

# Factors and Their Relations In the Interpretation of Deictics

— A Prototype Approach to *Here, There, This, and That* — \*

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## 0 Introduction

One of big questions in cognitive linguistics is how we make sense of our experience. Both the traditional or classical view and the experientialist view take categorization as the main way that we make sense of our experience. On the classical view, categories are characterized by the properties shared by and only by all category members. They are characterized independently of our bodily experience and imaginative mechanisms--metaphor, metonymy, and imagery.

On the contrary, on the experientialist view, our bodily experience and imaginative mechanisms are central to characterization of categories. Lakoff, who is among experientialists, provided in his *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987) evidence for the view that human reason is embodied and imaginative. He investigated deictic *there*-constructions as one of the case studies to claim the importance of prototype-based categorization which produces radially structured categories, and of cognitive models--including metaphoric and metonymic models--and mental spaces.

Although Lakoff observed the constructional meanings of deictic *there*-constructions, I will focus on (the meanings of) the deictic words themselves. One of the most basic things people--even children in their earlier stages--do is point out things to other people with deictic expressions such as *this, that, here, there*, and find the referents for these deictic expressions. In this article, I will focus on the factors operating on the deictic words, which emerge from Lakoff's observation of deictic *there*-constructions, and on the relations between these factors. And I will show that one of the factors is taken as their central factor,

which is based on our bodily experience, and that other factors are metaphorical extensions of the central factor. That is, these factors altogether constitute radially structured categories with prototypical centers.

## **1 From the meanings of deictic *there*-constructions to the meanings of deictic words**

In this section, I will investigate what meanings of deictic words emerge from Lakoff's observations of deictic *there*-constructions. According to Lakoff (1987), deictic *there*-constructions are constructions which fit the characterizations of grammatical constructions--that is, pairings of parameters of form with parameters of meaning--, and provide good evidence for the necessity and the existence of radially structured categories with prototypical centers. Noncentral constructions are motivated extensions of central constructions and connected to them by links called based-on relations. Some of the noncentral subconstructions involve such cognitive models as metaphoric and metonymic models.

There are ten noncentral deictic *there*-constructions. Some of them are simple variants which are different from central deictic *there*-constructions and from each other in subject matter. Some are intersections of the central construction and another construction which is concerned with an intonation. Others are constructions having special purposes. And he asserted that even central existential *there*-constructions are based on central deictic *there*-constructions.

I generally agree that deictic *there*-constructions are characterized as such, and that the entire constructions, not just the words constituting the constructions, must be investigated in order to get the correct meanings of the constructions. Metaphors also must apply to the entire constructional meanings.

The deictic words, however, undoubtedly have their own meanings. I will focus on the meanings of the deictic words themselves in this article. The reason for doing this is that 1) I believe that there is a class meaning of the deictic words *this*, *that*, *here*, and *there*; and 2) I believe that there is the necessity of looking at factors operating on all these deictic words. In order to get the meanings of the words right, we need to look at those words independently of any specific constructions. We will now discuss the meanings of the deictic words in deictic *there*-constructions for the rest of this section.

1.1 The meanings of the deictic words *here* and *there* emerge from the observation of deictic *there*-constructions. These meanings also constitute radial categories, that is, the deictic words also have their central meaning and non-central meanings, which are metaphorically extended from the central one. This will be made clear by looking at the meanings of deictic words and the relations between those meanings.

The following deictics with examples, metaphors, and metonymies in 1-10 are all from Lakoff (1987);<sup>1</sup> and in 1'-10', which correspond to 1-10 respectively, I will indicate the meanings of the deictic terms emerging from each deictic *there*-construction. The meanings I will mention will include various differences from Lakoff's analysis. The construction shown in 1 is the central deictic and the ones in 2-10 are the noncentral deictic constructions.

1. Central: *Here* comes Harry./ *There's* Harry with the red jacket on.  
As was mentioned above, one of the most basic things people do is point out things to other people, and this is often carried out with deictic expressions. *Here* and *there* are used to do this function.
- 1' *Here* designates either the location of the speaker or the location closer to the speaker than *there* would indicate. *There* indicates the location far from or not close to the speaker. That is, the physical space or physical distance--the position of an entity in the discourse relative to the speaker at the time of utterance--is at issue. This is the situation characterized by the notion of the default ground of cognitive grammar.
2. Perceptual: *Here* comes the beep./ *There* goes the beep.  
To get the constructional meaning right, the following metaphors will be required:<sup>2</sup> NONVISUAL PERCEPTUAL SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE; PERCEPTS ARE ENTITIES. REALIZED IS DISTAL; SOON-TO-BE-REALIZED IS PROXIMAL. ACTIVATION IS MOTION. In this construction, *there* refers to a location in perceptual space at a time that either is present or in the recent past, while *here* refers to a location in perceptual space at a time that is in the immediate future. Moreover, *come* and *go* do not indicate motion, but indicate activation--in these examples, activation of an alarm.

- 2' As we see from the first metaphor, metaphorical mapping of physical space into nonvisual perceptual space is involved in this case. Both *here* and *there* refer to a location in perceptual space. Here, however, some effects of the motion verbs *come* and *go* on this construction must be taken into account. The basic senses of *come* and *go*--that is, *come* and *go* used to indicate motion--describe motion of some entity toward the speaker (and/or hearer) and its motion away from the speaker (and hearer), respectively. Then we can get the expressions '*here comes ...*' and '*there goes ...*' *Here* and *there* in these expressions may refer to the goal of motion.

Since "time in English is structured in terms of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, with the future moving toward us" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the location of the speaker (and hearer) designated by *here*--the "ground"--will be the goal of the future. In this case, the location is metaphorically extended to the temporal location, and the "reference point" (with respect to which another entity is identified) will be the time of speaking. Just as the location of the speaker (and hearer) is designated by *here*, so his (or their) temporal location--the time of the speech event or the present--is designated by *here*.

The time ahead of us will come to us and pass us by. *There* may refer to the goal of the time which has gone away from the temporal location of the speaker (and hearer). The time like this flows into the past, which is judged distal relative to the reference point--the time of speaking. It follows that *here* is related to the present and *there* is related to the past, which differs from Lakoff's analysis although the metaphors mentioned seem to be supported.

Not only the time ahead of us, but some event at that time will come to us and pass us by. Thus, we get, for example, "Christmas has come and gone." Once something happens, we can "realize" that something. Something realized by both the speaker and hearer may be referred to as their shared knowledge; on the other hand, something soon-to-be-realized--something that has not yet happened but is anticipated by the speaker--may be realized only by the speaker, and therefore it may be understood as the speaker's own knowledge--that is, there is not a shared understanding about

something soon-to-be-realized between the speaker and hearer. It follows from this idea and the second metaphor that shared knowledge is distal and then designated by *there*, and that unshared knowledge is proximal and then referred to by *here*.

Since unshared knowledge is taken as entirely owned by the speaker, it can be interpreted as proximal to him in a metaphorical sense. Although the speaker also knows about something already happened and then shares it with the hearer, yet it is said to be distal from the speaker and referred to by *there*. This seems to be explained by Langacker's "objective scene" or "onstage region" (1987, 1990, and 1991).

Shared knowledge is knowledge owned by the speaker and hearer (and in some cases by everyone). In other words, it may be global, social knowledge. Knowledge like this does not belong to or is far from any individual, and is put "onstage" as the focal point within the "objective scene" to be looked at "objectively" by both the speaker and hearer. In Figure 1, which is taken from Langacker (1991), the box indicates "the scope

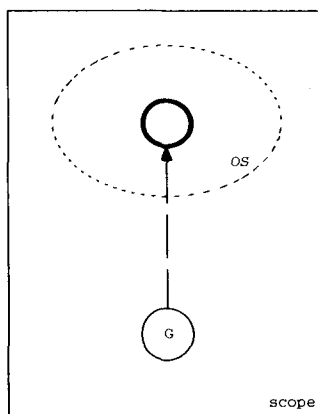


Figure 1

of predication" --the base--, and the dashed-line oval indicates the onstage region or objective scene (OS). The objective scene is the "general locus of attention" within the base, and the "profiled" element is always located within the objective scene. That is, the focal point must be put onstage to

be objectively construed. The “ground” ( G )--the speech event, its participants, and its setting--is located “offstage.” Both the speaker and hearer, therefore, have an offstage vantage point and are “maximally subjective,” although they are included in the scope of predication because deictic expressions include the ground in the scope of predication. In this case, shared knowledge is put onstage and profiled to be looked at and objectively construed by both the speaker and hearer who remain offstage. Shared knowledge is, therefore, understood as distal from them and referred to by *there*.

3. Discourse: *Here* comes the best part./ Now *there's* a good point.  
 The following three metaphors will be required here: DISCOURSE SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE; DISCOURSE ELEMENTS ARE ENTITIES. IMMEDIATELY PAST DISCOURSE IS IN OUR PRESENCE AT A DISTANCE FROM US. DISCOURSE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IS MOVING TOWARD US. *Here* and *there* refer to something in a discourse. *There* refers to something said in the immediate past, while *here* refers to what is about to be said.
- 3' The first metaphor tells us that an image mapping from the basic physical space into discourse space is involved here. *Here* and *there* refer to a location in discourse space. From the metaphors mentioned, the basic meanings of *here*, *there*, and the verbs, and what was indicated in 2', the followings can be said: *There* refers to the location in discourse space of something said in the immediate past and *here* is said to refer to the location of the speaker (and hearer) in discourse space. Since discourse in the immediate future is coming toward the location of the speaker (and hearer) in discourse space, *here* is understood as referring to its goal. Hence, *here* is regarded as the ground. Here again, there is an obvious difference from Lakoff's analysis. Moreover, we will notice here another meaning of *here* and *there*. As in the case of the perceptual deictic, since something that has not yet said but is anticipated by the speaker can be understood as only the speaker's knowledge, it can be said to be metaphorically proximal to him. Therefore, *here* is related to only the speaker's knowledge. On the other hand, something said in the immediate past can be shared by the speaker and hearer--that is, it will be their shared knowledge. Shared knowledge is far from both of

them (and from any individual) in a metaphorical sense in that it is put onstage to be looked at objectively by them who remain offstage. Therefore, shared knowledge is related to *there*.

4. Existence: *Here* comes another outburst./ *There* goes our last hope.  
In this case, we model conceptual space metaphorically on physical space. We generally accept the ideas that “things that exist exist in locations” or “to be is to be located,” and “something exists if it is in our presence; otherwise, we cannot be sure.” The metaphor EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE; NONEXISTENCE IS LOCATION AWAY is required.
- 4’ Locations in a physical space can be divided roughly into two parts-- locations near the speaker and locations far from him. Locations in a conceptual space may be divided similarly. This, together with the metaphor mentioned and the generally accepted idea that “something exists if it is in our presence; otherwise, we cannot be sure,” allows us to say that an entity in a location near the speaker exists and an entity in a location far from him does not exist. Then *here* designates (the existence of an entity in) a location near the speaker in a conceptual space, while *there* (the existence of an entity in) a location far from the speaker in a conceptual space.
5. Activity Start: *There* goes Harry, thinking about linguistics again.  
Here, the metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION ALONG AN ACTIVITY PATH will explain the situation described by the example above. No actual motion is implied. Activities are conceptualized in terms of motion along a path. The location designated by *there* is the beginning or starting point of the metaphorical activity path. (He discusses examples of *here* under exasperation constructions.)
- 5’ As mentioned above, *there* designates the starting point on an activity path. Since activities are conceptualized in terms of motion, the central meaning of *there* is applicable to the cases of activities without actual motion. The basic use of *there* designates the location of someone other than the speaker. Then, *there* in this case is understood as referring to the starting point on an activity path at which someone other than the speaker is located.
6. Delivery: *Here’s* your pizza, piping hot./ *There* you go!  
In this case, the speaker is the deliverer and the hearer is the receiver. Here

we have two types of examples which take a different perspective on the delivery situation. One focuses on the delivery and the other on what happens after the delivery. In other words, one focuses on the location of the delivered object and the other focuses on the location of the hearer on the activity path. The former case is understood as the central deictic applied to the delivery situation; then, no metaphor is required. On the other hand, the latter is interpreted as the activity start deictic applied to the delivery situation; therefore, the **ACTIVITY IS MOTION** metaphor must be involved here.

- 6' Since the former type is related to the central deictic, *here* and *there* are thought of as having the basic physical space meaning.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, since the latter has to do with the activity start deictic, the deictics designate the starting point on an activity path.<sup>4</sup>
7. Paragons: Now *HERE* ... is a great cup of coffee!/ Now *THERE* ... is a great centerfielder!

There is a general metonymic mapping: **A PLACE MAY STAND FOR SOMETHING LOCATED AT THAT PLACE**. It follows that the location referred to by *here* or *there* may stand for the entity at that location. When a place stands for an entity at that place, a paragon-intonation construction, where the deictic terms are pronounced with extra-heavy stress and breathiness, can be superimposed on the central deictic and *here* or *there* can be used to refer to the entity which is described as a paragon. Moreover, the paragon construction is also superimposed on the discourse deictic.

- 7' A question arises as to Lakoff's analysis of paragons. Is the general metonymic mapping really necessary to account for this construction? Does the deictic locative adverb have to refer to an entity (as a paragon at that place)? That is, the question is why they do not just refer to the locations. It seems that in this case there is no reason for equating *here* or *there* with an entity at that place. The situation expressed by the examples above is just that *here* or *there* with the basic spatial meaning is pronounced with extra-heavy stress and breathiness. Therefore, the semantics of the central deictic is at work here. For the same reason, it can be said that when this construction intersects with the discourse deictic, *here* and *there* referring to a location in



discourse space are pronounced with extra-heavy stress and breathiness.

8. Exasperation: *Here* we go, making fools of ourselves again!/ *There* goes Harry, sounding off again!

This is an instance of intersection of the activity start deictic and the exasperation construction, which is concerned with an intonation--a sigh, a throat constriction, etc. Therefore, the ACTIVITY IS MOTION metaphor is involved here. The deictic words *here* and *there* refer to the beginning of an activity or the starting point on an activity path. The difference between *here* and *there* is this: *here* is used in the cases where the speaker or a first person is at the beginning of an activity, while *there* is used in the cases where someone other than the speaker is at the starting point on an activity path.

- 8' The speaker or someone else does not go anywhere. There is no spatial motion indicated, but activities are conceptualized in terms of motion. It seems that the central physical space meanings of *here* and *there* are made applicable here. Since *here* in its basic sense is understood as referring to the location of the speaker, it is natural that *here* is chosen when the speaker or a first person is at the beginning of an activity. Similarly, since *there* with its basic sense designates the location of someone other than the speaker, *there* is chosen when someone other than the speaker is at the starting point on an activity path.

9. Enthusiastic Beginning: *Here* we go, off to Africa!

This is an instance of intersection of the activity start deictic and the enthusiastic beginning construction, which is again concerned with an intonation--a continuous intonational rise with a fall at the very end. Here again, therefore, the ACTIVITY IS MOTION metaphor is involved.

- 9' Since it is (people including) the speaker who is making an attempt in this situation, the speaker is at the starting point of the activity. *Here* basically refers to the speaker's location. In this case, the basic sense of *here* is extended by the metaphor to the meaning of the starting point of the speaker's activity.

10. Narrative Focus: *Here* I am, alone on a desert island ... / *There* I am, alone on a desert island ...

In a vivid narrative, the speaker may expect the hearer to create a mental

image of what is happening. In such cases, *here* and *there* are used to focus on a location in the imagined scene of the narrative. *Here*, for example, “invites the hearer to imagine the action close to him and the speaker, rather than at a distance.” The narrative focus deictic merges with many of other deictic constructions, except for the cases where the speaker refers to things or actions that cannot create a vivid mental image.

- 10' When this construction applies to other deictic constructions, *here* and *there* seem to maintain their meanings in each construction.

In 1.1, I mentioned the meanings of *here* and *there* that emerge from Lakoff's observation of deictic *there*-constructions, although those meanings include some differences from his analysis. These meanings seem to be presented in the form of several factors. In section 2, I will discuss what factors have to do with *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions.

## **2 Factors operating on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions**

The factors operating on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions also constitute radial categories with prototypical centers. Now we will consider one central factor and five noncentral factors.

**CENTRAL FACTOR:** The central factor which grows out of the central deictic is NEAR the speaker vs. FAR from the speaker in a physical space. What is at issue is the location of an entity in the context relative to the speaker at the utterance time. This is characterized by the notion of the default ground, in which the speaker is the default reference point.

**TEMPORAL FACTOR:** Based on the discussions about perceptual deictic and discourse deictic, it can be said that *here* is related to the present and *there* to the (immediate) past. Whether percepts or discourse elements, the choice between *here* and *there* depends upon where the entity exists, or upon where the goal of motion of the entity is. *Here* is chosen when the goal is the location of the speaker (and hearer) in temporal or discourse space (because the speaker's location is

designated by *here*). Because (discourse in) the future is moving toward us, its goal--the time of speaking--is referred to by *here*; and the goal in this case is equated with the ground. On the other hand, *there* is chosen when the goal of motion of the entity is distal from the temporal location of the speaker (and hearer). Since the time which is going away from the speaker (and hearer) is taken as distal from his (or their) temporal location, the goal of the time like this is designated by *there*. Moreover, since something happened in the past exists in the past, which is judged distal relative to the time of speaking--the reference point--, *there* is related here again.

The temporal factor of *here* and *there* can be viewed as a metaphorical extension of the central spatial factor. It can generally be said that there is a parallelism between locative and temporal expressions. One of the reasons may be that we usually think about time making use of space. That is, in order to measure time, we, for example, observe how long the hands have passed over on the dial of a clock, or use the movement of the celestial sphere as a measure. Though we think we measure time, in effect we measure space.<sup>5</sup> When we try to talk about time, we cannot do so until time is spatialized--that is, time is located in space. When we think that time exists, it exists in a location and obtains a place in space. Thus, we get the metaphors TEMPORAL SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE and TIME IS A LOCATION.

We experience our bodies as containers. A container has a boundary distinguishing an interior from an exterior. In terms of this image schema--the container schema--, we can divide space into space inside the speaker's active domain and space outside the speaker's active domain. By the speaker's active domain, I mean the region or territory which he can manage or in which he can act. The physical space NEAR the speaker defined by *here* is inside his active domain and the physical space FAR from the speaker defined by *there* is outside his active domain. Similarly, the temporal space defined by *here* is inside the speaker's active domain and the temporal space defined by *there* is outside his active domain. Here, the domain is metaphorically extended to the temporal domain. The time which is inside the speaker's active domain--the present--is temporally NEAR the speaker, and this temporal space is designated by *here*. On the other hand, the time which is outside the speaker's active domain--the

past--is temporally FAR from the speaker, and then designated by *there*. It follows that the temporal factor works on the deictic words *here* and *there*.

**SHARED VS. UNSHARED KNOWLEDGE:** Here again, perceptual and discourse deictics will be taken into account. Whether realized percepts or immediate past discourse, the speaker and hearer may have shared knowledge about it because it is something that happened in the past or has been happening. On the other hand, the speaker and hearer cannot have shared knowledge about soon-to-be-realized percepts or discourse in the immediate future because it is something that has not yet happened. What happens in the immediate future may be what the speaker thinks he can predict, and therefore, it is viewed as belonging to him.

Here again, in terms of the container schema, we get knowledge inside the speaker's active domain and knowledge outside his active domain. In this case, the domain is extended metaphorically to discourse, and the speaker's active domain refers to the discourse he can manage or control. Since soon-to-be-realized percepts and discourse in the immediate future are taken as entirely owned by the speaker--the knowledge only he has until he tells the hearer about it--, and are introduced into discourse as new information by him, they are viewed as being inside the speaker's active domain. On the other hand, since realized percepts and immediate past discourse are taken as owned by both the speaker and hearer, they are understood as their shared knowledge. Shared knowledge is social knowledge which is put onstage and profiled to be looked at equally objectively by the speaker and hearer who remain offstage. It is, therefore, far from both of them and from any individual--no one can control knowledge like this. In this situation, shared knowledge is viewed as being outside the speaker's active domain (as well as outside anyone's active domain). Although the speaker knows something, yet it does not belong to him. The knowledge inside the speaker's active domain is conceptually NEAR him--then referred to by *here*, while the knowledge which is outside the speaker's active domain is conceptually FAR from him--then designated by *there*.

**EXISTENCE VS. NONEXISTENCE:** Abstract notions do not exist in a real physical location, but are located in a conceptual space. In the case of the

existence deictic, as was mentioned above, we model conceptual space metaphorically on physical space. Thus, we can take the same attitude toward conceptual space as toward physical space. We can see a parallelism between physical space and conceptual space. Just as the physically NEAR location to the speaker is referred to by *here* and the physically FAR location from him is designated by *there*, so the conceptually NEAR location (i.e., existence) is defined by *here* and the conceptually FAR location (i.e., nonexistence) is defined by *there*.

**WHOSE ACTIVITY:** Based on the discussions about the activity start, delivery, exasperation and enthusiastic beginning deictics, it can be said that the uses of *here* and *there* have to do with who starts an activity. The choice between *here* and *there* depends upon whether the speaker (or a first-person subject) or someone other than the speaker starts an activity. When the speaker is at the starting point of a metaphorical activity path, that point is his location and inside his active domain--metaphorically NEAR the speaker; then designated by *here*. On the other hand, when someone other than the speaker is at that point, that is not the place of the speaker and is outside his active domain--metaphorically FAR from the speaker; then referred to by *there*.<sup>6</sup> In this case, the domain is metaphorically extended to activity.

**SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE:** In the narrative focus deictic, *here* and *there* are used to focus on a location in the imagined scene of the narrative.

A couple of examples of the delivery deictic may suggest the existence of a similar factor. The speaker can say, for example, either '*here* you are' or '*there* you are' in the delivery situation. What is important here seems to be the speaker's attitude toward the space surrounding him. That is, just as it is quite natural that concrete space where we lead our real life should be seen from different points of view by different persons, so for an individual too, the identical space certainly changes according to his particular viewpoint or his mood of the moment. Thus, whether or not the speaker thinks some entity or some location is, independently of the actual discourse context, inside his active domain at the time of utterance decides the choice between *here* and *there*. Then, the speaker can assert the NEARness or FARness of distance, independently of the actual

situation, with *here* and *there*.

What can be seen from these discussions about factors is that the central factor NEAR vs. FAR is mapped onto various domains and as a result, a radial structure is produced as in Figure 2:

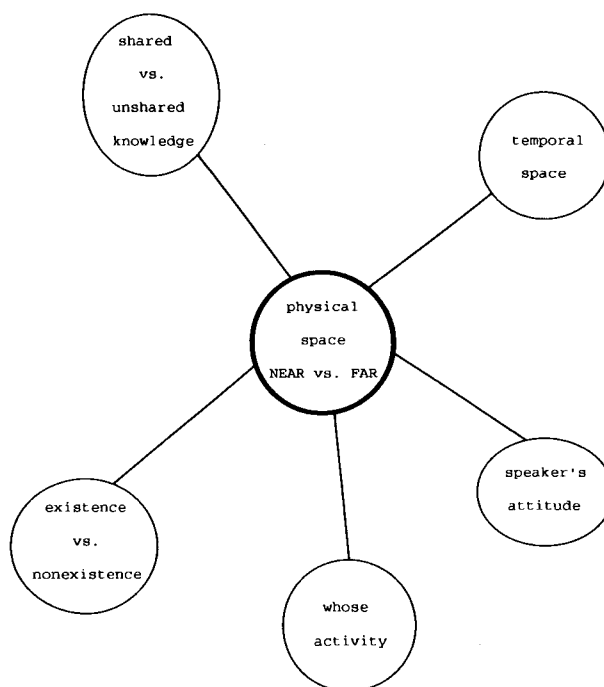


Figure 2

These factors seem to be applied to *here* and *there* in simple sentences and also to *this* and *that*. In section 3, we will see how these factors--some of them, if not all--can explain the behavior of these words in simple sentences.

### 3 Factors operating on *here*, *there*, *this*, and *that* in simple sentences

3.1 *here* and *there*: Some of the factors operating on the deictic locative adverbs of deictic *there*-constructions also work here. Here again, the central factor is whether the space is physically NEAR the speaker or FAR from him; and other factors are linked to the central factor radially.

**CENTRAL:** Come *here!*/ Can you pass me that book *there*?

In these sentences, *here* and *there* refer to the physical locations NEAR the speaker and FAR from him, respectively.

**TEMPORAL:** At last the holidays are *here.*/ A: That was 9 months ago. B: But I'm still *there.* I'm still back *there.*

*Here* and *there* refer to the situations. However, the temporal factor seems to operate on *here* and *there* of these sentences in that *here* is related to the situation at present and *there* refers to the situation in the past. The same thing as the one mentioned above as to the temporal factor of *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions can be said here.

**SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE:** I seek *here* for some friends. I will look round--perhaps they are not *here* yet. Ah, let me see, that table *there* in the corner .... / His decision took him to the nearest post office. *Here* he put through a couple of telephone calls. / And Biff's attitude back in 1955 was almost exactly like his grandson's, *here* in the future./ After all, this was the same man who got him safely out of the past and back to good old 1985--even though Marty hadn't stayed *there.*

In the first example, the speaker and hearer are in a restaurant. At first the speaker considered the restaurant to be wholly in her territory and the whole restaurant is referred to by *here*; and the next moment she drew a line between the space of both the speaker and hearer and a third person's space in the same restaurant, and differentiated between the space referred to by *here* and the one identified by *there.* At first, the speaker is looking at the restaurant as opposed to other places (surrounding the restaurant), for example, a theater, a bookstore, a post office, etc. And then she delimits the space defined by *here* to her (and the hearer's) location in the restaurant so that she can point out, by *there,* a third person's location in the same restaurant. The two *here*'s and *here* as opposed to *there* in the example have essentially identical semantic value--spatially NEAR the speaker. However, the spatial extension designated by *here*'s of the former case differs in "scale" from that of *here* of the latter case. The scale or "scope" for the spatial extension referred to by *here* is at first broad to the extent that the

speaker, opposing the restaurant to other places, considers it to be her location; and then the scale or scope becomes smaller so that she can refer to a third person's location in the same restaurant by *there*. (cf. Langacker 1987.) It follows that which facet of physically the same place the speaker focuses on--the speaker's attitude--has an effect on the uses of deictics.

As to the other three examples, this factor appears to work in a similar but different way. In the first example of these three, *here* refers to the location of the character 'he,' not of the speaker (or narrator). The temporal factor also operates on *here* and *there* as seen in the other two examples, although these words refer to the situations at a time. These examples are used in the following situation: The character (Marty) went to the future in the time machine from the present (the year 1985), and the narrator told of the happenings in the future. The narrator imagines himself/herself located with the character in the narrative space and establishes a system of coordinates to which he/she relates the entities of the imagined scene. According to how the narrator sets the coordinates, any place can be regarded as 'here' and any time can be regarded as 'now.' In such cases, the deictic center is shifted from the actual speech situation (i.e., the default ground) to an imagined scene of the narrative and an alternate reference point is established for the narrative.

Things are, however, more complex in these examples, because the two stages of shifting seem to be required--from the actual speech situation to an imagined scene of the narrative and from this imagined scene to another imagined scene of the same narrative (i.e., the future where the character went in the time machine). When I refer to the former imagined scene as the imagined scene I and to the latter as the imagined scene II for convenience's sake, these examples describe the situations in the imagined scene II.

In this context, the present and the future of the imagined scene I are interpreted as the past and the present in the imagined scene II, respectively, which are, therefore, referred to by *there* and *here*, respectively, because the present is the time when the narrator (with the character) is located in the narrative--temporally NEAR the narrator, and because the past is not the time when he is located--temporally FAR from him.

As to the example of location (i.e., the second example), a location



designated by *here* is inside the narrator's active domain because he is viewed as being at that location with the character at the narrative time.

*Here's* of the examples of the narratives may be explained by the mechanism of "cross-world identification" (Langacker 1987). In Figure 3 (which is taken

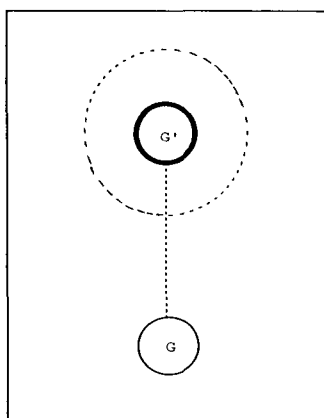


Figure 3

from Langacker (1987)), the dashed-line circle indicates a "world" which is distinct from the actual speech situation--in this case, a narrative. When the narrator mentally locates himself (with the character) in the world of a narrative, he looks at himself (and the setting of the world) objectively from the perspective of G. Although the profiled entity G' is objectively construed, we can think that a kind of "subjectification" is occurring here because the entity G' in the narrative world "corresponds" to a ground element G. Using *here* in order to describe a location or time in the narrative world--the objective entity--reflects the occurrence of the subjectification.

These three factors operating on *here* and *there* in simple sentences are among the factors on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions (although a couple of concepts of cognitive grammar are introduced here). The three factors also constitute a radially structured category with prototypical center. Let us now turn to the cases of *this* and *that*.

3.2 *this* and *that*: The deictic words *this* and *that* are generally understood as having the same spatial expanse as *here* and *there*. The semantic difference is that *this* and *that* refer to an entity in a location, while *here* and *there* are basically related to a location. Examples of *this* and *that* seem to be explained by the same factors as the ones operating on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions, although some differences are included. Here again, these factors constitute a radial structure with prototypical center.

**CENTRAL:** Type *this* letter, please;... / I see at *that* table an acquaintance of mine. I must go and speak to him.

In these examples, *this* refers to the 'letter' the speaker holds at the time of utterance and *that* refers to the 'table' distal from both the speaker and hearer. Thus, *this* is related to an entity spatially NEAR the speaker, while *that* is related to an entity spatially FAR from the speaker.

**TEMPORAL:** And *this* is the year--2015?/ M. Poirot, on *that* night a tragedy happened./ ... as I shall be in the neighborhood of Charman's Green on Friday, I will call upon you on *that* day and ....

Temporal factor works this time again. However, we can find a difference between the factor on *here* and *there* and the factor on *this* and *that*. The example of *this* is the utterance by the speaker who is taken to the year 2015 in the time machine, and she asks the hearer, by using *this*, about the time where she is at the utterance time. Therefore, *this* refers to a time inside the speaker's active domain. In the examples of *that*, the speaker of the former sentence mentions a tragedy in the past, whereas the speaker of the latter makes an appointment to visit the hearer on a day in the future. That is, *that* is used to refer to both the past and the future, which are outside the speaker's active domain at the utterance time. The domain is metaphorically extended to the temporal domain here. The time inside the speaker's active domain is temporally NEAR him and the time outside the speaker's active domain is temporally FAR from him.

**SHARED VS. UNSHARED KNOWLEDGE:** "... Anyway, she told me about

six months ago that she was thinking of taking up *this* job.” “Job?”  
“Warden, I think they call it--or Matron of a Hostel for students. It  
was owned by a woman who ...”/ *That* Miss Barrowby we wrote  
to--no wonder there’s been no answer. She’s dead.

*This* is an expression of introducing something new into a story, while *that* is used to refer to some shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer. “*This* job” of the first example means “a job I am going to tell you about.” In fact, as shown by the following conversation, the speaker of “*this* job” explains it to the hearer who does not know anything about it. On the other hand, the example of *that* is said in the following situation: The speaker (the secretary of the hearer) and the hearer sent a letter to Miss Barrowby (a client) and were wondering about there having been no answer from her; then the speaker learned of her death through a newspaper article, and informed the hearer of the fact. In this situation, the speaker and hearer have shared experiences of being acquainted with the content of a case, writing her a letter together, waiting for her reply, etc.; and it is natural that (the speaker believes that) she and the hearer have some shared knowledge about Miss Barrowby. “*That* Miss Barrowby” means, therefore, “the Miss Barrowby we know about.”

*This* refers to knowledge about which (the speaker believes) the hearer knows nothing--knowledge entirely owned by the speaker. Since knowledge like this is inside the speaker’s active domain, it is taken as conceptually NEAR the speaker. Shared knowledge referred to by *that* is understood as owned by the hearer as well as by the speaker. What happens here is that the speaker puts shared knowledge onstage as the focal point within the objective scene so that he can look at it and construe it objectively. Because shared knowledge is viewed as far from any individual, it does not belong to the speaker although he knows something about it. Shared knowledge, therefore, can be interpreted as being outside the speaker’s active domain--that is, he cannot manage or control discourse (because the domain is metaphorically extended to discourse here)--and then conceptually FAR from him.

**WHOSE ACTIVITY:** Maybe I shouldn’t be doing *this*./ “She had committed suicide?” said Poirot. “*That* was the accepted verdict ...”/ ... she

telephoned at once when she got here. Then she went to leave her cloak and while she was doing *that* the other lady came out of the cloakroom and ....

In these examples, the choice between *this* and *that* depends on whose activity is concerned. *This* of the first example refers to the speaker's activity, while *that*'s of the second and third examples refer to the activities of someone other than the speaker--*that* of the second mentions the hearer's utterance and the speaker of the third example refers to a third person's act by *that*. When the speaker's activity is concerned, it is designated by *this* because it is inside his active domain; on the other hand, the activity of someone other than the speaker, whether the hearer or a third person, is referred to by *that* because it is outside the speaker's active domain. The domain in this case is metaphorically extended to activity. This case, therefore, has to do with conceptually NEAR the speaker vs. conceptually FAR from him.

**SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE:** What's *that*?/ Would you like *that* one?/ How could Doc expect him to wear something like *this*?/ ... *this* morning Miss Lemon had made three mistakes in typing a perfectly simple letter, .... The speaker's attitude toward an entity decides the choice between *this* and *that*. Although the speaker holds or touches something at the time of utterance, *that* is chosen when he considers it exists outside his active domain. This is exemplified in the first and second examples.

The other two examples are taken from narrative discourse. In the former example, it is the character 'he,' not the narrator, that wears something referred to by *this*. *This* of the last example refers to the past time, strictly the pluperfect tense. The reason why *this* is used in these examples is that the narrator imagines himself/herself existing in the narrative space and being with the character. The narrator establishes a system of coordinates to which the entities of the imagined space are related. That is, the deictic center or the reference point is transferred from the speaker of the actual situation to the narrator of the imagined scene. Then the narrator can describe a situation from a viewpoint distinct from the actual one.

'Something' to wear is viewed as being inside the narrator's active

domain because the character, who the narrator mentally exists with, is wearing it at the narrative time. The 'morning' is temporally NEAR the character 'Miss Lemon'--then NEAR the narrator--at the narrative time. In either case, therefore, *this* is chosen to describe the situation.

The examples of *this* from narrative discourse may invoke the "cross-world identification" mechanism (see Figure 3). When the narrator mentally locates himself/herself (with the character) in the narrative "world," which is distinct from the actual speech situation, he/she looks at himself/herself and other facets of the world objectively from the perspective of the ground G. Then the profiled entity G' in the narrative world is objectively construed. Since the entity G', however, corresponds to a ground element G, a kind of subjectification occurs here. The subjectification is shown in the use of *this* to describe the thing or time of the narrative world--the objective entity.

In section 3, I examined the factors operating on *here*, *there*, *this*, and *that* in simple sentences, and showed that these deictic words seem to be explained by (some of) the same factors as (or similar ones to) the ones operating on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions. It must be noted here again that in each case the central factor NEAR vs. FAR is mapped onto various domains and the factors altogether constitute a radial structure with prototypical center.

Now we are in a position to consider the class meaning of the deictics.

#### **4 The class meaning and lexical choice**

The word 'deictic' or 'deixis' is from Greek word 'deiktikos,' meaning 'pointing' or 'indicating' and originates in the notion of gestural reference. Deixis may be understood as linguistic or verbal pointing to something in the context and is often accompanied by an extra-linguistic or physical gesture such as pointing.

The purpose of our pointing out something in the context by using the deictics may be taken as directing the hearer's attention to it. In other words, what people do by using the deictics (often accompanied by a pointing gesture) is point out something in the context so that other people can find the referent for the deictics.

When we consider the purpose of pointing out things to other people

with deictic expressions, the meaning of all the deictics--the class meaning of the deictics--is interpreted as 'the speaker's directing the hearer's attention to somewhere or something in the context.'

The speaker wants the hearer to identify that something. Moreover, the signaling of location is an integral part of the deictic words, because the basic or central meanings of the deictic terms have to do with the locative meanings, as was mentioned above. Then deixis is taken as meaning the 'identification plus location.' The signaling of location is achieved by the deictic words which form a minimal contrast with reference to the position relative to the speaker. As we saw in sections 1-3, both *here* vs. *there* and *this* vs. *that* have the physically NEAR vs. FAR meanings as their central meanings, and form a minimal contrast in this respect.

When the speaker chooses *here* or *this*, (an entity in) the location NEAR him is signaled. This, together with the 'identification' or the class meaning, makes the hearer direct his attention to somewhere or something NEAR the speaker. When *there* or *that* is chosen, on the other hand, (an entity in) a location FAR from the speaker is signaled. In terms of this plus the 'identification' or the class meaning, the hearer is expected to direct his attention to somewhere or something FAR from the speaker. Therefore, it can be said that 'locations' signaled by deictic words help the hearer to 'identify' the specific locations or entities.

This description is of the central factor, and other cases can be explained metaphorically. All of this may be described as in Figure 4.

We saw above that the deictic words have the physically NEAR vs. FAR meanings as their central meanings. Now it seems to be important to consider whether the locative meaning, rather than non-locative meaning, is actually central; and if so, why it is so.<sup>7</sup> Let us now turn to this problem.

## **5 The support of NEAR vs. FAR**

If we are to show that the approach which takes the locative use as underlying all the other uses is appropriate for the English deictics, it may be a good idea to point out that this approach has generality to a degree and is applicable to the deictic systems of some other languages.

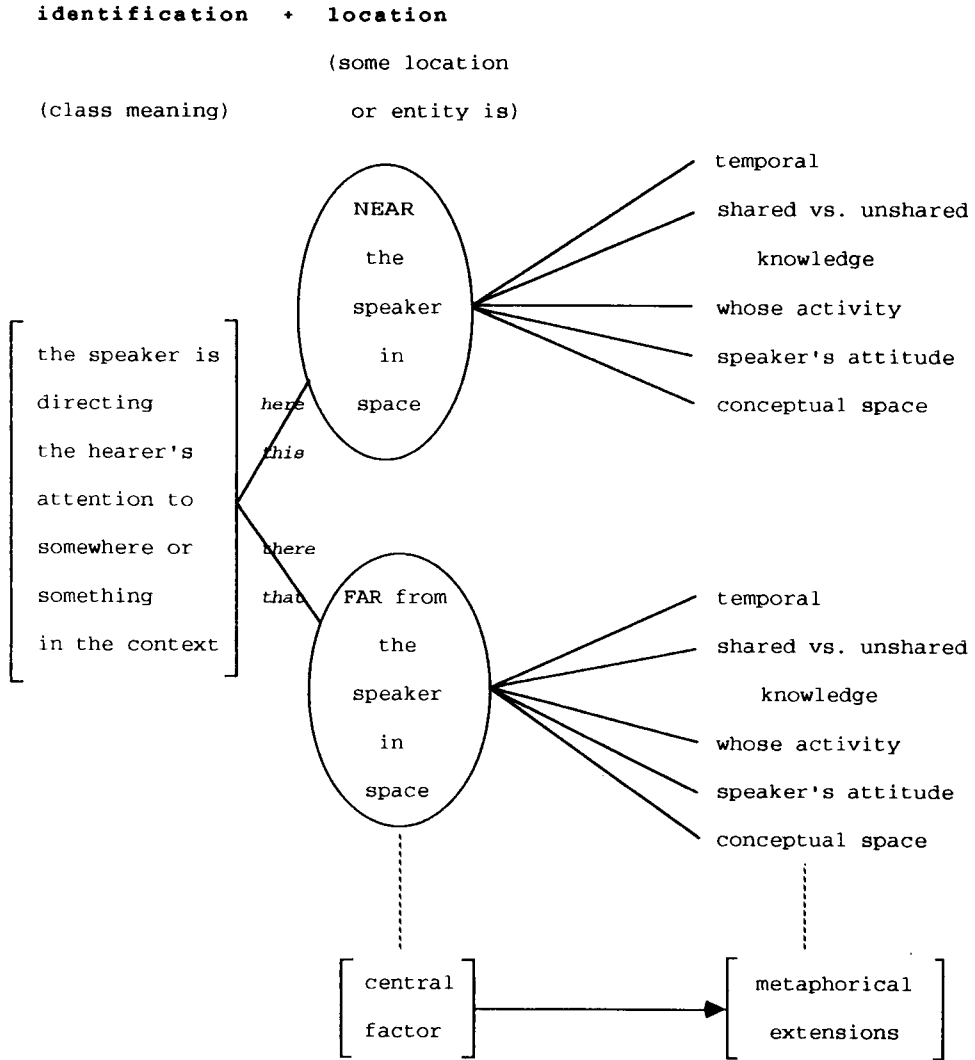


Figure 4

In English, a relative contrast along a dimension of distance from the speaker is defined by the deictic words, which are termed NEAR and FAR. However, “most often three relative distances are differentiated by demonstratives corresponding to near, close by, and distant” (Perkins 1992). Some languages, in fact, present three basic demonstratives recognized along a dimension of relative distance from the speaker. Thus, the second or middle term “close by” represents

something that is “simply farther from the *Sp* than would be indicated by the first term of the system, but closer than would be indicated by the third.” Other languages have a different type of three-term system. In this system, the middle term is interpreted as being “close to or identifiable by the *Adr*.” (see Anderson and Keenan 1985.)

It is important to note that there are many languages which have systems with more than three terms. These languages tend to be used in “less complex cultures.” I will restrict my discussion to the languages used in less complex cultures, because the deixis systems seem to be better developed in less complex cultures than in “more complex cultures” and because the richer deixis systems may be taken as characterizing the basic or original use of deictics.<sup>8</sup>

When we take into account that language evolved as an oral tool initially, it can be said that communication was always carried out in face-to-face situations in the initial stage. Communication in more complex cultures today lacks face-to-face monitoring because of the development of new media of communication and people do not have to rely on their visual contact any longer in order to interpret the messages. On the other hand, communication in less complex cultures is largely face to face and does rely on face-to-face monitoring even today to get intended messages properly.

The communication in less complex cultures described as such has to do with the communication in the canonical speech situation--where all the participants are present in the same actual situation so that they can see each other and each other's bodily gestures--in which deixis systems undoubtedly developed; and then what is thought of as the uses of deictics in the initial stage may remain in deixis systems of languages in less complex cultures.

While many languages in more complex cultures have deictic systems organized by reference to the dimension of location relative to the speaker, most languages in less complex cultures display systems with additional dimensions of contrast, which are integrated into the dimension of distance from the speaker. Some languages make use of a dimension of height relative to the speaker. Fourteen basic demonstrative elements in Daga, for example, contrast on a dimension ‘above the speaker’ vs. ‘below the speaker’ vs. ‘same level as the speaker,’ in addition to a dimension of distance from the speaker. Thus, there are five



expressions to show 'above the speaker,' for example, according to the degree of relative distance from the speaker, which mean 'overhead,' 'up or high,' 'higher (near),' 'higher (far),' and 'higher (remote).' Besides, several other deictic dimensions are indicated, such as visibility, non-visibility, vague or approximate location.

Moreover, there are languages (e.g., Dyirbal) whose deictic contrasts are based on 'river' vs. 'hill.' Together with the primary dimension of distance from the speaker, this system produces quite a few meanings--'short/medium/long distance downhill/uphill,' 'medium/long distance downriver/upriver,' 'across the river,' and 'long way (in any direction).'

The spatial demonstrative system of Eskimo produces various expressions like 'the entity near the speaker,' 'the entity near the hearer,' 'the entity approaching the speaker,' 'the entity going away from the speaker,' 'the entity inside,' 'the entity outside,' 'the entity below, toward river,' 'the entity up there, away from river,' etc., organized along a dimension described as 'extended' vs. 'restricted' vs. 'obscured,' which indicate roughly 'large expanses of land or water,' 'objects moving within a confined area, and fairly small in extent, relatively near, and visible,' and 'objects that are farther away and not clearly in sight,' respectively. (Examples are all taken from Anderson and Keenan 1985.)

All the expressions of various languages mentioned above have to do with location in that they specify a location or give information about the location of an entity. That is, the deixis systems of these languages have basically the locative use. It can be said that people in less complex cultures live in a more natural environment and their lives have more direct relationship with natural surroundings than people in more complex cultures. Cultural demands on the language for effective communication are reflected in their language uses, and as a result, we find many expressions related to the location of a referent relative to the speaker. When other cross-classifying dimensions are required, these dimensions are superimposed on the contrast along the primary dimension of relative distance from the speaker.

It follows from this observation that the deictic expressions in less complex cultures, which display richer and better developed deixis systems, always have a function of specifying a location or giving some information about the location

of a referent (relative to the speaker and in some cases to the hearer). Deictics of English as a language in more complex cultures seem to make use of the most basic and primary dimension of contrast of all the dimensions--NEAR the speaker vs. FAR from the speaker. This is a natural and predictable result.

As a result, the approach which takes the locative use as basic to all other non-locative uses seems to be the appropriate approach and also suitable for explaining various deictic systems of various languages.

## 6 Conclusion

In this article, I have investigated the factors operating on the deictic words--*here*, *there*, *this*, and *that*. In section 1, I gave the meanings of *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions, which emerge from the observation of these constructions by Lakoff (1987), although these meanings include some differences from his analysis. In section 2, I discussed factors operating on *here* and *there* in deictic *there*-constructions. In section 3, I showed how (some of) these factors operate on *here*, *there*, *this*, and *that* in simple sentences. When I considered the meanings and factors of the deictic words, I exploited several notions of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1990, and 1991). It follows from the observation of all these factors that the physically NEAR vs. FAR from the speaker is the central factor of all the deictic words, and that other factors, which are metaphorical extensions of the central factor, are linked to the central one, constituting a radial structure with prototypical center. In section 4, I suggested that there is a class meaning of the deictics, and that identification plus location, or the class meaning plus lexical choice--choice of *here* or *there*, or of *this* or *that*--defines the notion of deixis. Locations signaled by deictic words help the hearer to direct his attention to and identify the intended locations or objects. In section 5, I showed the appropriateness of regarding the relative distance from the speaker as the basic factor of the deictics in English. In order to support this idea, I considered the deixis systems of other languages, especially languages in less complex cultures, because the languages in less complex cultures tend to have better developed deixis systems which seem to show the basic use of deictics. The idea that not only the central factor, but also metaphors, metonymies, and mental images which are exploited in describing noncentral factors are based on (our

bodily) experience or our experience of space, may also support the stance of taking the locative use as basic.

One of the requirements of communication is the unique specification of the intended referents. This is often accomplished in terms of the deictics. The task of specifying referents for the deictics seem to be far from simple. We found several factors which operate on the deictics; and we found that the central factor (which is based on our bodily experience) and the noncentral factors (which are metaphorically linked to the central one) constitute radially structured categories. This shows the complexities of the way people categorize things, and provides evidence for the necessity and the existence of prototype-based categorization and prototype theory.

### Notes

- \* This article is an expansion of Morimitsu (1988) and (1991). Some of the examples discussed here were presented in the previous articles, and in the Cognitive Science seminar at the University of California, San Diego, in December 1992. In the present work, I have substantially revised the analyses in the previous articles. I would like to thank Ronald W. Langacker for sharing much time with me and providing helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.
- 1. Lakoff gave one more noncentral deictic *there*-construction--the presentational deictic, which is used for announcements. Then, there are actually eleven noncentral constructions. However, I will not deal with the presentational deictic here, because this construction is complex and does not seem to be directly related to the discussion here.
- 2. Although one more metonymy is required in order to explain the perceptual deictic perfectly, I will not mention it here because the three metaphors mentioned seem to be enough for problems under discussion.
- 3. But see the discussion about **SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE** in section 2.
- 4. But see Note 6.
- 5. This is also reflected in language expressions other than deictics, such as

prepositional phrases. We have a lot of prepositions which express both time and place--typically, *in, on, at, to, from*, etc. Moreover, these prepositions can be viewed as used basically with places and the uses with time expressions as extended from the uses with place expressions.

6. In the delivery situation, however, we can use both '*here* you go' and '*there* you go.' These are expressions used especially when the speaker wants to focus on what happens after delivery, that is on the hearer's activity. Then why is the expression '*here* you go' accepted? It is the hearer that actually starts an activity. However, since the speaker says this utterance when or as soon as he delivers the thing, it may be considered to be still near the speaker. In this case, the hearer may be viewed as being in a neutral position. On the other hand, *there* of '*there* you go' may tell us that the starting point is occupied only by the hearer.
7. Kirsner and Van Heuven (1988) regards a non-locative use, which they call the discourse use, as basic, from the viewpoint of Columbia School. For the detailed discussion, see Kirsner and Van Heuven (1988). And see also Kirsner (1990).
8. I take the terms "less complex cultures" and "more complex cultures," and their notions from Perkins (1992). According to him, " 'quality of life' is not a relevant variable in considering the concept of cultural evolution." "As cultures become more complex, communication in general involves a requirement for decreasing dependence on context for the interpretation of messages," and "with the introduction of new media of communication, the content of the message is no longer supported by visual contact between speaker and hearer." Moreover, "communication in less complex cultures is under relaxed conditions where the speaker can plan as he goes without time pressures," and is based on a large amount of "shared background." Then, "the topic or referents involved in a communication are often at hand or at least visible." On the other hand, "communication in more complex cultures is characterized by considerable time-pressure, pre-planning, absence of face-to-face monitoring and lack of an assumable shared background of knowledge and context."

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