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DEMONSTRATIVES AND DEIXIS IN SINHALA[*]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Demonstratives, as part of deictic system, have a prominent place among the devices languages use to integrate textual and contextual information. They encode information from dimensions directly relevant to the context of discourse. They are used as deictic expressions indexing spatial distance, mental attitudes and discourse status.

In this paper I will discuss the semantics of the four-way distinction of the Sinhala deictic system in terms of situational spatial use and illustrate how demonstratives are used in discourse or text deixis. How the deictic system works in Sinhala is explicated with particular focus on spatial and personal deixis rather than temporal and social deixis. The main theoretical implication to be drawn from the discussion involves the multidimensional and variable nature of the deixis.

2. DEICTIC SYSTEM

Sinhala has several four-member sets of forms with varying functions to express deixis. First, there is a set of determiners that express four distinct deictic properties. This distinction is phonologically marked in the first syllable of the deictic form: *m-*, *o-*, *a-*, and *e-*. The first two are proximal: the contrast is between near-speaker and near-addressee. The second two are distal: the contrast is based on spatial distance plus visibility. Distal 1 form covers referent objects away from both speaker and addressee but visible. Distal 2 form, on the other hand, is generally used for referent objects outside the speaker/addressee's reach or invisible in the sense that they are not present in the speech situation.

The system depends on an evaluation of DISTANCE, as proximal and distal, from the reference points of the speaker's location as well as the addressee's location at the moment of utterance. In deciding distal contrast, in addition to the spatial orientation point, another relational feature seems to work. The contrast between 1D and 2D depends upon whether the referent is located in the field of VISION. The feature EXCLUSIVE also seems to be relevant in spatial deixis. 1D can be characterized as that part of the deictic field which includes interlocutors, both the speaker and the addressee, while *ee* (2D) can be considered as that part of deictic field which does not include interlocutors.

Table 1 Deictic forms and their deictic properties

Deictic property	Deictic form	Deictic Meaning
Proximal 1 (1P)	*mee*	'this, these': proximal to speaker, or to both speaker and addressee
Proximal 2 (2P)	*oyə*	'that, those': proximal to addressee
Distal 1 (1D)	*arə*	'that, those'(over there): distal from both speaker and addressee; in sight
Distal 2 (2D)	*ee*	'that, those': outside the speaker/ addressee's reach or not present in the speech situation

Thus the Sinhala deictic system becomes complete with the fourth dimension of 'that exclusive' (2D) added to the more common three-way distinction of 'this very near' (1P), 'that yonder'(2P), and 'that distant' (1D). The ultimate opposition is represented, then, by the two-term expressions such as *ehe-mehe* 'here and there' (Lit. 'there and here') *eekə-meekə* 'this and that' (Lit. 'that thing and this thing').

3. MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES

These spatial deictic demonstratives are used in the nominal, adjectival or adverbial form to indicate an object, animal, person, place, direction, or events in the spatio-temporal context of speech. The paradigm of deictic demonstratives is given in Table 2.

As shown in the table below, Sinhala uses four-way deictic system, with further distinctions in terms of number, gender, social relations, and discourse roles. It might seem interesting that human personal forms do not distinguish singular from plural number or masculine from feminine gender while these distinctions appear on animal forms. Person nouns, i.e. personal pronouns, however, are marked by a plural suffix to indicate plurality as in *oyaa-la* 'you (pl.)' and *meyaa-la* 'these persons', though not indicated in the paradigm. Animal forms may also be used for human category in a derogatory sense.

Some sets are incomplete, lacking forms within one or two categories. Differences existing between forms peculiar to some sets with respect to the same deictic element are not unique. The addressee-proximate human form, *oyaa*, for example, has been established as the second person pronoun, taking it as indicating the addressee him/herself, rather than somebody nearer to the addressee. The addressee-proximate second locational noun form, *ohe*, is also used as the second person pronoun in some dialects.[1]

Deictic expressions may be used to specify referents independently by themselves or in conjunction with other linguistic forms. Adjectival forms, serving as determiners, represent the latter type and occur attributively to nouns as in *mee potə* 'this book' and *oyə balla* 'that dog'. Nominal forms, on the other hand, occur as pronouns independently as in *meekə hondai* 'This is good' and *ooka hapaawi* 'That one

(i.e. dog) might bite'. The nominal form indicating degree may occur in adverbial form, too. Adverbial forms modify verbs, adjectives, or sentences, as in *mehemə liyannə* 'Write this way', *mehemə hondai* 'This way is good' and *mennə enəwa* 'Here comes'.

Table 2 Deictic demonstrative expressions[2]

	Speaker-proximate	Addressee-proximate	Distal/visible	Distal/non-situational
Adectival	mee	oyə	arə	ee
Nominal				
Object(SG)	meekə	ookə	arəkə	eekə
(PL)	meewa	oowa	arəwa	eewa
Animal 1) SG.;M	meeka	ooka	arəka	eeka
SG; F	meeki	ooki	arəki	eeki
2) SG	muu	---	aruu	(uu)
PL	muŋ	ouŋ	aruŋ	euŋ(uŋ)
Human	meyaa	oyaa	arəya	eyaa
Location 1)	metənə	otənə	atənə	etənə
2)	mehe	ohe	arəhe	ehe
Direction	mehaa	ohaa	arəha	ehaa
Degree	mechchərə	ochchərə	achchərə	echchərə
Adverbial				
Manner	mehemə	ohomə	arəhemə	ehemə
Presentation	mennə	onnə	annə	---
Response (yes)	---	ou	---	ehei/ehemai
Vocative	---	ooi	---	eei

This four-member set of demonstratives added with a fifth member for the interrogative whose first syllable is marked with *m-* or *k-* (e.g. *mokə* (what), *kookə* (which), *kauru* (who) and *kohe* (where) forms the deictic-interrogative organization in Sinhala.

4. FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

We can now consider how different forms are used in actual discourse. Fillmore (1982) divided deictic expressions into three different functions, as identifying, informing, and acknowledging. For the sake of convenience, I will follow this function-based distinction along the deictic categories rather than holding on individual forms.

4.1 Identifying function
The appropriate deixis is selected for uniquely identifying a referent from among a number of potential referents, according to its relative distance from the speaker and the

addressee. The use of the primary deixis of proximal relation (1P) for this purpose is illustrated in the following examples:

(1) a. *meekə alut   pot-ak*
       this   new   book-INDF
       'This is a new book.'

   b. *mee liumə baappa-gen*
       this letter uncle-ABL
       'This letter is from our uncle.'

   c. *meewa piTəraTə baDu*
       these   foreign   goods
       'These are imported products.'

   d. *meyaa   tamai sarungəlee hædu-e*
       this person FOC   kite   make.PAST-EMPH
       'It is this person who made the kite.'

However, the actual pragmatic force of these uses is best illustrated in context. The following type of utterance is typically used in introducing someone who is very close to the speaker.

(2) mee apee malli
     this our   younger brother
     'This is my younger brother.'

Using the adjectival form of 1P, rather than the personal pronoun, is the accepted convention in such situations. Using the personal pronoun *meyaa*, as in (3), is acceptable under certain conditions.

(3) a. *meyaa   apee malli*
        this person our   younger brother
        'This is our younger brother.'

   b. * *meyaa   apee taatta*
         this person our   father
         'This is our father.'

Personal pronouns have restrictions such as that they cannot be used for persons higher in position relative to the speaker. That is, the type of the form selected is iconic of the relationship between the speaker and the referent. In contrast to the adjectival form, the personal pronoun may indicate a more distance-centered, neutral relationship between the speaker and the referent.

It is also interesting to find that proximal personal pronoun *meyaa* (1P) can be used to refer to the addressee him/herself like a second person pronoun.

(4) *meyaa   kau-də*
    this person who-Q
    'Who are you?'

The utterance has some restrictions: it is generally used when the addressee is not the only hearer at the moment of speech. The addressee circle includes several people, out of whom anybody can answer the question. It might be that the referent was not the intended addressee originally. This type of situation where there is a number of possibilities for the recipient of a speech event may be grasped by the concept Goffman (1981) introduced as "footing". Such different participant roles as described by Goffman are not lexicalized in Sinhala.

    Another context in which the personal pronoun *meyaa* (1P) is used to refer to the addressee is exemplified by (5):

(5) *monəwa də, anee, kəra-nn-e   meyaa?*
    what   Q   dear do-NPT-EMPH this person
    'What are you doing, my dear?'

The use of the proximal pronoun in this way indicates that the addressee is psychologically close to the speaker. Thus, person deixis is used both as locating expressions as well as for encoding participant roles in the discourse.

    Next, the deixis of second proximal relation, i.e. addressee-proximate relation, with its identifying function is illustrated by the following set of examples.

(6) a. *oyə pattəree araŋ e-nnə, putaa*
      that paper   bring-IMP son
      (My dear) son, bring that news paper.'

    b. *ookə-Tə   tawə miris Tikak daa-nnə*
      that one-DAT more chilli a bit put-IMP
      'Add some more chilli to that one (pot).'

    c. *oowa magul gedərə-Tə araŋ y-nnə hadə-pu   mal*
      those wedding-DAT   take-INF   make-PA flowers
      'Those are the flowers made for taking to the wedding.'

    d. *oyaa heTa-t   e-nəwa   də*
      you tomorrow-too come-IND Q
      'Will you come tomorrow, too?'

(6d) shows the specialized use of the person deixis as a second person pronoun; unlike other members of the category of person deixis, it is never used as a third person pronoun. That is, *oyaa* is always used to denote the discourse participant role of addressee, not to locate a person.

    Not only an object, place or person, but even an action can be located with respect to interlocutors in terms of the proximal/distal parameter.

(7) *itin mokədə oyə hati dama-nn-e?*
     so   why   that breathe heavily-NPT-EMPH
     'So why are you breathing heavily?'

(8) *too kohe-də   mee duwa-nn-e?*
     you where-Q this   run-NPT-EMPH
     'Where are you (derogatory) running?'

That the speaker understands the action as occurring in the addressee's domain
motivates the use of 2P in (7). On the contrary, in (8) the speaker seems to have put the
addressee's action into his own domain, as depicted by the deixis of 1P, by virtue of
grasping the action with his visual senses. The distinction reveals that determination of
boundaries between the 1P ('*mee*') and the 2P ('*oyə*') depends not only on physical
location, but also on the speaker's perspective or perceived distance.
     The deixis of 1D is used to identify the referents that are away from both the
speaker and the addressee but in sight, in the following way.

(9) a. *arə Tii shəəT ekə kiiya   də?*
        that T shirt   one how much Q
        'How much is that T shirt?'

    b. *arəya   kaudə?*
        that person who
        'Who's that person over there?'

    c. *arə   kandə   hungak usa-i*
        that mountain   a lot   high-AM
        'That mountain is very high.'

     The 1D deixis can be ambiguous, though in a limited case, indicating an
immediate spatial context or a place away from deictic center. Observe the directional
term *areha* 'that way (direction)' in the following sentence.

(10) *areha-Tə   ya-nnə*
      that way-DAT go-IMP
      'Go away.'

This imperative sentence can be used to order an addressee to move away a little within
a space of the speaker's sight or further away, out of the social space of conversation.
     The deixis of 2D is controversially different in function from the three other
demonstrative series. As the 'most distal' category, it seems to denote objects away
from both speaker and addressee and further out of sight. However, as an implication,
we can take the form as denoting 'that (those) we are talking about' or 'that (those) in
question' (Fairbank, Gair and De Silva 1981:21). Another observation strongly rejects
the deictic use of the category: "The *e*-forms, on the other hand, are never used in
spatial terms and are restricted to anaphoric use" (Gair 1991:451). The following
examples do not agree with this strong claim.

(11) (The speaker is asking someone sitting on a bench to make space.)
   poDDAk ehaa-Tə   we-nnə
   a little   there-DAT be-IMP
   'Move a bit away.'

The form *ehaa* does indicate space. However, the space indicated is not out of the immediate speech situation. A different type of example is given below.

(12) (A house holder is blaming a housemaid.)
   ee   gedərə-Ta-i   mee gedərə-Tai   gihin
   that   house-DAT-too this house-DAT-too go-PP
     kataa kərə-kərə in-nəwa misak ….
     talk   do-do   be-IND except
   '….except that you go to this house and that house and just keep on chatting.'

In this case *ee* and *mee* as well denote spaces in physical environment, but do not refer to a specific space. They are neutral with regard to the speaker-addressee axis. Their use is not anaphoric, either, since the forms do not refer to objects linguistically introduced beforehand.
       Of particular interest is the fact that the proximal *mee* and the distal *ee* words occurring in juxtaposition to one another in (12) cannot be taken as the results of an accidental case. When used in explicit opposition in this way, demonstrative expressions work as a distance-oriented system, i.e. being distinguished by the proximal-distal features, not as a person-oriented system, i.e. not being distinguished by the speaker-addressee domain distinction. In fact, they express a range of distances, rather than signaling the actual distance. This distribution also shows how the deixis of 2D differs in function from the three other demonstrative series. Further examples are given below.

(13) a. *læællə ehaa-Tə mehaa-Tə wenəwa*
       plank there-DAT here-DAT be-IND
       'The plank moves here and there (is not stable).'

   b. *atənə metənə tiə-pu-hamə   baDu næti we-nəwa*
      there here   put-PA-when things be lost-IND
      'Things are lost when you put them here and there.'

   c. *eyaa   ek-ak   kiə-nəwa; meyaa   ekak   kiə-nəwa*
      that person one-INDF say-IND   this person one-INDF say-IND
      'This person says one thing and that person says another.'

In all these examples the demonstrative expressions, used in juxtaposition, are neutral with regard to the speaker-addressee axis. Moreover, they are also neutral with regard to spatial distance: the forms do not necessarily signal distance of the referents. Neither do they fulfill a specific identifying function, picking out each referent from a set of possible referents.[3]

However, an instance which clearly shows that the deixis of 2D is used non-anaphorically is shown below.

(14) a. *mokaddə ee   sadde?*
      what.Q   that sound
      'What's that sound?'

    b. *mokaddə ee   æhe-nn-e?*
      what.Q   that hear-NPT-EMPH
      'What's that we hear?'

As (14) shows, non-visual stimulus sources, such as sound and smell, occurring in distance are signaled by the *ee* form. The 2D form allows the speaker to refer to a perceptible but spatially off-scene situation as distal.

4.2 Acknowledging function
Another aspect of the deixis of 2D is that it does not signal precise distance but appears with acknowledging function which involves 'presupposing' the ground or the point of reference against which a referent is associated, as Fillmore (1982) has pointed out.

(15) A: *polee   eləwəlu ganaŋ   də?*
      market.LOC vegetables expensive Q
      'Are the vegetables expensive at the market?'
    B: *ee taram   ganaŋ   næcæ*
      that much expensive not
      'Not so expensive.'

(16) A: *hungak durə də*
      a lot   far   Q
      'Is it very far?'
    B: *echchərə durə næcæ*
      so   far not
      'Not so far.'

In these examples the B presupposes that A asks the question assuming that the vegetables are expensive (15) and that it is very far (16). Accordingly B uses the deictic expression of degree to negate A's assumption. One may argue that this is an anaphoric use. But B's response is not so much to a linguistically established fact as to a presupposed fact. Further, the deictic expression does not convey the exact degree but signals a subjective measure of the given attribute.

We have shown that the deixis of 2D is mostly neutral with regard to spatial distance. This may be correlated to the fact that the distal demonstrative series of 2D is predominantly of anaphoric use, which will be illustrated later. The preceding examples given in (12, 13) and (15, 16) also show that the deixis of 2D involves discourse-related notions such as individuation and specificity. That is, the deictic expressions in these examples convey meanings that lack individuation and specificity.

4.3 Informing function

The deixis is also used for the informing function. The informing function provides information about the location of the referent. Such deictic expressions are used when the speaker wants to tell the addressee where the particular referent is or when presenting something to the addressee. Presentatives are prototypical deictic expressions used for the informing function. Further, only *mennə*, the most proximate presentative, is used as an actual presentative, i.e. when the speaker hands something to the hearer. This is naturally bound with the feature 'proximality' which is an essential condition for presentation. This also explains why the 'most distal' series, i.e. 2D, does not have a presentative form. The following examples are illustrative (The presentatives, lacking appropriate English glosses, are indicated in italic):

(17) a. *mennə putaa-Ta-t   salli*
        mennə son-DAT-too money
        'Here you are, son, some money to you, too.'

     b. *onnə yaturə*
        onnə key
        Here you go, take the key.'

(17a) represents a situation in which the speaker politely hands money to the addressee. (17b), on the other hand, may indicate a situation involved with anger or lack of empathy where the speaker leaves the key on a table or throws it towards the recipient. These deictic expressions are usually accompanied by appropriate gestures accordingly.
    Presentatives are also used to demonstrate something.

(18) a. (The interlocutors are walking in the zoo.)
        mennə akke   monəru
        mennə elder sister.VOC peacocks
        'Here are peacocks, elder sister.'

     b. *annə paraale uDə mii-ek*
        annə rafter   on rat-INDF
        'Look, there's a rat on the rafter.'

     c. (The interlocutors have been waiting for the bus.)
        annə bas ekə e-nəwa
        annə bus one come-IND
        'Here it is, the bus's coming.'

    The function of informing is not limited to presentatives. Demonstrative pronouns primarily used for identifying can also be used, especially accompanied by appropriate gestures, for the informing function.

(19) a. *mee in-n-e monəru*
        these be-NPT-EMPH peacocks
        'Here are some peacocks.'

   b. *oyə   tie-nn-e   kurundu gah-ak*
      that   be-NPT-EMPH cinnamon tree-INDF
      'There is a cinnamon tree.'

The examples in (18) and (19) show that different deictic forms are used to point to a referent, signaling to the addressee to focus attention on it. Since the *arə* deictic of 1D indicates something distal but visible, it is frequently used to point out something, as in (20).

   (20) a. *mokaddə   arə   atənə dilise-nn-e?*
           what-Q   that   there   shine-NPT-EMPH
           'What is that over there shining?'

      b. *arə,   miniha atə   wanə-nəwa*
         there man   hand wave-IND
         'There, he is waving (to us).'

      c. *arə, arə,   pol gahee   karəTiə-Tə uDin, needə, taatte*
         there, there, coconut tree-LOC top-DAT   above isn't it father
         'There, dad, it is above the top of the coconut tree, isn't it?'

Though homophonic with the adjectival forms, the deictic expressions in these examples occur as attention-drawing exclamations, rather than attributively. By repetition of *arə*, as in (20c), the form can express the speaker's excitement or surprise.

5. AMALGAM OF FUNCTIONS

Although different communicative functions were treated individually for the convenience of discussion, no clear-cut form-function isomorphy regarding deictic expressions can be guaranteed in each and every case of actual discourse. One and the same form can be used to perform different functions, and different forms are used to indicate the same referent.
        The same form can be used irrespective of the relative distance of the referents.

   (21) (The two interlocutors are helping a small child to walk to the school.)
        Kamani mee atə   alla ga-nnə, mamə   mee atə   alla ga-nnam
        Kamani this hand hold-IMP   I   this hand hold-HORT
        'Kamani, you hold this hand and I'll hold this hand.'

Given that the two proximal deictics refer to the two hands of the child and the two interlocutors involved are not in the same position spatially, the relative distance of the referents with regard to the speaker-addressee axis cannot be the same. Nevertheless, the same deixis of 1D is used by the speaker. The crucial point here might be the speaker's subjective positioning towards the referent rather than the actual distance per se.

Two different deictic forms may combine together to express an admixture of functions if they represent the same deictic property. A proximal or distal deictic form combines with another deictic that also signals proximity or distance in the following way.

(22) a. *onnə oyə   kabəD ek-en   tia-nnə*
        onnə that cupboard one-ABL put-IMP
        'Leave it in that cupboard.'

     b. *annə arə   leDaa-ge   seelain bootələyə galəwə-nəwa needə*
        annə that   patient-GEN saline   bottle   remove-IND aren't they
        'Look, they are removing the saline bottle from that patient, aren't they?'

In (22a) two deictics of 2P are combined, conveying the speaker's casual attitude towards the action, while in (22b) two deictics of 1D, distal presentative and distal demonstrative, are used together, thereby adding presentative/directive force to the informing function. Thus, different deictic expressions are combined together to express meanings linked with different tiers.

5.1 Locative expressions
It needs to be noted that there can be some form-function isomorphy regarding alternate forms. There seems to be a functional difference between the locative expressions within the 2P series (Kano, n.d.). In each series, Sinhala has two demonstrative expressions for location. The two forms for the 2P series with the stem vowel '*o-*', *otənə* and *ohee,* differ in distribution with respect to the feature 'specifity'. For instance, *otənə* denotes a specific place while *ohee* indicates a vague place. For instance, when someone gives a direction to another person to dig a hole in a specific place on the ground, he may say something like

(23) *otənə/*ohee wala-k   kappa-nnə*
        there   hole-INDF cut-IMP
        'Dig a hole there (in the place you are standing).'

The use of *ohe* is unacceptable in this context. *Ohe* can be used to denote a vague place in the following way.

(24) A: *koo   malli?*
        where younger brother
        'Where's your younger brother?'
     B: *ohee/*otənə hiTia*
        there   was
        'He was around.'

The same unspecific form is used to suggest the speaker's attitude of indifference towards, or a dislike of, the reference entity.

(25) A: *loku putaa koo?*
　　　　big　　son　　where
　　　　'Where's the elder son?'
　　B: *onnə ohee in-n-e*
　　　　onnə there be-NPT-EMPH
　　　　'He's just around.'

B's answer carries a negative evaluation about the presence of the indicated person, implying that he is doing nothing and just exists without a clear direction or purpose. In short, 2P expressions, those marked with the phonological features of *o-h* in particular, are metaphorically used to encode the speaker's perspective and lack of empathy. They have taken on special semantic features.

5.2 Affective use
We might also add the expressive function (Popper 1972 and Leech 1983) to the function-based analysis of deictic expressions. This aspect of deictic expressions is also described as the "affective" use (Kuroda 1992). The deictic expressions of the 2P series can be used with affective meaning, which conveys the speaker's subjective evaluation of some particular reference entity, including negative or derogatory overtones.

(26) *oyə tie-nə　　kaDee-k-in　　araŋ　e-nnə*
　　　that be-NPT shop-INDF-ABL buy.PP come-IMP
　　　'Buy and bring it from whatever shop available.'

(27) *oyə kataawə aye paarak　　ma-ge kanə-Tə　æhun-ot*
　　　that talk　　next time.INDF I-GEN ear-DAT hear.PAST-COND
　　　umbe　　　　　oluwə pələ-nəwa
　　　your (derogatory) head　split-IND
　　　'(If I hear that word again) = Say it again, I'll split your head.'

(28) A: *amme, annə Sunil ambə　kaDə-nəwa*
　　　　mother *annə* Sunil mango pluck-IND
　　　　'Mom, look, Sunil is plucking mangoes there.'
　　B: *ohe　kaDə-puwaawe*
　　　　there pluck-PERM
　　　　'Just let him pluck.'

The distance indicated by the 2P deixis, as shown by these examples, is not spatial. Rather, the sense of distance is used metaphorically to indicate the speaker's psychological distance (26), anger (27) and non-attention (28). This is in accordance with the cross-linguistic tendency of signaling empathy, or lack of empathy through the concept of distance (Brown and Levinson 1987:205; Fillmore 1982: 44).

6. DEMONSTRATIVES AS DISCOURSE DEIXIS

So far we have discussed the functions of primary deixis. We have mentioned in passing how primary deixis is used metaphorically to signal the speaker's emotional and

attitude-wise distance. The spatiotemporal and participant dimensions of primary deixis are often metaphorically extended into new uses, mapping with textual and thematic dimensions. These secondary uses of deictics include locating referents in the text, determining the information status of different elements of the discourse, and establishing the thematic status of participants in the discourse.

While the whole discourse is viewed as a spatial entity having directions and a trajectory, etc., its various parts related to the text and the textual content are properly indexed by deictics, in a way that the interlocutors can track the information flow. Using such reference schema, the interlocutors may connect prior parts of the text as well as upcoming text, integrating into the text what has already been established in the discourse and, sometimes, even what will appear in the future discourse. Therefore, an observation of the discourse deixis will help us to understand how the deictic field is located in a broader area that extends beyond the immediate physical or perceptual situation of speech.

In Sinhala, while all four series of demonstratives play the dual role of spacial deictics and discourse deictics, the *e*-series of 2D, in particular, is commonly used for discourse reference. This has led Gair (1991) to consider that the forms of *e*-series are specialized in anaphoric function and their primary domain of reference is code-message. One can see how spatial deictics and discourse deictics interplay to create a cohesive text in the following dialogs.

(29) (A conversation between a child and his uncle when they visit a sanctuary.)
 A: *arə mokeddə, baappe?*
  that what(ANI).Q uncle
  'What's that (over there), uncle?
 B: ***ee** sarpə-ek, putaa*
  that snake-INDF son
  'That's a snake, son.'

(30) A. *arə tie-nn-e miris paatti-ak*
  that be-NPT-EMPH chili patch-INDF
  'That one (over there) is a patch of chilli plants.'
 B. ***ee patti-e** tie-nn-e miris pælə witərak də?*
  that patch-LOC be-NPT-EMPH chili plants only Q
  'Are there only chili plants in that patch?'

A's utterance in (29) as well as (30) has the adjectival form of 1D, the spatial deictic *arə,* signaling the referent is located away from both the speaker and the addressee. Typically the response does not use the same form. Apparently, B's response has the word *ee* from the 2D series, which is neutral with regard to speaker or addressee or spatial distance. This is an example of the use of demonstratives for discourse purpose in which the anaphoric use provides the resource for referent tracking: interlocutors follow the discourse by referencing the prior parts of the dialogue.

The *me-* series demonstratives of 1P may also occur as signposts for referent tracking. The following two sentences that constitute a part of a narrative are illustrative.

(31) a. **mee daruwa** *loku we-nnə   we-nnə*
     this child   big become-INF become-INF
     tawat bohomə   pudumə   wæDə kəlaa
     more very   wonderful work do.PAST
     'The more the boy grew up, the more wonderful things he did.'

     b. **mee lamea-ge** *pudumə wæDə gænə raTee   minissu*
       this child-GEN   wonderful jobs   about country.LOC people
       kataa unaa
       talk.PAST
       'People of the country talked about the wonderful things the child did.'

The two sentences appear towards the end of a narrative. The narrator adds them after telling about a series of heroic acts done by a child. The adjectival form *mee* of the 1P demonstrative, used with a noun, refers back to the hero of the story and signals the continuation of the previously established discourse topic. The particular deictic not only helps the listeners track the discourse referent in terms of thematic status but also implies, by virtue of its proximal feature, some empathy or a kind of identification of the narrator with the particular participant in the narrated event. This can be contrasted with the use of the adjectival form *ee* of the 2D demonstrative.

(32) *issərə* <u>*ekə kælææwəkə*</u>   *chuuTi kurulu   ranchuw-ak hiTia*
     before one forest.INDF.LOC tiny   birds   flock-INDF was
     'There once was a flock of tiny birds in a forest.'

     ee   **kælææwə** *langə kumbur-ak   tibuna*
     that forest   near   rice-field-INDF was
     'There was a rice-field close to the forest.'

(33) *issərə weeyan-Tə   gewal tibun-e   næœ*
     before white-ants-DAT houses be.PAST-EMPH no
     'Before, white-ants didn't have their own houses.'

     un hiTi-e   diraapu gas-wələ witərai
     they be.PAST-EMPH decay-VA trees-LOC FOC
     'It is only in decayed trees that they lived.'

     dawəs-ak   weeyeku-Tə   baDəgini we-laa
     day-INDF white-ant.INDF-DAT hungry be-PP
     <u>*kææmə soya-nnə   giyaa*</u>
     food   search-INF go.PAST
     'One day a white-ant felt hungry and went out in search of food.'

     ee welaawe-mə *wæssə-ku-t   paTan gatta*
     that time-EMPH rain.INDF-too begin.PAST
     'Exactly at that time it began to rain.'

In (32) the adjectival form *ee* of the 2D demonstrative with the noun stands in relation of anaphora; it relates back to the antecedent phrase *ekə kælæcæwəkə* 'in a forest' mentioned in the previous sentence. The adjectival form *ee* of the 2D demonstrative with the word *welaawe* 'at the time' and the emphatic marker appearing in (33) refers back to the time when the white-ant went out in search of food mentioned in the previous line. The selection of the particular demonstrative series, i.e. with the distal perspective, has allowed the narrators to tell the narrative with a detached attitude, without any identification with the discourse referents.

Another distal series (1D), *arə*, which indexes information more neutral with respect to the speaker and addressee, is also commonly used for anaphoric reference. The antecedents may denote participants, events or things. In fact, there are certain pragmatic constraints or contexts where the demonstrative is acceptable: the 1D deictics are only allowed when the interlocutors or discourse participants have mutually established the referent in their memory, i.e. they are familiar with the discourse topic.

(34) ***arə kataawə*** *kaa-Tə-wat   kiya-nnə epaa*
     that story   whom-DAT-even   tell-INF don't
     'Don't tell that story to anybody.'

(35) *anik keləwərə* ***arə maha unə pandurə*** *waTə kərə-la bænda*
     other end   that big bamboo bush   round-PP   tie-PAST
     '(They) tied the other end (of the creeper) round the big bamboo
     bush.'

(36) A. *Piyaseeli oyaa <u>piyaanoo</u> gaha-nnə dan-nəwa də?*
     Piyaseeli you   piano   play-INF know-IND Q
     'Piyaseeli, do you know how to play the piano?'
   B: ***ee mokaddə?***
     '(Piano?) What's that?'
   A: *æi,   **arə api sindu gahanə ekə**.*
     yeah that we songs   play   one
     'Yeah, the one that we play songs.'

In (34) the demonstrative refers to something with which the interlocutors are familiar and in (35) the demonstrative is used to refer to an object previously mentioned in the narrated event. When the interlocutor A in (36) asks a question about the piano, B does not hide her feeling of surprise and her ignorance of the object; she distances herself from the object with the distal (2D) demonstrative *ee*. However, A is quick to remind her that they have played the instrument before: the use of *arə* implies that they are talking about something which they had involved earlier, not about something unheard of or strange.

The same *arə* form can be used to imply a strong emotional attachment to the referent. This is analogous to the Japanese use of the *a-* series demonstrative (Kuroda 1992:91-104). The following is an excerpt from a conversation occurring between a patient and a visitor at a hospital.

(37) A. *dostərə mahatwəru sӕrə də?*
　　　　doctor   gentlemen strict Q
　　　　'Are the doctors strict?'
　　　B: *nӕӕ nӕӕ …*
　　　　 no   no
　　　　'No, never, …'
　　　A: *mama-t aasa-i   mehemə waaTTUwə-kə*
　　　　 I-too   fond-AM like this ward-INDF.LOC
　　　　　dawəs-ak dek-ak   in-nə
　　　　　day-INDF two-INDF be-INF
　　　　'I, too, like to spend one or two days in a ward like this.'
　　　B. *ou eekə puduməy-ak   yӕ?*
　　　　yes that wonder-INDF isn't it
　　　　arə gedərə ayə   *wagee dan-nə   andunənə   ayə*
　　　　that home people like   know-NPT know-NPT people
　　　　　nӕti unaa-Tə,   dawəs-ak dek-ak   in-nə   koTə
　　　　　no   be.PAST-DAT day-INDF two-INDF be-NPT when
　　　　　nikammə   gedərə wagee purudu we-nəwa
　　　　　without effort home   like   get used-IND
　　　　'Yeah, no wonder. Although there are no people so close to you as your
　　　　kith and kin at home, still you'll get used and feel at home automatically
　　　　when you spend one or two days there.'

Although the speaker B attempts to evaluate the friendly atmosphere of the hospital and the easiness with which one can get used to it, the use of the demonstrative *arə* signals his emotional attachment to the people at home. The demonstrative in this case does not show any connection with an earlier statement or antecedent word or phrase; its use is rather motivated by a common human knowledge that allows to presuppose the comfort one feels at home surrounded by people with whom one is connected by family relationship. This again correlates with the acknowledging function of spatial deictics pointed out by Fillmore (1982).

　　　Our description has thus far centered round the use of demonstratives for anaphoric use with the reference to the antecedent nouns or phrases. Next I will point out how demonstratives are used for cataphoric reference. Fillmore (1982) has suggested that perhaps most frequently a +proximal deictic will be used for text-referring cataphora, and a –proximal deictic for text-referring anaphora. Partially proving this prediction, in Sinhala the –proximal deictic is used anaphorically, as already shown, and +proximal deictic *mee* is used either cataphorically or anaphorically. The following example, an excerpt from a school textbook, illustrates the use of the demonstrative *mee* as a spatial deictic, as a backward looking device, i.e. anaphorically, and as a forward-looking device, i.e. cataphorically.

(38) *mamə adə   **mee laməin-Tə**   bala-nnə*
　　　 I   today this children-DAT see-INF
　　　　pintuurə pot-ak   genaawa
　　　　picture book-INDF bring.PAST

> ***mee pintuurə potee***   *tie-nn-e*   *katandərə*
> this picture book.LOC   be-NPT-EMPH stories
>
> *api issərə welaamə pintuurə bal-mu*
> we first of all   pictures see-HORT
>
> *lamai pintuurə bæluwa*
> children pictures see.PAST
>
> *pasuwə gurutumii* ***mee katandərəyə*** *kiiwa*
> later   teacher   this story   tell.PAST
> …
> 'Today I brought a picture book for these children to read. This picture book
> has stories. First, let's see the pictures. The children viewed the pictures. Then
> the teacher told this story. ...'

The first *me-* series demonstrative (*mee*) is used as a spatial deictic since the teacher addresses the children in the class before her. The second *me-* series demonstrative can be taken as used both spatially and anaphorically: the picture book is deictically located in the speaker's domain when she introduces it to the children, and the deictic expression simultaneously refers back to the picture book the speaker has already mentioned in the discourse. The third *me-* series demonstrative refers forward to the subsequent discourse, the story the speaker is going to tell, and the text continues with the narrative. Thus, the same speaker-centered demonstrative is used both anaphorically and cataphorically, referring to a previously introduced discourse topic or introducing an upcoming text.

A crucial point to note is that the cataphoric deictic in (38) is identified, not just with a word or phrase that follows but with a story, a larger upper-level discourse topic that follows. Notice this text is structured as consisting of, at least, two different subtopical units, rather than having a single, central topic running through the text. This correctly points to the fact that discourse reference of deictics does not necessarily conform to a lexical item but may refer to textual information larger than what is indicated by a word or phrase.

I have discussed separately situataional deixis or "exophoric" deixis, as some linguists prefer to call it, where the referent point is the speaker's (and addressee's) space and endophoric deixis that stand in relation of anaphora and cataphora, linking text with co-text. As we have seen, the exophoric deixis indexes entities in the text setting or in the participant framework while the endophoric deixis may bring new participants into the discourse or reintroduce old ones. In the actual discourse, the two types of deictics co-occur, with different functions interacting.

(39) A: ***arə*** *bala-nnə, aiye,*   *ahasə diha wisaalə   ran tæTi-ak*
           that look-INF elder brother sky   at   big   gold plate-INDF
           'Elder brother, there, look at the sky, a big gold plate!'
    B: ***ohomə*** *tamai,   nangi,*   *wesak pooyə-Tə*
           such   FOCUS younger sister   *Vesak* foll moon day-DAT

    paayə-nə handə
     rise-VA   moon
   'Younger sister, **such** is the moon rising on the Vesak full moon day.'
A: *aiye,   api pansal giyaa-Tə   passe*
   elder brother we   temple   go.PAST-DAT after
    ya-mu-də   toraŋ   bala-nnə
    go-HORT-Q decoration see-INF
   'Elder brother, after going to temple, shall we go to see Vesak festival decorations?'
B: **<u>*ehemə*</u>** *naŋ amma-gen   aha-mu*
   so   if   mother-ABL ask-HORT
   '**In that case** let's (first) get mom's permission.'

The demonstrative *arə*, with the distal sense, is clearly spatial and situational dexis. The use of *ohomə*, though with some speaker-addressee linkage, is anaphoric: it relates back to what A said, and hence the addressee-based form. Next time, the speaker B uses the distal deictic *ehemə* with anaphoric reference to the case of 'going to see Vesak festival decorations', apparently attached to the prior text; being neutral with regard to participant framework or situation, it is endophoric.

    Certain linguistic devices, particularly those used for encoding topic continuation, topic changes or cross-boundary topical movement, help us to track the information flow of the discourse. In Sinhala presentative demonstratives are used for such discourse functions.

(40) **onnə** *aayet dawəsəkə   amma-Ta-i   taatta-Ta-i*
    that again day.INDF.LOC mother-DAT-too father-DAT-too
    kumbure   wæDə kəra-nnə ya-nnə oonæ unaa
    rice-field.LOC work-INF   go-INF want be.PAST
    '**Then**, again, one day the father and the mother wanted to go to work at the rice-field.'

(41) **onnə** *api dæn in-n-e   Anuradhapura-e*
    that we now be-NPT-EMPH Anuradhapura-LOC
    '**Here we are!** Now we have arrived at Anuradhapura.'

In (40) the representative is used to facilitate the progress of discourse even when little new information is introduced, signaling that the repetition of the same event occurs as a necessary step of the narrative event. The sentence in (41) is an utterance by one of the interlocutors going on a bus tour. The presentative marks a clearly delineated topical boundary, indicating that they have arrived in a new place, thereby grounding the discourse to the frame of reference and linking it to the new setting. The use of the addressee-based *onnə* in these sentences can also be taken as an example of shifted deixis which occurs when the narrator's space and time interfere with the space and time of the narrative (Bril 2004). With the shifted deixis, the event is narrated as if it were happening at the time of the speech, before the eyes of the listener.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have dealt with situational or "exophoric" deixis (§4 & §5) and non-situational or "endophoric" deixis that includes anaphoric and discourse deictic uses (§6), separately. In the actual discourse, the two types of deictics co-occur, with different functions interacting. The amalgam of functions was observed as a usual phenomenon. Co-variation between the deictic meaning and exophoric/endophoric uses is not exceptional, either. Deictics used as presentatives have a directive force. This kind of variability can be considered as a phenomenal feature of verbal deictics.

　　We have seen that there are deictic terms used both deictically and anaphorically and, also, terms used both non-deictically and non-anaphorically. It was shown that the deixis of 2D is marked for the lack of specificity and the deixis of 2P has the tendency to be more associated with affectivity. From a spatialist standpoint, these meanings are metaphorically derived from original spatial meanings. However, the picture is not so simple. Spatial features alternate with other features of the deictic field such as mental attitudes, personal relations, memory, presuppositions, speaker's perspective and prior discourse. There seem to be conventionalized analogies between different situations; for instance, PROXIMITY = SPECIFICITY leads to the counterpart equivalence between non-proximity and non-attention or lack of empathy. However, entities of prior discourse are not always distal objects; they can be equated with proximal features depending on relevant circumstances.

　　My analysis was aimed at highlighting the complexity and flexibility of demonstratives with which different meanings and functions are interwoven with text and context. Although the basic deictic parameters were delineated, a vast area including some important contextual and discourse factors remains to be searched. For instance, social fields including social relations and power relations can constrain or even determine the reference of deictic terms (Hanks, 2005). Such questions considered to be involved with the embedding of the deictic field in a broader social field were not addressed here.

NOTES

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　　1. These two second person pronominal uses carry different values in terms of social deixis, depending on the regional dialect.
　　2. Some honorific terms and the forms indicating time were not included in the paradigm.
　　3. The fact that the use of demonstratives in contrastive contexts, as in (13c), differs from their non-contrastive use is discussed in Wilkins 1999 and Margetts 2004.

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