulalie* does not acknowledge what the king said:

(21) | *Ad* | *une* | *spede* | *li* | *roueret* | *tolir* | *lo* | *chief* |
      | with | one | sword | he.D | ask.PST.3SG | take | the.M | head |

| *La* | *domnizelle* | ***celle*** | *kose* | *non* | *contredist* |
| the.F | damsel | this.F | thing | not | contradict.PST.3SG |

'He ordered to behead her with a sword; the young lady did not refuse.'
(*Sainte Eulalie*, v.22-23, 9[3]th century, quoted in Guillot 2010[3])
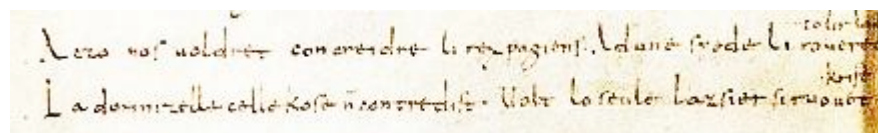

Figure 2: Sainte Eulalie (manuscript)[4]

The same 'functional' or abstract use of distance is found in other languages, and distal deictics are often used to signify the speaker's lack of adhesion to or interest in something:

Spanish

(22) | *Pon* | *el* | *libro* | ***allá*** | *arriba* |
      | Put.IMPV.2SG | the.M.SG | book | there_MVT | up |

'Put the book up there somewhere.' (Carbonero Cano 1979: 89)

Polish

(23) | *M□w* | ***tam*** | *sobie!* |
      | speak.IMPV.2SG | there | oneself.D |

'You can go on rambling [I don't care]!'

(24) | *Kupił* | *sobie* | ***tam*** | *nowy* | *samoch□d* |
      | buy.PST.M.3SG | oneself.D | there | new.M.A.SG | car |

'He bought himself a new car [I don't care how or which type].'

Going back to spatial relative distance, Anderson & Keenan (1985: 282)) proposed to distinguish two kinds of distance-based systems: '(a) those in which the middle term marks objects as being in some sense close to or identifiable by the *Adr*; and (b) those in which the middle term indicates an object which is simply farther from the *Sp* than would be indicated by the first term of the system, but closer

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[3] In 'Les démonstratifs de l'ancien français: un système encore personnel?', presentation at the CMLF-2010 conference, New Orleans.
[4] Downloaded from http://www.valenciennes.fr/fr/minisites/vie-active/culture/bibliotheque.html.

than would be indicated by the third. We refer to these two types as *person oriented* and *distance oriented* systems.'[5]

According to Anderson & Keenan, Spanish (ex. adn. dem. *este / ese / aquel*) would be a distance-oriented system, while Japanese would be person-oriented system (ex. adn. dem. *kono* 'near Sp', *sono* 'near Adr', *ano* 'far from both'). **However**, the survey of Anderson & Keenan is rather superficial and their diagnostics are not really substantiated. Careful investigations conducted by Imai (2003, 2009) have demonstrated that neither Spanish nor Japanese have 'pure' systems (see below); the same can be said of Finnish (Pajusalu 2006: 242, cf. Laury 1997: 59-60).

V.1.1.5. NON-SPATIAL USES

Deictics do not have only spatial uses; on the contrary, they have a broad range of temporal, discourse (= textual) and other notional uses. In a paradigm of spatial adverbial deictics, however, not all forms are used non-spatially. Thus, a quick overview of adverbial deixis in Slavic languages shows that there is quite a consistent trend for the *tu, tut* form (generally medial, except in Polish where it is proximal) to be employed anaphorically, temporally and otherwise.

(25) *Wszak*   *było*   *dobrze,*   *40*   *tirów*   *miesięcznie*   *wyjeżdżało*   *z*
sure   be.PST.N.SG   well   40   truck.G.PL   monthly   leave.PST.N.SG   with

meblami, -   *a*   ***tu***   *nagle:*   *Stop! -*   *Już*   *cztery*   *miesiące*   *nie*
furniture.I.PL   but   here   suddenly   stop   already   four.M.A.PL   month.A.PL   NEG

dostajemy   *poborów.*
receive.PRES.1PL   intake.G.PL

'It went well at first, 40 trucks a month left with furniture – and then suddenly: stop! – for four months already we haven't made money.'
(More on this in the Diachrony section)

V.1.2. DISTANCE-SENSITIVE SYSTEMS

Focusing on spatial uses of adverbial, demonstrative and pronominal deictics, it is possible to distinguish two main tendencies, with some languages having a deictic system based on distance, while in others the deictic system is rather person-oriented. However, as we will see, other factors can come into play, such as visibility, control, etc. As we saw for adpositions, purely spatial accounts are problematic.

Distance Oriented System
This system is speaker-anchored and does not take the addressee into account.

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[5] For some reason that is unclear to me, this distinction is introduced for classifying three-term systems and two-term systems are left out of consideration.

proximal   medial distal
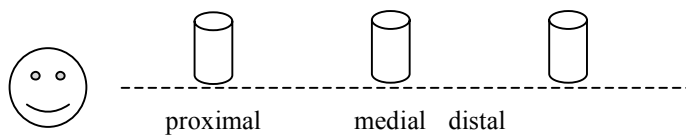
Some languages are reported to encode more than three degrees of distance, with a maximum of 5 (for ex. Fore, Mansaka and Remo) to 6 (for ex. Chukchi and Kawaiisu, see Imai 2009: 54 sqq.).

Across languages, the use of distance-related terms depends in various degrees on distance itself, and on the relative distance of other Figures. For ex., with two objects to be located with respect to a DC, Spanish speakers confine themselves to *este / ese*. In this situation, *ese* is used for a distal object:
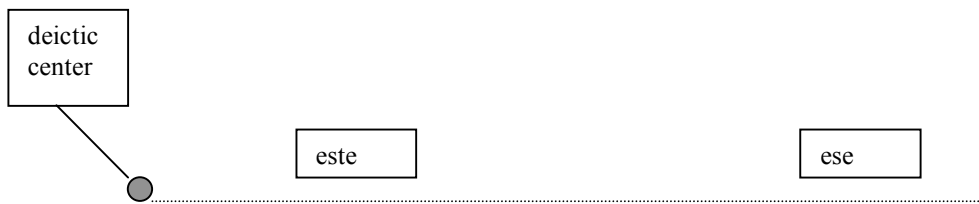

Ese regains its medial meaning and *aquel* appears for distal objects when more than two objects are placed at different distances from the DC:
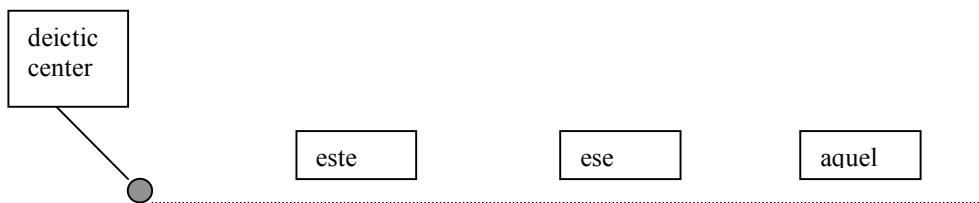

On the other hand, in Japanese, relative distance is coded independently of the number of contrastive Figures (Imai 2009: 59-61).

Person Oriented System

The distance-related distinctions encoded in Person Oriented Systems are illustrated below. Some systems retain only two distinctions, many systems have three terms or more. Diessel (1999) and Imai (2009) observe that Person Oriented Systems tend to be richer than Distance Oriented Systems.


10
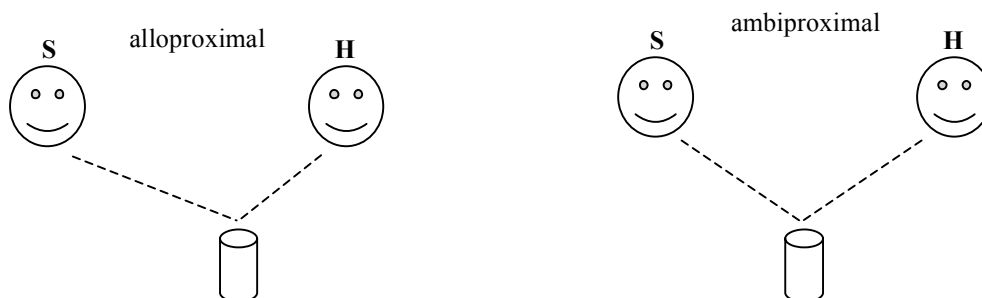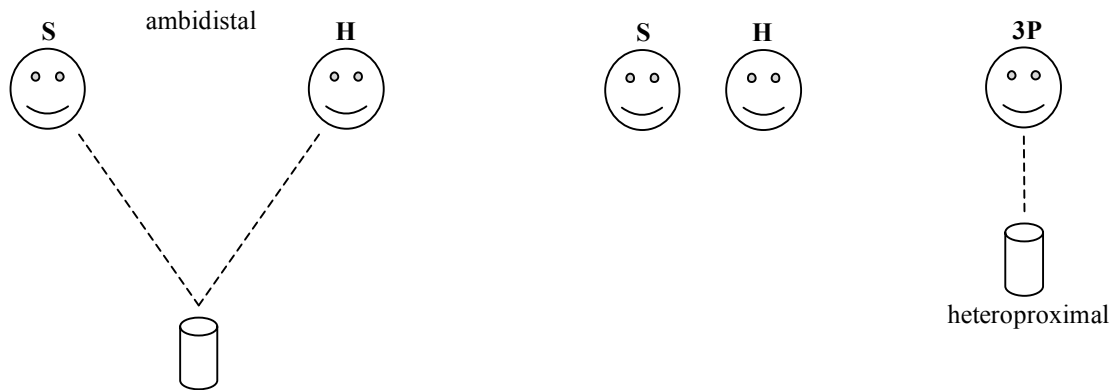
For instance, Sardinian has *inoke* (proximal), *(in)cue* (alloproximal, hearer-proximal) and *(in)cuddae* (ambidistal; more remote and less precise than *(in)cue*) (Jones 1993: 195). Similarly, Spanish has three degrees (*aquí* speaker, *ahí* hearer, *allí* 3rd person/distal) + movement (*acá* toward the speaker / *allá* away from the speaker; the *movement* distinction for these forms may be a function of their more generic meaning, cf. Schmidely 1975; this lack of precision might be linked to the presence of two forms only vs three for the other series, cf. Carbonero Cano 1979: 89).

In Imai's sample (2003, 2009), languages with a third person anchor (with a 'heteroproximal' term) are quite rare. Denny (1978) mentions Kikuyu as a possible case. Heteroproximal markers should not be confused with cases in which the shift of the DC from speaker to non-speaker is marked (for ex. in Inuktitut, which has a field-shifting but unspecific prefix *ta-* 'there-but-not-from-my-viewpoint'; Denny 1982).

Although egoproximal and proximal are theoretically distinct, there is no mention in the literature of a language that would distinguish them and employ two different terms for these situations. In other words, relative proximity to the speaker seems to function in a Dual Anchor System (see next section), where 'proximity to the speaker' in terms of a Distance Oriented System is coded like 'relatively further from the addressee than from the speaker':
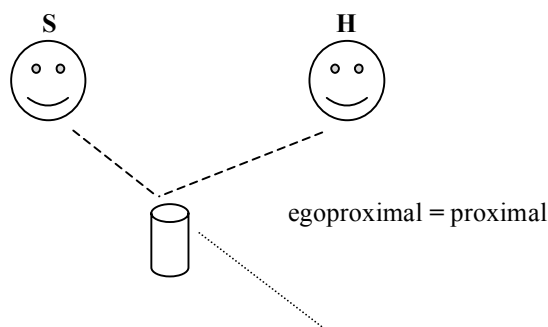
Dual Anchor System

For ex., same term for alloproximal and medial.

Imai (2003, 2009: 36-7) shows that Japanese speakers use a medial deictic (*sono*) for objects placed at mid-distance and for objects close to an addressee, even if they are distal and in lieu of the distal marker.

11
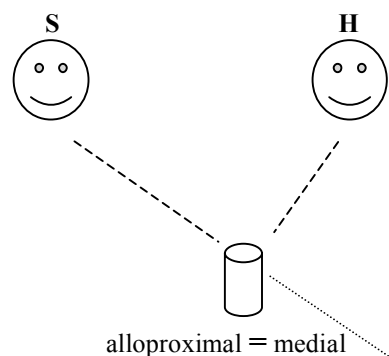
For a Figure that is not located with respect to an addressee the speaker reverts to the distance oriented system.

Spanish patterns exactly like Japanese: the medial form of the distance-oriented system (*ese*) is used for Figures near the addressee.

Other languages falling in this category: Thai, Venda, Vietnamese (Phu-Phong 1992).

Split Anchor System (Imai: 'addressee anchor isolated system')

Some languages have different terms for medial or distal and for alloproximal. For ex., Korean has three deictic roots: *i-* (proximal), *ce-/co-* (distal) belong to a distance oriented system. The third root *ku-* (and the corresponding adverb *keki*) occurs when a Figure is closer to the addressee than to the speaker. This root is not used in situations where distance from the speaker is the only variable. If there is no addressee near the Figure, the speaker switches to the two-term Distance Oriented System (Imai 2009: 39-41).
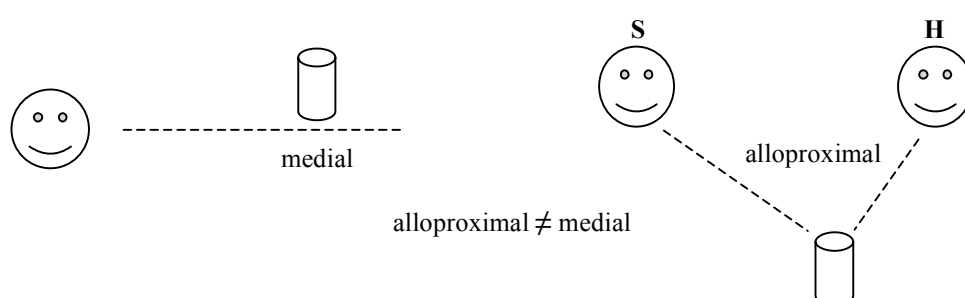
Split Anchor Systems with more than three terms are attested too: a number of Philippine languages (Aklanon, Waray, Maranao, Cebuano…) have a four-way system, with two terms encoding distance from the speaker (Distance Oriented S., noted Prox and Dist in the table below) and two terms indicating distance from the addressee and from the speaker and addressee (Person Oriented System). Cf. for ex. in Waray (Wolff & Wolff 1967):

	Prox	Ambiprox	Alloprox	Dist
Adj / Pron	*adi*	*ini*	*itu*	*adtu*
Loc (Present/Future)	*a(a)di*	*a(a)nhi*	*a(a)da*	*a(a)dtu*

Table 4: Waray deictics.

V.1.3 DISTANCE AND CONTROL

Distance is obviously relative (see the example above: *this / that speck, this / that planet*). It is also not the only variable at play in deictic systems. As shown by neurological experiments, *control* is essential for our conception of the space that surrounds us; for instance, we perceive tools as part of our body, but only as long as we use them. Imai (2009: 142 sqq.) shows that the possibility for a speaker to exert a control over the Figure influences what counts as proximal or distal: a distal but indirectly manipulable object (for ex. with a long stick or with a string attached to it) tends to be referred to with a proximal deictic in a number of languages. However, the relevance of control is variable from language to language (very high in Japanese, where the speaker switches to Prox *kore* for a distal controllable object, far lower in English).

In many languages (like Korean, Mizo or Spanish), when a Figure is close to the speaker but touched by the addressee, the Figure tends to be referred to with an addressee-anchored form. For ex., to a doctor's query asking where his back hurts, a Japanese speaker answers (Imai 2009: 171):

(26) *hai,*   *soko*   *desu.*
       Yes   ALLOPROX.ADV   COP

'Yes, it's there.'

In these languages, the fact that an addressee touches a Figure close to the speaker or the speaker himself is enough for this Figure to be assigned to the addressee's sphere.

Other languages (like Hindi, Hungarian or Mandarin), however, favor the use of a proximal form in this circumstance. This shows that different languages do not equally weigh distance and factors related to contact and control. To put it differently, control and contact by an addressee override distance in delimiting the territory of speech act participants (SAP) in Japanese and other languages, whereas they are less relevant in Hindi, Hungarian or Mandarin.

Overall, we can say that distality is conditioned by the speakers' construal of their own territory and that control or contact with the Figure are strong determinants of the partition of space into spheres anchored on SAPs.

V.1.4. OTHER 'SPATIAL' PARAMETERS

V.1.4.1. VISIBILITY / INVISIBILITY

Visibility is an intrinsically deictic parameter since something is visible or not only from the viewpoint of a DC. It plays a role for example in Muna (Austronesian-Celebic, Sulawesi), which has three dimensions of contrast: distance, height and visibility (Van den Berg 1982). In Malagasy, a series of deictic adverbs is used for objects or regions that are hidden from view. Further, for some of the terms in this series, visibility interacts with another variable pertaining to whether the search domain is construed as bounded or unbounded (see below).

| | Prox | | Med | Dist | Distance Neutral | |
	bounded	unbounded			bounded	unbounded
Adv	*ato*	*atý*	*atsy*	*arý*	*ao*	*any*

Ex. [doctor examining patient and touching patient's back; Imai 2009: 98]:

(27) *ato / eto*   *ve?*
       INV.PROX / VIS.PROX   INT

'Is it here-inside-your-body / here-on-your-back?'

Which series (invisible or visible) do speakers use when an object is invisible to a speaker but visible to an addressee (and vice versa)? When an object is invisible to the speaker but visible to the addressee, invisible forms are used. When an object is visible to the speaker and invisible to the addressee, Malagasy speakers tend to use invisible forms, thus adopting the addressee's viewpoint (Imai 2009: 101-2).

V.1.4.2. ABSOLUTE DIRECTIONS: UP / DOWN ETC.

UP / DOWN / LEVEL: many languages, mostly New Guinean, Australian, Himalayan and Caucasian have deictic terms that coexpress deixis and a direction along the vertical axis (Diessel 1999: 42-3). A

distinction is sometimes made between LEVEL and NEUTRAL, in other words, between 'there on the level of the speaker's line of sight' *vs* 'there on whatever level' (Mizo, for ex., distinguishes Prox, Alloprox, Dist-Level, Dist-Up, Dist-Down (and Inv); Imai 2009: 75). In these languages, UP / DOWN / LEVEL may be optionally expressed, whether compositionally (for ex. with optional directional affixes, as in Dyirbal ap. Dixon 1972: 48[6]) or in non analyzable lexemes (as in Selepet and Nicobarese; Imai 2009: 90). Most relevant in a typology of deixis proper are languages in which distance would be obligatorily coexpressed with UP / DOWN / LEVEL. However, this pattern does not appear in Diessel's and Imai's data. That is, UP / DOWN / LEVEL deictics always coexist with other deictics that do not encode vertical direction. Thus, it seems to be a general law that besides verticality encoding terms, languages have 'neutral' deictics (i.e for which verticality or other non distance-related parameters are irrelevant).

The importance of the vertical axis for deixis does not only appear in 'exotic' languages. In Valais French, for instance, deixis (as well as adpositions) codes for differences of altitude. One will thus say, when going to a place that is at the same altitude:

(28) *On   va   **en   là***
      IND   go.PRES.3SG   in   there
'We are going there [same altitude].'

And going up or down is necessarily encoded:

(29) *Je   vais   **en   bas   dessous   / en   haut   dessus.***
      I.S   go.PRES.1SG   in   down   below   in   up   above
'I'm going down there / up there.' $(Landragin, To appear in the *Grande grammaire du français*; examples from Giovanna Titus-Brianti, Geneva University).

Absolute directions are sometimes anchored on landmarks in the environment as in 'uphill' / 'downhill' (ex. Hua, Cora), 'landward' / 'seaward' (ex. Manam), 'upriver' / 'downriver' (Yupik Eskimo, Cora).
Cora for instance distinguishes three positions on a slope: 'areas at the foot of the hill', 'areas within the slope', and 'locations at the head of the slope': the proximal locative particles for open areas is thus declined in *ya* (foot of the slope) / *yah* (within the slope) / *yan* (head of the slope), cf. example below (where *h* is the reduction of *yah*):

(30) n^y-*auh*   ha   ha'-u-ta-n^{y}é-n   á-<u>h</u>-t^{y}ap^{w}a
      I – LOC   there   DIST-inside-pass-PARTP   out-<u>slope</u>-upriver
'I'm going off into the slope upriver' (Casad 1996: 241-3).

These parameters are relevant for a typology of deixis insofar as some forms conflate them with distance from a DC or to the extent that they are regularly expressed together with distance, and may grammaticalize into specific distance markers, such as French *là-bas* 'over there' (lit. 'down there'). This is indeed the case in languages like West Greenlandic Inuit, which has distal adn. / pron. forms encoding distinctions like 'distal down / way west / seaward' or 'distal up / east / landward' (obviously, in this language, deictic forms reflect the local environment; Fortescue 1984: 259s). Hua has a compositionally transparent system of 4 terms where *b_ga* carries the meaning 'uphill' and *m_na* 'downhill' while *-u-* / *-i-* correspond to short and long distance resp. (thus, *buga* = 'short distance uphill' and *biga* = 'long distance uphill'; Diessel 1999: 45).

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[6] These morphemes are *gala* 'up', *gali* 'down' and *galu* 'out in front'. In addition, Dyirbal has a set of suffixes conflating distance and directions with respect to environmental landmarks (for ex. *-dayi* 'short distance uphill') and 'intensifying' suffixes that can be attached to the latter (*-dayi-ru* 'a quite short distance uphill'; Dixon 1972: 48).

V.1.4.3. LATERALITY

Whether an object is in front of the DC or disposed laterally is an intrinsic deictic parameter. Some languages have deictics specifically used for Figures situated off the line of sight straight ahead of the speaker. Imai calls them 'lateral deictics'.

An example of such a language is Luyia (Imai 2009: 80). The following table shows what deictic a Luyia speaker seated at the end of a table would use for objects placed at different points on the table. There are two variables: the first one is whether the object is placed to his left (here labeled '0 cm'), to his right ('75 cm') or in front of him (i.e. in the middle of the table, labeled '37,5 cm'). The second variable is how far the object is in front of him, the furthest point being the end of the table ('160 cm') and the nearest point right next to him ('0 cm'); note that the deictic used if the speaker can touch the object is a different one (cf. the **control** variable).

depth \ width of table	0 cm[7]		37.5 cm	75 cm
160 cm[8]	*eii*		*elaa / alaa*	*eii*
120 cm	*eii*		*ela / ala*	*eii*
80 cm	*eii*		*alaa*	*eii*
40 cm	*ei*		*ala*	*eii*
0 cm	*ei* (F pointed at) / *eno* (F touched)		*ano*	*eii* (F pointed at) / *eno* (F touched)

SPEAKER

Figure 3: Luyia deictics.

In Imai's sample, no language makes a distinction between right and left sides.

V.1.4.4. BOUNDED / EXTENDED

Malagasy has adn.-pron. deictics and adv. deictics indicating that an entity is extended, and counterpart forms reserved for bounded or punctual entities. The following table lists the forms used for visible referents.

VISIBLE	Adn.-pron. (SG)		Adv.	
	Prox	Dist$^{\emptyset}$	Prox	Dist$^{\emptyset}$
bounded	*ito*	*io*	*eto*	*eo*
extended	*ity*	*iny*	*ety*	*eny*

Table 5: Malagasy deictics.

There are also forms for invisible referents; these are marked with *a-* in the adv. set: *ato / aty / ao / any*. In the following sentence, *ato* refers to an invisible, definite and bounded place within a wider area (the room) encompassing this more limited place and therefore conceptualized as extended (Imai 2009: 121):

(31)	*tsy-maintsy*	*eny*	*ananonanona*	*eny*	*ato*	*amin'*	*ity*
	necessary	EXT.VIS	somewhere	EXT.VIS	PROX.BND.INV	in	PROX

---

[7] These numbers (0, 37,5 and 75 cm) indicate the distance from the left side of the table, the speaker being seated in the middle.
[8] These numbers (0, 40, … 160 cm) indicate the distance from the front of the table, where the speaker is sitting.

afitrano   ity   ny   kitapo-nao.
room   PROX   ART   bag-2SG.GEN
(lit.) 'Your bag must be in a spot somewhere around here in this room.'

It needs to be emphasized that extension is a matter of construal: from the fact that an entity is extended it does not mechanically ensue that it is designated with a [+extended] deictic. Conceptualizing a river as a path for navigation triggers the use of the [+extended] deictic, but a river envisaged for its esthetic character (for ex. described as beautiful) does not. In the latter case, extension is not a relevant feature.

This bounded/unbounded opposition is also found in Cora, where (among other features such as position on the slope or down- *vs* up-river) 'specific areas are marked by *u-* 'inside' and open or non-specific areas are marked by *a-* 'outside' […].' (Casad 1996: 241)

	outside	inside
here	*ya*	*yu*
there	*ma*	*mu*
off there	*a*	*u*

V.1.4.5. POSTURE

A few languages coexpress posture and deixis. Papago has a system which encodes the fact that a DC and a Figure face away from each other, face each other or with a relatum facing the side of the other relatum. For ex. the *-m* morpheme is present in all forms denoting a referent facing away from the DC or behind the DC (glossed as centrifugal for convenience below).

(32) *im*   *o*   *kɨɨk*   *ñ-baaʃo.*
      PROX.CFUG   MOD   stand   me-in front
'He is standing in front of me (facing away from me).' (Imai 2009: 139)

V.1.5. TIME AND MOTION

V.1.5.1. Speaker-centered motion

Many languages have dynamic directionals that encode direction toward (centripetal) or away (centrifugal) from a DC.
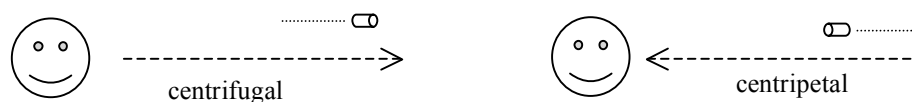
For instance, Spanish makes a distinction between *aquí…* (without movement) and *acá…* (with movement), cf.
(33) *¡Ven   acá!*
      come.IMPV.2SG   here.CPET
'Come here!'

However, this opposition is not always clear, and in Latin America, for instance, the *-á* series can be used as equivalent to the *-í* series (Hernández Alonso 1986). In Slavic languages, there is generally a series of adverbial deictics linked to motion. Here are a few Slavic forms of adverbial deictics which indicate motion to or from the DC:

	Slovakian	Czech	Russian	Serbian	Polish
Proximal.CPET	*sem*	*sem*	*siuda*	*ovamo*	*tędy; dotąd*
Proximal.CFUG					*stąd*
Medial.CFUG			*tuda*	*onamo*	
Distal.CPET					
Distal.CFUG		*tamhle*		*tamo*	*tamtędy*

Table 6: Motion adverbial deictics in a few Slavic languages (! non exhaustive and subject to revision).

Another example yet is Finnish, where adverbial deictics can take adessive, ablative and lative case marking (Diessel 1999:76).

In Jakaltek, these directionals are ubiquitous (Craig 1979). They are used in the context of a dynamic event as in

(34) *xk-in*   *ha-ten-ik-<u>toj</u>*   *y-ul*   *karro.*
       COMP-1A   2E-hold-in-CFUG   3E-in   truck
'you pushed me into the truck.' [*toj*: away from DC]

(35) *xk-in*   *ha-ten-il-<u>tij</u>*   *y-ul*   *karro.*
       COMP-1A   2E-hold-out-CPET   3E-in   truck
'you pulled me out of the truck.' [*tij*: towards DC]

They occur in descriptions of static localization as well:

(36)   *ay-ø-ik-<u>toj</u>*   *naj*   *yul*   *yatut.*
           Exist-3A-in-CFUG   CL.he   3E.in   3E.house
'He was in his house.'

Jakaltek complex directionals like *-iktoj* are quite similar to German *hinein, hinauf, heraus, herab* etc.
In addition to centrifugal and centripetal deictics[9], East Uvean (like a number of other Polynesian languages, cf. Moyse-Faurie 2007 and Ozanne-Rivierre 1997), Kiowa and Nunggubuyu have a 'transverse' directional marker indicating that a referent moves across the field of vision of a DC (Diessel 1999: 46) or in an ambidistal area.

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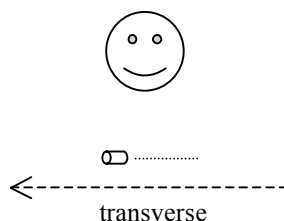
[9] Most Oceanic languages have reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *maRi 'centripetal' and *atu 'centrifugal' (Blust 1973 in Ozanne-Rivierre 1997: 92).

Nunggubuyu (Heath 1980: 152):

(37a) *yuwa:-gi-yaj*.

DIST-CL-TRANSV [CL is a nominal classifier]

'There s/he goes across [from us].'

East Uvean (Moyse-Faurie 2007: 1)

(37b) *ko   ai   te   matu'a 'aē   'e   'alu   agé?*

      PRED   who   SPEC   old man   NPAST   go   TRANSV

'Who is that old man passing by [me/us]?'

V.1.5.2. TIME AND GOAL-CENTERED MOTION

Coexpression of time and deixis

Malagasy deictic adverbs are marked for past, present and future time (Ø marking = present; Anderson & Keenan 1985: 293):

(38) *m-ipetraka   eny   Antsirabe   Rakoto.*

     PRS-live   PRS.DIST$^{\varnothing}$.VIS.EXT   A.   R.

'Rakoto lives there in Antsirabe.'

(39) *n-ipetraka   t-any   Antsirabe   Rakoto.*

     PRES-live   PRES-DIST$^{\varnothing}$.INV.EXT   A.   R.

'Rakoto lived (there) in Antsirabe.'

(40) *h-ipetraka   ho-any   Antsirabe   Rakoto.*

     FUT-live   FUT-DIST$^{\varnothing}$.INV.EXT   A.   R.

'Rakoto will live (there) in Antsirabe.'

Interestingly, some deictic adverbs can be verbalized (Dez 1980: 141):

(41) *m-ank-any   izy.*

     VA.PRES-MCS-DIST$^{\varnothing}$.INV.EXT   3SG.NOM

'He is going there (to an invisible and extended / vague area).'

Ilokano deictic adverbs (Galvez Rubino 2000: liii) mark three degrees of distance (egoproximal, alloproximal / ambidistal⁻, distal⁺) and three degrees of distance from the time of the speech event: overlap, recent past and remote past. For inst. *daydi* below indicates that the friend talked about belongs to the remote past and implies that he is deceased:

(42) *na-lipat-ak   ti   nagan   daydi   gayyem-ko.*

     APT.PERF-forget-1SG.ABS   the   name   DEM.REM   friend-1SG.GEN

'I forgot the name of that (long lost) friend.'

Deixis, time and motion

Cebuano has a rich system of tensed deictic adverbs (tense is absent from adn. / pron. demonstratives, which only encode distance-related information: Prox, Alloprox, Ambiprox, Ambidist; Bunye & Yap 1971). In addition, it has a series of 4 deictic adverbs used in the context of a motion event. This event may be explicitly described (with a motion verb) or remain implicit as in *imbitaha nganhi* 'invite (him

/ her…, i.e. Ø anaphora) here' (here = AMBIPROX GOAL).

	prox	**ambiprox**	**alloproximal**	**distal**
future	*ari*	*anhi*	*anha*	*adto*
past	*diri*	*dinhi*	*dinha*	*didto*
present	*dia*	*nia*	*naa*	*tua*
motion (distance of goal)	*ngari*	*nganhi*	*nganha*	*ngadto*

Deictics of the past series are used for a location that has already been identified or with respect to which the speaker is already located at the time of the speech event. For ex., *dinhi* is used as the default ambiproximal deictic (*asa may otel dinhi* 'where there-is hotel here?' i.e. 'where is there an hotel nearby?'). Deictics of the present series are typically used with a presentative meaning ('here we are', 'there it is').

[in a movie house, Eva and Emma argue about where to sit][10]
Eva:

(43)   *Emma,*   <u>*diri*</u>   *ka*   *lingkud!*
         E.   PROX.PAST   2SG.NOM   sit

'Emma, sit down here.'
[the speaker is already near the designated place: past deictic]

Emma:

(44)   *ka-layu*   *sad*   *nimo*   *uy!*
         How-far   also   2SG.GEN   INTERJ

'But you are way too far!'

(45)   <u>*anha*</u>   *lang*   *ko*   *mo-lingkod.*
         ALLOPROX.FUT   just   1SG.NOM   VAS.IRR-sit

'I will just sit down there.'
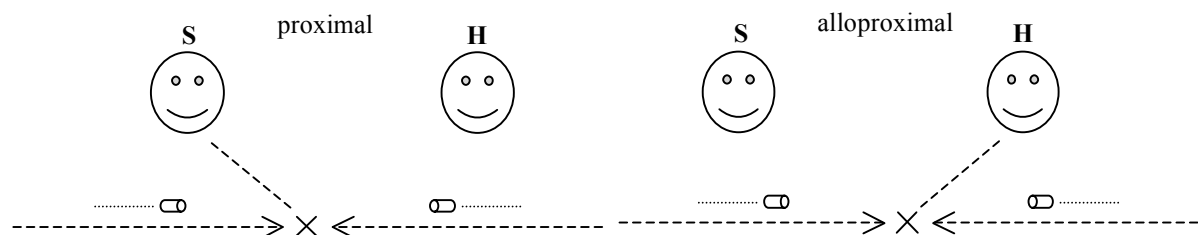[the speaker is not yet near the seat: future]

Eva:

(46)   *mo-lingkod*   *ka*   <u>*dinha?*</u>
         VAS.IRR-sit   2SG.NOM   ALLOPROX.PAST

'You will sit down there?' [the addressee is already near the designated place: past]

In the motion series proximal, ambiproximal etc. indicate the distance of the goal with respect to the speaker, to the hearer, or both:

---

(47) *dad-on*   *ni*   *Mario*   *nganha*   *ang*   *libro.*
    carry-OV.IRR   PERS.GEN   M.   ALLOPROX.MOT   NOM   book
'Mario will bring the book (to you).'

Further, deictic adverbs combine with voice and modal / aspectual prefixes and can therefore be verbalized (verbalization is extremely productive in Philippine languages and can apply to adverbs and even to PPs). The resulting forms are semantically equivalent to *go / come* but specify several degrees of distance / person anchored deixis:

(48) *mo-adto*   *ko*   *sa*   *eskwela-han.*
    VAS.IRR-   1SG.NOM   PREP   school-LOC
    DIST.FUT
'I will go (over there) to school.'

Deictics of the motion series can be verbalized too (motion is emphasized):
Nang:
(49) *maayo*   *nga*   *naka-<u>anhi</u>*   *ka*   *inday!*
    good   really   APT.PAST-AMBIPROX.FUT   2SG.NOM   girl
'It's really good that you were able to be (come) here, girl!' [location is future with respect to an anterior potentiality]

Girl:
(50) *salamat*   *hinuon,*   *Nang,*   *kay*   *naka-<u>nganhi</u>*   *na*   *gyud*   *ko!*
    thank you   instead   N.   because   APT.PAST-MOT.AMBIPROX   already   really   1SG.NOM
'Thanks rather to you for making it possible that I actually come here.'

V.1.6. NON-VISUAL MODALITIES

Imai (2009: 104s) reports on languages that have deictics for invisible but audible objects (Yukatek, Dyirbal, Nyêlâyu). In Mizo, a pron. demonstrative is used for referents that are invisible and perceived by other modalities (hearing and smell). Imai argues that Malagasy has deictics for non visible but audible objects (audible). However, these supposedly specialized forms are adn. demonstratives used for invisible referents and their occurrence in the examples he cites may reflect their adnominal status (for a referent to be identified by a noun, it must be identified somehow). This casts doubt on the claim that [± audible] is a genuine parameter.

V.1.7. PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

Anderson & Keenan (1985: 286-7) mention markers whose function is to contrast a referent with another referent determined by a deictic. For ex., Sre has a three-term system (*dɔ, dɛn / gɛn, nɛ* resp. Prox, Alloprox, Ambidistal) and an additional demonstrative (*daʔ*) used for the second element of a

contrast. When contrasted with *daʔ, dɔ* designates the relatively closer referent, without commitment as to the actual spatial location of this referent.

This contrastive function is close to that of picking a referent out of a set, a function that seems to be characteristic of certain demonstratives or of affixes added to deictic markers (for two examples of this 'selective' function, see Diessel 1999: 53-54).

Finally, Imai (2009: 155s) identifies two further uses of deictics which he describes as directive and offerative. The function of directive deictics is to attract an addressee's attention to a referent, while offerative deictics mark referents that are offered or presented to an addressee. Following Anderson & Keenan (1985: 285) and Dervillez-Bastuji (1976), Imai (2009: 158) suggests that Turkish demonstratives in *ʃu* may be specialized for this function. For ex., in the following sentence, the speaker does not use a demonstrative of the Prox set. Since the speaker's own hands are (arguably) closer to the speaker than to the addressee and can hardly be referred to with a Dist form (Turkish has only two degrees of distance), the conclusion seems to be that *ʃu* is neither addressee-anchored nor distal:

(51) *bakın*   <u>*şu*</u>   *avuç-lar-ıma*.
      look at   these   hand-PL-my
(lit.) 'Look at these hands of mine.'

Likewise, the distance parameter is overridden by the addressee's prominence in circumstances where an object is identified with an addressee anchored deictic although this object is still in the speaker's hands (and therefore should call for a Prox deictic). For ex., speakers of Mizo use an addressee anchored adn. deictic when offering or handing an object to another person. Compare (Imai 161-2):

(52) <u>*khaa*</u>   *bool*   <u>*khaa*</u>   *min*   *ron*   *pas*   *raw.*
      ALLOPROX   ball   ALLOPROX   me   to   pas   IMP
'Pass me that ball.'

(53) <u>*khaa*</u>   *la*   *raw.*
      ALLOPROX   take   IMP
'Take it.' [offerative use]

Such uses and others point to a 'middle ground' between speaker and addressee, otherwise encoded in Japanese (*sono*, which establishes a 'common ground', = logocentric deixis, cf. Rygaloff 1977: 13, Tamba 1992: 191); Spanish *este* apparently has similar uses, and can be used to point to objects near the addressee (Jungbluth 2003: 16 and cf. Figures 2-5 below, ibid: 20, 22).
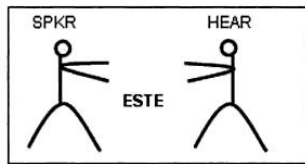
Figure 2. Inside the conversational dyad: in *face-to-face* conversation objects even close to the hearer are usually referred to by *este* (see Asenjo Orive 1990)
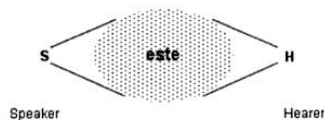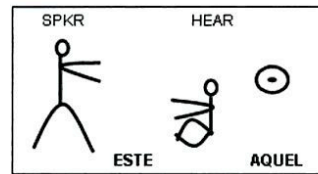

Figure 4. Outside the conversational dyad: in *face-to-face* conversation when talking about objects behind the hearer the speaker uses *aquel*

Figure 3. Inside the conversational dyad *este* is dominant
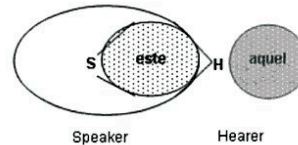
Figure 5. Inside and outside of the conversational dyad *este* contrasts with *aquel*

This middle ground might have something to do with the reversal of *give/take* verbs, either as a pragmatic inference (French *tiens!* 'take it!' used to say 'give it to me!') or encoded as a lexical meaning (Hungarian *tessek!* 'take it/give it to me'), and the ambivalence of medial deictics in three-term deictic systems, where these deictics can refer to the speaker's or the addressee's sphere (French *là*, German *da*, Russian *tut*, etc.). These elements, taken together, seem to confirm the argument of Weinrich (1988) against Bühler's ego-centered deixis and for the importance of the conversational dyad, thus going against a strict opposition between languages with person- and distance-deictics (Rostovtsev-Popiel, In press).

V.1.8. DEICTIC DIRECTIONALS AS SUBSTITUTES OF ARGUMENTS

Centrifugal, centripetal and transverse deictics are sometimes used as substitutes of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. This is the case in Mwotlap (François 2003):

(54) *imam   may   vap   me.*
      dad   COMP   say   CPET
'Dad has already told me/us.' [CPET = 'to me / us']

The directional is sometimes the only indication that a beneficiary is implied in the event:

(55) *lep!*
      AO.take
'Take it!'

vs

(56) *lep   me!*
      AO.take   CPET.
'Give it to me / us!'

Motion / transfer toward nonspeaker is indicated with *van* (deictic by contrast with *me*):

(57) *ne-be*   *en*   *nok*   *luwyeg*   <u>*van*</u>.
     ART-water   DX   1sg   AO.pour.out   CFUG

'Let me throw the water on you/him/it.' [CFUG = 'to you / to him / to it']

East Futunan (Moyse-Faurie 2007: 6)

(58) *e*   *kau*   *kole*   <u>*atu*</u>   *ke*   *ke*   *'au.*
     NPAST   1SG   ask   CFUG   so that   2SG   come

'I am asking you to come.' [CFUG = 'to you']

(59) *seu*   <u>*ake*</u>   *sana*   *ne'akai!*
     serve   TRANSV   his   food

'Serve him some food!' [TRANSV = 'to him']

Tzeltal (Brown 2006: 255-6)

(60) *melel*   *la*   *y-al-ø*   <u>*tal*</u>   *tz'in*   *te*   *kunerol.*
     truly   CMP   3E-tell-ø   CPET   PT   ART   president

''Really', the president told me.' [CPET = 'to me']

(61) *ja'*   *jich*   *a*   *och-ø*   <u>*tal*</u>   *te*   *j-chamel-e.*
     it is   thus   CMP   enter-3A   CPET   ART   1E-sickness-CL

'That's how my sickness entered into me.' ' [CPET = 'to me']

This 'argumental' use can be considered as subsidiary to the deictic function of directionals. From a historical point of view, it is one of the possible further grammaticalizations of directionals.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, crosslinguistic studies have found that deictic markers encode the following parameters:

SEMANTIC PARAMETERS OF DEICTIC MARKERS						
Distance from DC	**Distance from person**	**Spatial (other)**	**Nonvisual**	**Time**	**Motion**	**Pragmatics**
Proximal	Alloprox	Visible / Inv.	Audible	Past	Speaker-cent.	Contrastive
Medial	Ambiprox	Lateral	Nonvisual	Pres	Transverse	Selective
Distal$^{+/++...}$	Ambidist	Bounded / Extended		Fut	Goal-cent.	Directive
	Heteroprox	Abs. direct.			Argumental	Offerative
		Posture				

It should be kept in mind that distance from a SAP is partly determined by contact and control of the Figure by one of the SAPs (see above). Relative distance is therefore not purely a matter of physical distance.

V.2. VERBAL DEIXIS

INTRODUCTION

Deictic verbs = *ventive* vs *itive* = movement towards / away from the origo (Ricca 1993: 16) → we will use V or 'come' for ventive and I or 'go' for itive.

More precisely, according to Fillmore (1971, 1982, 1997), *go = movement to a location distinct from speaker's location at coding time* T_C [= time of utterrance]. *Come* appears to be more complex. Its prototypical meaning may be described as *movement to location of speaker or addressee at either coding time or reference time* T_R [= time of the event]. Note, however, that there are various semantic extensions. 'Come' can encode

-   *movement to home base of speaker or addressee at T_R,*

    Such extensions are not, however, universal: in Spanish, when the speaker's location does not coincide with the goal, *come* has constrained uses (Ibañez 1983):

    (62)   Espero   que   Luís   vaya [- marked]   /venga [+ marked]
            hope.PRES.1sg   that   L.   go.PRES-subj.3sg   /come.PRES-subj.3sg

    a   mi   fiesta.
    at   my   party

    'I hope Luís is coming to my party [the speaker is not yet at the party].'

-   or *movement at T_R in company of either speaker or addressee*, e.g., *come with me*.
-   besides, the origo can be displaced to a third person:

    (63) *The men came into her bedroom.* [woman's point of view]

Of course, in most situations these factors (*hic/nunc/ego*) do not coincide. The choice of *come* and *go* then depends on the weight of each factor, compared with the others. Besides, other constraints can govern the use of *come* and *go* in various languages.

V.2.1. DIFFERENT CONSTRAINTS ON THE USE OF COME AND GO IN ENGLISH

Various constraints bear on the use of *come* and *go* in English. Groussier (1978) shows the interplay between these factors in a series of variations on the sentence *When A CALL B, B COME / GO at once*:

1. When A CALL B, B COME / GO at once.

    a) Movement 1 → 3: go (when John calls me, I go / *come at once) [main point of view *I* > caller]

    b) Movement 3 → 1: come (when I call John, he comes / *goes at once) [main point of view *I* = caller]

    c) Movement 2 → 3: go (when John calls you, you go / * come at once) [main point of view: *you* > caller]

    d) Movement 3 → 2: come (when you call John, he comes / *goes at once) [main point of view: *you* = caller]

2. When the sentence is included in reported speech, the main point of view is that of the speaker in the reported speech:

e) Movement $1 \rightarrow 3^R$ (John says that, when he calls me, I come / *go at once) [main point of view: narrator *John* > speaker *I*]

f) Movement $3^R \rightarrow 1$ (John says that, when I call him, he *comes / goes at once) [main point of view: narrator *John* > speaker *I*]

3. With volition (addition of *want*), the situation is different yet:

g) Movement $1 \rightarrow 3^W$ (when John calls me, he wants me to *go / come at once) [main point of view: volitional caller *John* > *me*]

h) Movement $3^W \rightarrow 1$ (when I call John, he wants to? come /?? go at once) [main point of view: caller *I* > volitional agent *John*]

i) Movement $2 \rightarrow 3^W$ (when John calls you, he wants you to come / *go at once) [main point of view: volitional caller *John* > *you*]

j) Movement $3^W \rightarrow 2$ (when you call John, he wants to go / *come at once) [main point of view: volitional agent *John* > caller *you*]

There is thus an interaction between person, volition and speaker:

- 1st and 2nd person > 3rd person caller (a & c)

- volitional caller > 2nd and 3rd person (g & i)

- speaker > person (e & f)

- 1st person caller > volitional agent (h & j)

- 3rd person volitional agent > 2nd person caller (d & j)

V.2.2. ARE COME AND GO VERBS UNIVERSAL?

'It is commonly assumed that all languages have a class of motion verbs [Talmy 1985, 1991] and that this class will minimally include two forms which correspond to English 'come' and 'go' [and] manifest a universal deictic opposition which is frequently characterized as 'motion-towards-speaker' [vs] 'motion-away-from-speaker' (or 'motion-not-towards-speaker')' Wilkins & Hill (1995: 205).

In their analysis of 'come' and 'go' in Mparntwe Arrernte (Pama-Nyungan, Australian) and Longgu (Oceanic, Austronesian), these authors challenge both assumptions, in particular the universality of the *go/come* opposition.

According to them, the crosslinguistic variation concerning the shifting and extension of the deictic center (in terms of space or persons) and its metaphorical extensions is a purely pragmatic matter, and they put forward a series of hypotheses, mainly that:

- there is semantic variation across languages in the meaning of *come* vs *go*;
- there are languages in which *go* is not inherently deictic (i.e. not semantically but pragmatically deictic, as a result of its being contrasted with *come*);

  [cf. the fact that in Jaminjung, *ijga* 'go' can be 'used in descriptions of undirected motion' (Schultze-Berndt 2006: 84, in Part III)]

- *come* and *go* can be part of a larger subsystem of basic motion verbs (e.g. return back, arrive at, leave from, pass by…).

The only universal they claim to exist is the following:
- there is in all languages a way to encode motion towards speaker (but the morphological and semantic specifications vary; e.g. the implication +/- telic).

Methodology: elicitation with a set of 20 diagrammed motion scenes to be adapted by the researcher to the specific language/culture. Long interview (2 to 8 hours) with few participants (4 persons from each language group).

Results for Arrernte:
- there is a basic set of four general motion roots, which includes 'go' (*lhe*, which also has a generic translational motion sense)
- 'come' is a complex form composed of a basic motion root and a bound deictic morpheme, and is part of a larger paradigm of deictic verbs formed with -*tye* 'hither' and *alpe-* 'back': *petye-* 'come', *utne-tye-* 'hurry hither', *knge-tye-* 'bring', *pety-alpe-* 'come back', *unte-ty-alpe* 'hurry back' and *knge-ty-alpe-* 'bring back'. *pe* seems to be the reflex of an original **ape-* 'go'.

Results for Longgu:
- 'go' can be expressed by a simple verb, *la*. This verb is a generic verb for translational motion, and it generally appears in *go* contexts with the deictic particle *hou* 'thither, away from speaker';
- 'come' is a complex construction with a free verb root and a free deictic directional particle, also based on the verb *la*, with the deictic particle *mai* 'hither, towards speaker'.
- both are part of a larger paradigm of deictic expression, which also includes *ade mai* 'bring here' vs *ade hou* 'take away', *tavi mai* 'run here' vs *tavi hou* 'run away', *sivo mai* vs *sivo hou* and *ta'e mai* vs *ta'e hou* 'descend' and 'ascend' (here vs away).

These *come* expressions are not semantically equivalent: Longgu *come* encodes path boundedness (i.e. the endpoint = the deictic center) whereas Arrernte *come* does not:

> 'all that *petye-* 'come' requires is that the figure move along a path 'towards' the place where [the] speaker is, and there is no implication of movement 'to' that place' (Wilkins & Hill 1995: 224)

Another important point is that these forms are not all inherently deictic. The authors conclude that 'languages will tend to use their semantically generic translational motion verb in systemic contrast to the COME expression, and as a result they rely on a pragmatic implicature to derive the sense of deixis' (ibid:250). If only *come* is inherently deictic, it means that *go* can apply to many more cases (as a default option). In English, for instance, the use of *go* is rarely completely excluded, but it is in some contexts, e.g. situations in which *ego-hic-nunc* are all present: movement towards the speaker, ego, at T_C, such as *please come in!*, as shown by Fillmore.

V.2.3. TYPES OF V/I OPPOSITION

'it is crosslinguistically common for the COME verb to be derived through the addition of a deictic morpheme to the GO verb' (Wilkins & Hill 1995: 229)

This opposition between ventive and itive does not always take the same form:
a) syntaxical realization (ventive/itive periphrasis)

b) morphological realization (ventive/itive affix)

c) lexical realization (ventive/itive root)

Just as we saw for adpositions, these are actually a reflex of different points on a diachronic cline: a syntactical realization can develop into a morphological one, which can in turn develop into a lexical one (cf. 'Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax', Givón 1971: 413, to which we could add that today's lexicon is yesterday's morphology).

a) Syntactic V/I opposition

In some languages, the V/I opposition is rendered syntactically. This means that they use a verbal periphrasis to express V and I, with a motion verb + a specification for *come* and similarly a motion verb + a specification for *go*. These specifications are either adverbial deictics ('hither/thither') or verbs. In these languages, the *come* and *go* verbs cannot be used alone (otherwise the opposition would be purely lexical). This is the case of Longgu, as we saw above: 'go' is prototypically expressed as *la hou* 'move thither' and 'come' as *la mai* 'move hither'. However, the fact that the generic motion verb *la* can also be used as an itive verb ('move' used to mean 'go') shows that these distinctions are not clear-cut.

The patterns of *come* and *go* are generally valid also for a paradigm of verbs such as *give vs take*. For instance, in Hindi, *le ɑa* □ 'bring' is the the combination of *lenɑ*□ 'carry' and *ɑa* □ 'come'. In languages with serial verb constructions which have a *lexical* 'come' / 'go' opposition, such as Japanese, we can find similar constructions where these verbs are found like directionals. This is the case in the following Japanese example (with *kuru* 'to come'):

(64) Taroo ga boku ni denwa o kakete **kita**.
       T. SUBJ me DAT telephone ACC call.CNCT come.PAS
'Taro called me.'

The evolution from syntax to morphology is attested in Tibeto-Burmese with independent verbs initially used in serial constructions (like in Japanese) become agglutinated and finally form a new lexical pair of the *come/go* type (DeLancey 1985).

b) Morphological V/I opposition

In theory, a multiplicity of possibilities, but only three if the opposition is only morphological, i.e. if there is a common stem:

1) unmarked verb + two different affixes;

2) itive verb + affix becomes ventive.

3) ventive verb + affix becomes itive;

Actually only two seem attested, i.e. the first and second types, while the third is not.

The first type is that in which, schematically, a language has a verb *come* which is phrased *toward-move* and a verb *go* phrased *away-move*. The two verbs are formed with two different affixes on a 'deictically neutral' verbal root. This type is found for instance in Abkhaz, Dargva (N-E Caucasian), Tzutujil (Maya), Turkana (Nilotic), Yidiny (Austr.), and German (*hin-* / *her-*…). Even when the two verbs seem equally complex morphologically, the itive verb is more marked semantically; for instance, in Georgian, which forms its itive and ventive with two different preverbs on the same root, the itive preverb appears only in the absence of other spatial preverbs, whereas the ventive is always marked.

The second type is very close to the first one, in that the verb *come* is formed by the addition of a preverb on a verbal root. However, in this case, the verbal root is deictic when used alone, and then has the meaning *go*. So, schematically, these languages have a *come* verb phrased *toward-go* and a *go* verb which is simply a lexical stem. A language can be somewhere in between the first and second

type, with a generic motion verb used as an itive with or without the addition of a deictic preverb, as we saw in the case of Arrernte *lhe*.

2) *toward-go vs ø-go:* a ventive affix on an itive verb (Ubykh (Caucasian), Akkadian, Quechua); nowhere, apparently, is an unmarked ventive vs marked itive attested.

Notes:

- There are cases of conflation, in which the affix has more than a purely deictic meaning; e.g. spatial + deictic in Ossetian, an Northeastern Iranian language.

- There are also more complex systems, such as the three-way system in West Futunian-Aniwa: *ahmai* 'bring me' (suff. *-mai*); *avatu* 'bring you' (*-atu*); *avage* 'bring him, take away' (*-age*) (Moyse-Faurie 2007).

c) Lexical V/I opposition

In some languages, the opposition between V and I seems purely lexical, cf. *andare / venire* (Italian). Apparently there is no conflation of manner in these cases: no language has been found where I and V (with a lexical opposition) also encode means of transportation or manner of movement. But there are other deictic oppositions: *take / llevar / emporter* vs *bring / traer / apporter* (cf. Arrernte and Longgu); give / take in Japanese: *kureru* (**V**), *yaru* (**I**), in Ipili-paiyala (New Guinea): give to the speaker / addressee vs give to someone else.

Finally, note that there are mixed systems, e.g. Samoan, with lexical opposition in the sg. and affixal opposition in the pl.

Markedness

As noted by Wilkins & Hill, I is often unmarked. V is more often used as an auxiliary (passive *venire* in Italian, *kuru* in Japanese). V is also

- more constrained by the goal: when the goal is indefinite, I is used: *venire qua / andare là / andare qua e là* 'come here / go there / go here and there';
- less generic than I (*andare al cinema, to go to the movies,* etc.);
- and brings about more specific inferences:

    Will you come to the party tonight? (the speaker is or will be there) *vs*

    Will you go to the party tonight? (the speaker can be present or absent).

Aktionsart and I / V opposition

Fillmore [1997: 80] notes that *go* is source-oriented while *come* is goal-oriented. Ricca adapts his examples (*he went / came hame home at midnight*) to Italian:

    (65a) *è andato a casa a mezzanotte* (midnight is the time at which the person leaves) /

    (65b) *è venuto a casa a mezzanotte* (midnight is the time at which the person arrives).

In some languages, V shows a strong tendency towards telic utterrances (Ricca 1993: 31). The following examples show that it is the case in German:

(66)   *Hans*   *kam*   *gestern*   *hierher.*
       H.   come.PAST.3sg   yesterday   here-CPET
'Hans came here yesterday'.

(67)   **Ist*   *das*   *wirklich*   *passiert,*   *als*   *er*   *hierher*   *kam?*
       be.PRES.3sg that   really   happen.GER.PST,   as   he   here-towards   come. PAST.3sg
'Did that really happen as he came home?'

(68)   *als*   *er*   *auf*   *dem*   *Weg*   */ unterwegs*   *hierher*   *war.*
       as   he   on   the-dat   way   / on_the_way   here-towards   was.PAST.3sg
'on the way here'
cf. also Longgu, above.

In Japanese and Korean, 'go' and 'come' can both be employed in atelic contexts and with an accusative argument referring to a pathway that measures out the path of the F (Morita 2009: 232-3):

(69)   *yoosuiro-zoi-no*   *hosoi*   *michi-o*   *shibaraku*   *iki…*
       irrigation canal-along-GEN   narrow   path-ACC   a while   go
'He went for a while along the narrow path bordering the irrigation canal.'

(70)   *monban-ga*   *kiiroi*   *jitensha-ni*   *not-te*   *hayashi-no*   *naka-no*
       warden-NOM   yellow   bicycle-DAT   ride-CN   bois-GEN   inside-GEN

michi-o   *yatteki-ta.*
path-ACC   come-PRES

(lit.) 'The warden, riding a bicycle, came along a path that cut through the forest.' [*yattekuru* < *yaru* 'send' + *kuru* but is no longer semantically compositional and is now equivalent to *kuru*]
However, Morita (2009: 233) observes that *kuru* 'come' is far less fequent than *iku* 'go' in that type of context. The reason is apparently that *kuru* 'come' is more telic than *iku* 'go'.

Korean (Choi-Jonin & Sarda 2007):

(71) *...ənɨ*   *sogɨmcangsu-ga*   *sangil-ɨl*   *ga-gois'-əs'-ɨbnida.*
      a   salt merchant-NOM   montain trail-ACC   go-PROG-PST-TS
'…a salt merchant was going along a mountain trail.'

The following sentence provides additional evidence that Korean deictic verbs can be interpreted as atelic. The deictic verb *ga* 'go' is what licenses a progressive interpretation and the occurrence of a directional referring to an open trajectory rather than to a bounded one. 'Move-in' without 'go' would result in an unacceptable sentence (TOWARD; Choi-Jonin & Sarda 2007: 142):

(72) *Insu*   *cib-ɨro*   *dɨlə-ga-n-da*
Insoo   home-DIR   move in-go-PST-TS
'Insoo is on his way home.'

V.2.4. DEICTIC AND NON-DEICTIC LANGUAGES IN EUROPE

Empirical study: Ricca's questionnaire (1993, chapter 3)

English sentences with I/V verbs translated by native speakers, mostly linguists. Instructions: replace the verb (always MOVE in the original sentences) 'with one of the closest equivalents of the English *come* and *go*, if they exist in your language.' Each time, a context is provided, as in the following example:

(73) [Mother calls from the kitchen. Son replies from another room]

   M.: — MOVE, dinner is ready.

   S.: — OK, I MOVE immediately.

Sample: Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Czech, Polish, Russian, Ukranian, Serbo-Croation, Slovene, Lithuanian, Albanian, Modern Greek, Hungarian, Finnish.

Sentences test for:

   • imperative (immediate as in 1a, or differed as in 'MOVE here tomorrow').

   • durative, atelic movements,

      either ongoing at the moment of utterance:

         (74) — Look, it's John!

            — Are you sure?

            — Definitely. He MOVE towards us [*at this very moment*].

      or in the past: [dialogue takes place at D's home]

         (75) D: — He fell down and hurt himself while he MOVE to Andrew's.

   • Past telic uses, with or without indication of duration:

         (76) [telephone conversation. A and B are both at home]

            A: — Have you seen David recently?

            B: — Yes. He MOVE here yesterday and we talked all afternoon.

   • Iterated telic events:

         (77) [entering a pub]

            A: — Last year, I MOVE here every week.

   • 'atelic aorist' (interrupted telic movement):

         (78) — He slowly MOVE towards me for a while and then, suddenly, he changed his mind and went back.

   • Interrogative context:

         (79) — Where you MOVE from, carrying all those bags?

         (80) — You look so elegant. Where you MOVE?

This example was devised in reference to Fillmore's observation that *come* is incompatible with *where…?* and *go* with *where… from?*, i.e. questions do not bear on the site towards which the verb is oriented.

   • Different types of goal:

huc	movement towards the place of utterrance
istuc	movement towards the addressee at the moment of utterance
ego	movement towards the speaker at the moment of the event
tu	movement towards the addressee at the moment of the event
Ø	none of the above

The sentences are classified according to the type of goal, e.g. **Ego & non Huc:**

(81)   [Telephone conversation. B is at home]

A: — Sorry to disturb you, but I'd like to talk to you about your work.

B: — Listen, now I'm too busy watching the football match. MOVE tomorrow to my office, we'll talk about it. [movement towards Ego the next day, but towards a goal ≠ from the place of the speaker at the moment of utterrance]

• Comitative contexts (cf. Fillmore's remarks on this subject):

(82)   [Face-to-face conversation at speaker's home. John is not there]

— John MOVE with me to the cinema tonight.

Same thing, with iteration:

(83)   [Face-to-face conversation at speaker's home]

— Last summer, you MOVE with me to the cinema every weekend. Why not anymore?

• Movement towards a third party or a place distant from both speaker and addressee.

• Movement towards two deictic centers, e.g. Ego & Tu:

(84)   — You MOVE to my place or I MOVE to your place.

This takes us back to Fillmore's observation that a deictic coinciding with the speaker is difficult to 'displace' if it has been established first:

(85) *He'll come to your house before he comes to my house*

vs

(86) [?*]*He'll come to my house after he comes to your house.*

The results of this study (Ricca 1993 chapter 4) suggest that three groups of languages should be set apart:

-    purely deictic languages (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarian, Modern Greek, Albanian and Finnish);
-    mainly deictic languages (Swedish, Danish, German, Dutch, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian and, to a lesser degree, English and French);
-    non deictic languages (Eastern and North-Eastern Europe).

Purely deictic languages systematically code a centripetous movement with V and a centrifugal movement with I. E.g. Hungarian:

(87)   *Tavaly   minden   hétvégén   oda   mentem.*
         last.year   every   week   there.MVT   go.PAST.1SG
'Last year I went there every week-end.'

In ***mainly deictic languages***, the centripetal / centrifugal factor competes with source/goal orientation, with potential conflicts in centripetal non-goal oriented movement and in centrifugal goal-oriented movement, e.g. with duratives (centripetal movement with a goal outside the scene, hence a conflict and the impossibility of *kommen*, here replaced with *auf dem Weg / unterwegs sein* 'to be on the way'):

(88) *Ist   das   tatsächlich   passiert,   wie   ihr   auf   dem*
      be.PRES.3SG   that   really   happen.GER.PST,   as   you-PL   on   the-DAT

Weg   / unterwegs   hierher   wart?
way   on_the_way   here-towards   be.PAST.2pl
'Did that really happen as you were coming here?'

V can be replaced with I in the case of an ongoing centripetal movement:

(89) Er   kommt   / geht   auf   uns   zu.
      he   come.PRES.3sg /go.PRES.3sg   on   we-ACC   towards
'He's coming towards us'

This is also true in Jaminjung: 'go' is used rather than 'come' in the following example because the goal of the movement is not the speaker/addressee pair, even though it is directed towards them.

(90) Marraj   ga-w-ijga.
      Go.past   3sg-POT-GO
'Let it go past.' (Schultze-Berndt 2006: 84)

The same can be said of French *aller* when the trajector's point of view is considered more important:

(91) *<Jésus>   va   au   devant   de   nous,*
      Jesus   go.PRES.3SG   to.ART   front   of   we.OBJ,

il   va   vers   nous.
he.SUBJ   go.PRES.3SG   towards   we.OBJ
'Jesus goes towards us'

cf. also the possible link between intent and pregnancy of the goal: a non-intentional trajector is less likely to trigger *come*, as in
For instance, Rauh (1981) shows that German *gehen* cannot occur with an inanimate subject:

(92) *das   neue   Institut   kommt   / *geht   nach   Berlin*
      the.N.S   new.S   institute   come.PRES.3sg   / go.PRES.3sg   to   Berlin
'The new Institute moves to Berlin'

This is probably linked to a non-volitional feature of *kommen*, also noted by Schlyter (1979):

(93)   *Er*   *kam*   *vors*   *Kriegsgericht.*
       He   come.PAST.3sg   in_front_of-ART.DAT   war-council
'He was brought before the war council.'

This is also true in French:

(94)   *lorsque*   *monsieur*   *oublie*   *qu'il*   *y*   *a*   *du*   *vent*
       when   mister   forget.PRES.3SG   that-S   there   have.PRES.3SG   of.ART.M   wind

et   *qu'il*   <u>*va*</u>   *vers*   *nous.*
and   that-S   go   towards   we
'[I'd rather listen to the sweet frog songs and its musical variations than to the noise of my farming neighbor's tractor, which just above us sprays dubious products around, which we can sometimes smell][11] when mister forgets that there's wind and he's going towards us.'

(95)   *Quand*   *il*   *y*   *a*   *de*   *l'argent,*   *il*   <u>*va*</u>
       when   SUBJ   here   have.PRES.3SG   of   ART-money,   he.SUBJ   go.PRES.3SG

vers   *nous*   *en*   *priorité*
towards   we.OBJ   in   priority
'When there is money, it goes to us first.'

Conversely, a centrifugal movement with a salient goal can trigger the use of V:

(96)   *vous*   *voyez*   *cette*   *bibliothèque*   *là-bas*   *au*   *bout*   *de*
       You.SUBJ.PL   see.PRES.2PL   this   library   there-down   at.ART   end   of

la   *rue?*   *L'année*   *dernière*   *j'y*   *allais*   */ <u>venais</u>*
the.F   street   the-year   last.F   I-there   go.PAST.1SG   come.PAST.1SG

toutes   *les*   *semaines.*
all.PL.F   the.PL   week.PL
'Do you see this library there, at the end of the street? Last year I came / went there every week.'

V is frequently used to ask one's way:
Dutch:

(97)   *kunt*   *u*   *mij*   *vertellen*   *hoe*   *ik*
       can.PRES.2PL   you.PL   me.OBJ   tell.INF   how   I.SUBJ

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[11] The whole sentence goes "Je préfère entendre le doux chant des grenouilles et ses variations musicales plutôt que le bruit du tracteur de mon voisin agriculteur qui juste au-dessus répand des produits douteux, dont les embruns parfois nous arrivent lorsque monsieur oublie qu'il y a du vent et qu'il *va* vers nous." (Internet, http://www.expressio.fr/expressions/un-pave-dans-la-mare.php).

naar	*het*	*station*	<u>*kom*</u>*?*
to	the	station	come.PRES.1SG

German:

(98)	*Können*	*sie*	*mir*	*sagen,*	*wie*	*ich*
	can.PRES.3PL	they.PL	me.OBJ	say.INF	how	I.SUBJ

zum	*Bahnhof*	<u>*komme*</u>*?* [V → notion of acomplishment]
to.ART.DAT	station	come.PRES.1SG

In 'mainly deictic languages', only French and English reject V in this context:

(99) Please could you tell me how I could *come / <u>get</u> (go) to the station?

Non-deictic languages use the same verb for both centrifugal and centripetal movement, e.g. *idti* 'to go (on foot)' in Russian:

(100)	*On*	*idët*	*k*	*nam*
	he.SUBJ	go.PRES.3SG	towards	we.OBJ

'He's going towards us.'

(101)	*On*	*idët*	*k*	*tomu*	*domu*
	he.SUBJ	go.PRES.3SG	towards	this.M.D	house.D

'He's going towards this house.'

The same verb is used for *where are you going?* and *where are ou coming from?*:

Russian:

(102)	*Otkuda*	*ty*	*idëš?*
	from.where	you.SUBJ	go.PRES.2SG

'Where are you going from?'

(103)	*Kuda*	*ty*	*idëš?*
	where	you.SUBJ	go.PRES.2SG

'Where are you going?'

N.B.: Russian and Ukranian use the imperfective for 'He MOVE here / to her place yesterday' 'because they focus on the fact that whoever was moving is no longer there at the moment of utterrance (…). Polish and Czech, on the other hand, use the corresponding perfective verbs, thus according more importance to the telicity of the process.' (Ricca 1993: 87)

There may be a beginning of deixis in some contexts:
Russian:

[entering a pub]

(104) *V* *prošlom* *godu* *ja* <u>*prichodil*</u> *sjuda*
    in last.P year I.SUBJ towards-walk.PAST.MASC here.MVT

každuju *nedelju.*
every.F.SG.A week.A
'Last year I MOVE here every week.'
   Vs
   [can you see that disco over there at the end of the road?]

(105) *V* *prošlom* *letom* *ja* <u>*chodil*</u> *tuda*
    in last.P year I.SUBJ towards-walk.PAST.MASC there.MVT

každuju *nedelju.*
every.F.SG.A week.A
'Last year I MOVE there every week.'

→ with *sjuda* 'here' the verb used is *prichodit'* 'to arrive'; with *tuda* 'there' the verb *chodit'* 'to go'; same thing but less obvious for Polish (ibid.: 88):

(106) przychodziłem / chodziłem tu co tydzień.
    towards-walk.PAST.MASC / walk.PAST.MASC here every week.ACC
Same as (104)

(107) chodziłem /? przychodziłem tam co tydzień.
    walk.PAST.MASC /towards-walk.PAST.MASC there every week.ACC
Same as (105)

Polish and Czech use a special form for the centripetal imperative (respectively *chodź* and *pojd'*); these same forms are used in comitative contexts: chodź ze mną / pojd' se mnou 'come with me'.

Movement towards Ego / Huc: in contexts such as
   (108) [Face-to-face conversation at A's home, which is not B's]
   A: — Have you seen David recently?
   B: — Yes, he MOVE to my place yesterday and we talked all afternoon. (movement towards Ego & non Huc)
some Spanish and Portuguese speakers use I and not V. These speakers use V for movement towards Huc. There is generally speaking no case where V is used for movement towards Ego and not for movement towards Huc → **Huc > Ego hierarchy**.

Movement towards Tu / Istuc:
Purely deictic languages: Spanish and Portuguese normally do not accept V; Hungarian does only in 'immediate' contexts, cf. ex. 1a:
   (109) [Mother calls from the kitchen. Son replies from another room]
   M.: — MOVE, dinner is ready.
   S.: — OK, I MOVE immediately.

However, all three accept V for a movement towards the addressee if the latter is here & now:

(110) [B arrives at A's place]

A: — Hello, you are late. Why isn't Charles here?

B: — *We just MOVE to your place*, but Charles fell down and twisted his ankle.

(111) | *Estábamos* | *veniendo* | *a* | *tu* | *casa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.PAST.1PL | come.GER | to | your | home |

(112) | *já* | *estávamos* | *vindo* | *a* | *tu* | *casa*. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| already | be.PAST.1PL | come.GER | to | your | home |

If A and B are speaking on the phone and thus not in immediate proximity, both languages use I.

In case of movement towards Tu / Istuc, Finnish can use I or V; Italian, Albanian and Modern Greek use V.

Mainly deictic languages: atelic contexts favor the use of I. In French and English, I and V both appear: Il vient / va chez toi; he's coming / going over to your place; however, V is mandatory in 1a:

(113) | | *Viens,* | *le* | *dîner* | *est* | *prêt.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | come.IMPV.2SG | the | dinner | be.PRES.3SG | ready |

Très	*bien,*	*je*	*viens*	*(j'arrive)*	*/ *je*	*vais*
very	well	I.SUBJ	come.PRES.1SG	I_arrive.PRES.1SG	/ I.SUBJ	go.PRES.1SG

*tout de suite (I'm coming / *going).*
right_away

V is often used for a movement towards the addressee (*nous venions chez toi* 'we were coming to your place') but less so for a movement towards Istuc alone, as in (113):

(114) [Telephone. A calls from a hotel he has just reached after a walk in the mountains]

A: — Hallo, Bill. A pity you did'nt join us this time. It was a wonderful walk.

B: — Really? A week ago, I fell and twisted my ankle while I MOVE there.

→ **Tu > Istuc hierarchy.**

Reported speech:

Purely deictic languages use I:

(115) | *Anna* | *mi* | *ha* | *telefonato* | *e* | *mi* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anna | me.OBJ | have.PRES.3SG | phone.PAST.MASC | and | me.OBJ |

ha	*chiesto*	*di*	*andare*	*da*	*lei*	*stasera.*
have.PRES.3SG	ask.PAST.MASC	to	go.INF	by	she.OBJ	tonight

'Anna called me and asked me to go to her place tomorrow.'

This result is quite logical, since Anna is not at the place of utterrance.

Mainly deictic languages use either only V (ex. German) or both (French and English):

(116) | *Anna* | *hat* | *mich* | *angerufen* | *und* | *mich* | *eingeladen,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anna | have.PRES.3SG | me.OBJ | call.PAST | and | me.OBJ | invite.PAST |

heute	*abend*	*zu*	*ihr*	*zu*	<u>*kommen*</u>.
today	evening	to	she.OBJ	to	come.INF

Chevalier (1976), in his comparison of Spanish and French, shows that Spanish opposes *me* vs *others* while French opposes interlocution (speaker+addressee) vs the rest. French deixis is linked to the agent as an object of discourse (*moi délocuté*), cf. the fact that French uses *venir* 'come' in indirect speech although the original 'I' then becomes a 'he':

(117) | *Il* | *m'* | *a* | *demandé* | *de* | *venir* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he | me-OBJ | have.PRES.3sg | ask.PAST-PART | to | come-INF |

chez	*lui*	*demain*
to_the_house_of	he-obj	tomorrow

'He asked me to come to his place tomorrow.'

According to Ricca, this use of *come* in reported speech is specific to French:

(118) | *Vieni* | */ *vai* | *a* | *prendermi* | *domani* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| come-IMP.2sg | / go-IMP.2sg | to | take-INF_me-OBJ | tomorrow |

alla	*stazione.*
at-ART.F	station

'Come pick me up at the station tomorrow.'

(119) | *Gli* | *ha* | *detto* | *di* | **venirla* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| he-DAT | have.PRES.3sg | say.PAST-PART | to | come-INF-she-OBJ |

/ andarla	*a*	*prendere*	*alla*	*stazione.*
/go-INF-she-OB	to	take-INF	at-ART.F	station

'She told him to come pick her up at the station.'

Table 8: Reported speech and deixis in French vs Italian (Chevalier 1976 & Ricca 1993)

In these languages, V is less strictly linked to the context of utterrance.

Non deictic languages use a goal-oriented verb ('to arrive'):
Russian:

(120) | *znaeš,* | *mne* | *zvonila* | *Anna* | *i* | *prosila* | *menja* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| know.PRES.2SG | me.D | phone.PAST.F | Anna | and | ask.PAST.F | me.GEN |

<u>*pri-jti*</u>	*k*	*nei*	*segodnja*	*večerom.*
to[12]-go.INF	toward	she.D	today	evening.I

'You know, Anna called me and asked me to go to her place this evening.'

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[12] The preverb *pri-* has a telic meaning. The verb *prijti* could be translated 'to arrive'.

Comitative contexts: Ricca distinguishes between cum1 (*with me*), cum2 (*with you*) and cum3 (*with him*).
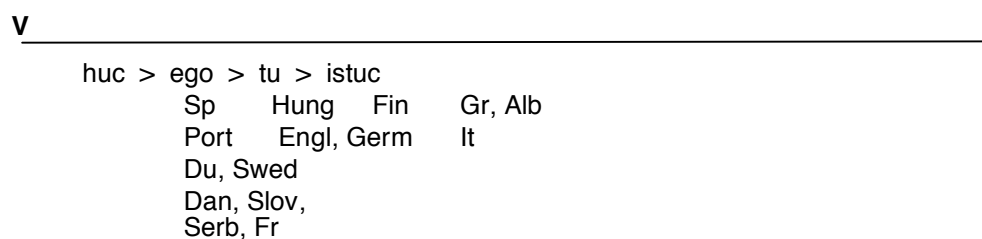
Purely deictic languages all use V with cum1, mostly V with cum2 (I for Spanish and Portuguese) and all use I with cum3.

Mainly deictic languages all use V with the immediate imperative (MOVE with me now) and mostly use V with the differed imperative (MOVE with me tonight; I or V in Swedish, Danish and Dutch). In past cum1 contexts, all use I but French and English use V as well ('last summer, you MOVE with me to the cinema'). In past cum2 contexts, we find **I** or **V** in English, German, Danish and Dutch, **V** in Swedish, French and Slovene, I in Serbo-Croation. Iterative uses always triggers I ('last summer, I MOVE with you… every weekend').

Informers often associate V to the focusing of the complement (of *cum*), and to a superior control by the subject of V (ex. 'come with me to the movies' → a German speaker accepts I only if the addresse has no control over the action, e.g. is a child).

The grouping of languages according to their deictic features seems to be a factor of geography + of origin (French close to English, North Slavic ≠ South Slavic).

Ricca proposes the following hierarchy:

```
V_____I
        huc > ego > tu > istuc
              Sp    Hung  Fin      Gr, Alb
              Port  Engl, Germ     It
              Du, Swed
              Dan, Slov,
              Serb, Fr
```

CONCLUSION

We have seen that deictic systems can differ greatly in their morphological and semantic complexity. In particular, different features play a role for its expression in the world's languages. Some of these features are quite wide-spread (distance, person) and others less so (control, visibility, vertical axis); the use of deictics in a given language is often the result of an interplay between these features, each one having a different weight across languages.

Questions about the universality of these features cannot be answered here (at least not definitively), but we tried to point out a few of them, such as: Is spatial deixis at the core of deictic systems? Do all languages have *come* and *go* verbs? Are *come* verbs always more marked than *go*?